

Old Frisian
Etymological
Dictionary



Dirk Boutkan &
Sjoerd Michiel Siebinga

LEIDEN INDO-EUROPEAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY SERIES

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ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY

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OLD FRISIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

BY

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PREFACE

In 1992, while working on the Old Frisian part of his dissertation (Boutkan 1995), Dirk Boutkan found that Old Frisian had been underrepresented in the study of Old Germanic languages. Some way or other, Old Frisian had stopped being part of the Old Germanic core curriculum in the early twentieth century.¹ Many instruments historical linguists have been accustomed to whilst studying older language stages are lacking or poorly available for Old Frisian. For example, although there are grammars and vocabularies on parts of the Old Frisian corpus, there is no exhaustive grammar, concordance or dictionary² available on all Old Frisian material. In fact, not even all Old Frisian manuscripts are available as text editions.³ In addition, the modern stages of Frisian have not been fully lexicographically disclosed, therefore making it impossible to gain insight into Old Frisian through modern Frisian.

The apparent lack of enthusiasm for Old Frisian had some far reaching consequences for its place in Proto-Indo-European Comparative Linguistics. In nearly all standard works on PIE Old Frisian cognates are at best sparsely and randomly used. As a result, most etymological dictionaries list either no or few Old Frisian cognates, which often leads to the exclusion of the Old Frisian evidence in Germanic and Proto-Indo-European reconstructions. Boutkan showed in a number of articles on North-Western European substratum that the inclusion of Old Frisian could lead to new insights and reconstructions or, even more importantly, could show that some alleged sound changes in Germanic are untenable (see Boutkan 1998a).

Boutkan had found a scientific field in which he could distinguish himself. In 1992, he started work on a diplomatic edition of the Old Frisian *Codex Unia*, a 17th century copy of a now lost mediaeval manuscript. In 1993, he started working on a database with Old Frisian etymologies as part of the

¹ Although there is no readily available explanation, the nature of the Old Frisian material might provide an answer. The surviving Old Frisian manuscripts are either legal texts or charters, which have little literary value. In addition, scholars may have been put off by the legal formulations, and the relatively late start of the written tradition (which is generally dated between 1250 and 1550 AD) in comparison to the other Old Germanic source material.

² von Richthofen (1840) covers most but not all OFris. material, because not all manuscripts were available to him.

³ The linguistics department of the Fryske Akademy (a Frisian research institute in the Netherlands) is currently working on an internet corpus incorporating all Old Frisian material. Eventually, this work should result in an exhaustive and reliable Old Frisian dictionary and grammar.

Indo-European Etymological Dictionary project (henceforth IEED).⁴ The first tangible evidence of his work on Old Frisian was *A Concise Grammar of the Old Frisian Dialect of the First Riustring Manuscript* (Boutkan 1996).

Following the completion of his dissertation with a *first* in 1995, Boutkan received two research grants from NWO (1994-1997 and 1997-1999) to complete the database with Old Frisian etymologies and convert it into an etymological dictionary. When he was offered a position as head of the linguistics department of the Fryske Akademy in 1999, the work had advanced to the letter S. Amidst his new responsibilities, the work on the dictionary moved to the background. In October 2001, Sjoerd Siebinga was hired by the Fryske Akademy to finish the remainder of the dictionary and prepare it for publication.

On the 6th of January 2002 at the age of 37, Dirk Boutkan unexpectedly died, leaving both *Codex Unia* and the dictionary unfinished. Dirk Boutkan was a kind, open-hearted, passionate man and a great friend. He was always ready to help wherever he could.

In the weeks following his death, the decision was made that the dictionary should be published. A non-intervention strategy was adopted, which meant that only editorial tasks would be performed on the material that was present. In section 1.4 there is an elaborate account of the posthumous work on the dictionary and the editorial choices that have been made. We have tried to preserve Boutkan's original design for the dictionary and his views on the Proto-Germanic sound system as conscientiously as possible. The final product, with its 2.004 lemmata, 32.122 index markers and 147 language indices, has eventually become more than a dictionary, it is a research tool.

Finally, I thank all my colleagues, family and friends for their support, help and advice during the completion of this dictionary. In particular Bob Boelhouwer (for introducing me to ConTeXt), Anne Dykstra, Eric Hoekstra, Han Nijdam, and Willem Visser at the Fryske Akademy; Anne Popkema at Kiel University; Olga Fischer and Willem Koopman at the English department of the University of Amsterdam; Jeroen Balkenende, Annelies Roeleveld and Marlies Philippa of the New Dutch etymological Dictionary project; Hans Hagen and everybody at the ntg-context mailinglist; Tilly Ruitenberg and my colleagues from the Integrated Language Database department at the Institute for Dutch Lexicography (INL) and Oebele Vries at the Frisian Institute of the University of Groningen. Without the (financial) support of Leiden University, Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), the Fryske Akademy and Brill publishers, this dictionary project would never have been possible. I especially wish to express my gratitude to the members of specialist review commission Michiel de Vaan, Rick Derksen, Robert Beckes, Aad Quak, and

⁴ See section 1.1, titled "Origin and design of the Dictionary", in the Introduction for more information on the work on the database and the Indo-European Etymological Dictionary.

Alexander Lubotsky, whose helpful comments made a substantial contribution to the final text. Lastly, I want to thank Margje Weijdt for her unrelenting patience, love and support.

To conclude, I hope that the final end-product does tribute to Boutkan's high standards, enthusiasm and vision. Whatever flaws this dictionary still might have, it does make Old Frisian accesible to the comparative linguist and provides the Old Frisian scholar with linguistic prehistory of Frisian.

Sjoerd Sibinga, Leeuwarden-Den Haag

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORIGIN AND DESIGN OF THE DICTIONARY

The department of IE Comparative Linguistics at Leiden University has been working on a new Indo-European Etymological dictionary (IEED)⁵ for more than a decade. As a first step, etymological research was conducted into the areas of less known languages for which the expertise was at hand. Jörundur Hilmarrsson undertook the compilation of a Tocharian etymological dictionary. Bardhyl Demiraj has recorded the complete IE heritage of Albanian during his stay at the Leiden University 1997.

In 1994, Dirk Boutkan started to work on an Old Frisian etymological database for the IEED project. The work on Old Frisian had as a positive side-effect that the database could also function as a rudimentary etymological dictionary. In 1998, the database was published on the internet.⁶ Before the project could get underway in 1994, two preliminary questions had to be answered.

1. How could the number of lemmata be restricted (there was only one editor available for a period of three years).
2. Which information was going to be included and in which order.

ad 1) Basing the material on existing collections would not be expedient. The dictionaries by von Richthofen (1840) or Holthausen and Hofmann (1985) and even Köbler (1983) use arbitrary parts of the OFris. corpus and are too elaborate for the purpose of a reconstruction database. A discussion of the OFris. evidence that Pokorny (1959) lists is even less useful. Pokorny's choice of OFris. cognates seems completely arbitrary.

The best option seemed to be the restriction to the lexical material of one reasonably sized manuscript. The Riustring 1 manuscript was selected, because linguistically it is the most archaic Old Frisian manuscript. The mediaeval inhabitants of the land between the rivers Wezer and Jade in Northern Germany called Riustringaland have given us two legal texts R₁ (approximately 1300 AD) and R₂ (1327 AD).⁷ The dialect of R₁ belongs to Old East Frisian, which has

⁵ For a detailed discussion for the need for such a dictionary, cf. Beekes (1998).

⁶ This database and a number of other already finished databases can be consulted at the homepage of the IEED project: <http://www.ieed.nl>.

⁷ The Old East Frisian R₁ has been called the *Asegabook* (OFris. *asega* means 'law-sayer') since the early 14th century. The author of R₂ refers to R₁ as the *Asebok*. When Old East Frisian was replaced by Low German the translations of R₁ were still referred to as the *Asegabook*.

an older written tradition than Old West Frisian. In the following centuries Old East Frisian was replaced by Low German. Modern Frisian has descended from Old West Frisian. The codex has a diverse range of topics; apart from the more classical legal texts such as the 'seventeen privileges and twenty-four statutes', it also contains some religious prose ('the fifteen signs before Doomsday' and 'The Riustring *Sendriucht* [synodical law]') and a number of compensation tariffs (formerly referred to as 'fine registers'). The codex is extensive enough to supply a core lexicon of Old Frisian. Finally, there is an excellent edition of the text available with an elaborate glossary, making the work optimally accessible (Buma 1961).

ad 2) A structure of tightly formalized lemmata was chosen (see section 1.3). These entries are relevant for the IEED project and also preserve the possibility of using the database for an etymological dictionary. Besides the obvious advantages of transparency of the material, the technical realisation of the overall Indo-European database would benefit from it as well.

The design of this dictionary has some consequences for its etymological nature. There are two sides to etymology: semantic and phonological. The choice of reworking the database of Old Frisian etymologies and basing it solely on the Riustring 1 manuscript limits the semantic use of the dictionary. Since the discussion of a form does not look beyond the Riustring 1 dialect for semantic differences, the lemmata are mainly concerned with formal (phonological) reconstructions. This makes it less useful for answering any questions on semantic change within (Old) Frisian. Thus, for example, the dictionary does not discuss the semantic development of a legal term (or any word) from PIE or PGmc. to Old Frisian (or modern Frisian). It must be noted, however, that the rudimentary building blocks for a semantic study are already present in the respective lemmata.

The explanatory focus of the discussion of lemmata thus is linguistic rather than literary. The (lemma-specific) semantic information comes straight from the wordlist that accompanies the R₁ text-edition (Buma 1961:157-270) and, although a great many Old Frisian forms from other manuscripts are cited, their semantic uses are not individually treated.

The lemmata contain sparse grammatical information. The concise grammar on Riustring 1 (Boutkan 1996) is designed to function as a grammatical companion. Originally, the work on the grammar was meant to become the grammatical part of the introduction of this dictionary, but it soon became apparent that its 203 pages were far too much to be incorporated into an introduction. Hence, it was published separately.

1.2 LANGUAGE CHANGE: FROM PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN TO OLD FRISIAN

Old Frisian is a member of the Germanic language family and Germanic is in turn a subgroup of a larger Indo-European family. The relationship is based on the virtue of the fact that Old Frisian (or any other Old Germanic language) is

the product of unbroken transmission from a remote, unattested ancestor called Proto-Germanic, which in turn is a descendant of an even more remote ancestor called Proto-Indo-European. The Indo-Europeans probably lived to the north of the Black Sea in the fourth millennium BC⁸, by the time of the beginning of the Frisian written tradition around 1250, the speakers of IE spread in several migration waves as far east as India, as far west as Greenland, as far north as northern Russia and as far south as the northern part of Africa.

The major IE subgroups are listed in the table of contents of Appendix “indices”.⁹ A very good introduction to language change, comparative linguistics and Proto-Indo-European and a list of basic terminology can be found in Beekes (1995).

1.2.1 *Substratum influence of non-IE languages on IE*

The languages of the non-IE tribes native to mainland Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans are called pre-IE, whereas Proto-Indo-European is the earliest language stage of Indo-European language. The technologically and militarily superior Indo-Europeans became the dominant (or superstrate) language and culture in the areas they migrated to. Although there must have been some kind of mixing over a period of time between these two cultures, there is little tangible evidence — both historic and linguistic — of these pre-IE languages in Europe. Through archaeological evidence we can more or less separate the Pre-IE and IE eras. Marija Gimbutas was one of the first anthropological archaeologists to combine comparative linguistics and archaeological findings to arrive at a new hypothesis about history, culture and religion of pre-historic peoples. She extensively published on the Kurgan culture and the subsequent Indo-Europeanization of Europe. These works form an important clue to the pre-IE situation in Europe. The languages of this — as Gimbutas (1997) calls it — Old Europe are the likeliest donor languages — or substrate languages — to IE.

Early loanwords are a matter of some controversy in Indo-European linguistics, especially when substratum origin is suspected. In other disciplines, like Uralic linguistics, the influence of loanwords is more accepted because the source of the loans is often known. Because the donor language is usually unknown there is some reluctance to accept loanwords in IE. However, it is necessary to identify non-IE loanwords for a proper understanding of IE and because the

⁸ For a discussion of the controversial issue of the Indo-European homeland, see Beekes (1995: 44-52).

⁹ For an exhaustive treatment of the IE subgroups and languages, see Beekes (1995: 17-33).

“study of loanwords can be a powerful tool for determining prehistoric cultural contacts and migrations” (Lubotsky 2001).

In recent years, a methodology of dealing with borrowings from an unknown source has been developed by Kuiper (1995), and applied by Beekes (1996), Schrijver (1997) and Boutkan (1998a). As these scholars have pointed out, an etymon is likely to be a non-IE loanword if it is characterised by some of the following features: 1) limited geographical distribution; 2) phonological or morphological irregularity; 3) unusual phonology; 4) unusual word-formation; 5) specific semantics, i.e. a word belongs to a semantic category which is particularly liable to borrowing.

Polomé (1986: 661-3) identified several non-IE words in Germanic and distilled the following semantic categories as likely candidates for non-IE loanwords: animals; animal products; plant names (and thus probably also tree-names); simple (domestic) implements; features of the environment; human feelings and perceptions; and human activities.

In the following paragraphs, a survey will be presented of identified substratum languages and features, but first two remarks.

The term “substratum” is used for any donor language, without implying sociological differences in its status, so that “substratum” may refer to an adstratum or even superstratum. It is possible that Proto-Indo-European borrowed words from more than one language and thus from more than one substratum.

Another point concerns dialect differentiation. In general, language unity exists as long as the language is capable of carrying out common innovations, but this does not preclude profound differences among dialects. In the case of the European branches of IE, there probably was a relative language unity between Celtic, Italic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic; after these tribes had migrated to Europe, they settled close to each other north of the Alps.

For the moment, it seems safe to say that at least four substratum layers to European IE can be identified:

1) The first substratum layer is the so-called “Old European hydronymy” or the A3 layer (Kuiper 1995). Krahe (1954, 1964) was the first to draw attention to striking similarities between a list of relatively homogeneous hydronyms, and concluded that they derived from a common ancestor. Krahe thought that it was an IE language, which he called Illyrian. However, weighty arguments have been produced to show that this cannot be the case (Kuhn 1967, Venne-mann 1994 and Kuiper 1995), such as the nearly complete lack of lexical items in IE languages corresponding to elements in the Old European hydronymy. Furthermore, the language of the Old European hydronymy has remarkable phonotactics: a) the vowel *a* is by far the most frequent vowel, whereas it did not exist, or was at best very rare in PIE (Lubotsky 1989); b) there is an inordinately high frequency of resonants and *s* as opposed to stops, which, again, is unlike Indo-European phonemic system.¹⁰ Other characteristics are: c) an

unusual word structure of the type (C)V-CV-CV-, at the end of a word also -VC (Arar, Varar) or VV (-ia);¹¹ d) vowel elision (which may have operated in the source language or in any of the later languages); e) the use of interchangeable suffixes on a large scale (Krahe 1954: 53-58), which are now identified as non-IE (Kuhn 1967). On these grounds, it can be stated that the "Old European hydronymy" is non-IE.

Judging from the distribution of Old European hydronyms, the language reflected in them was spoken over large parts of western and northern Europe, including the British Isles, Scandinavia, Germany, Poland and the Baltic region. According to Vennemann (1994), the language is related to Basque, but this has not been generally accepted. Although some (Vennemann 1994 and Beekes 1998) have claimed that this language donated some loanwords to IE languages, the suggestion that this substratum played an important part in donating lexical material to IE is generally rejected.

2) The second substratum layer has many labels: Atlantic (Vennemann 1995); A1 (Kuiper 1995); North Balkan Substrate; European (Beekes 1996); and the language of bird-names (Schrijver 1997, 2001). The overlap between certain elements of these labels is not clear, but there is no reason to treat them as completely separate entities.

The bird-names provide evidence on some significant features of the structure of this substratum language (Schrijver 1997). The most important evidence is that it had a prefix *a-*, which was probably stressed and accompanied by syncope of vowels in the rest of the word. The language had fricatives such as *χ*, *θ*, and a diphthong alien to Germanic and Celtic (something like [aɔ]), which was rendered as *a* in British Celtic and as *ai* in Germanic. The language of bird-names is attested through Germanic, Celtic, Italic, which would make up a sizeable territory in Middle Europe.

The A1 substratum language (Kuiper 1995: 65-68) was first identified by Kurylowicz (1956). There is one characteristic that most of the words Schrijver listed have in common, namely the absence of voiced stops: in antevocalic position we exclusively find *aspirated* voiced stops, cf. Kuiper (1995: 67) for an explanation. The 'European' substratum language (Beekes 1996) was characterised by: a) a frequent vowel **a*; b) a stop system different from IE, resulting in a variation of stops (which is unknown to IE), mainly between labial and velar stops (Kuiper 1995: 81-84); c) one frequent category of stops which probably was perceived as aspirated; d) initial PIE **b-* was not uncommon; e) a vowel-system or ablaut

¹⁰ The total of some 500 phonemes collected from Krahe's list is distributed as follows: Vowels: a 172, i 51, (e 14, o 13, u 9) Consonants: r 43, s 37, l 34, v 34, nt 27, n 18, m 14 (b 8, dr 8, g 8, p 8, k 1, t 1) (cf. Kuiper 1995: 73).

¹¹ Also (C)VC-CV- occurs but in this case the CC is never a geminate, but *lm*, *ls*, *mn*, *rm*, *rn* or a cluster of plosives.

system different from PIE, resulting in vowel 'variations' unknown to IE, e.g. *a/au*, *a/ai*, *u/ū*,¹² *a/ā*, *æ/ǣ*, *i/ī*;¹³ so vowel length seems to be variable, which may have meant that 'European' had no opposition in vowel length; f) an initial **k*-, if this is a plain velar and not a palatal.

The suffixes *-ut-* and *-it-* probably belong here too. There is no evidence for a PIE suffix *-ut-* or *-it-*, except in the perfect participle. Germanic has instances of suffixes of the form *-a/i/uC-*. These may partly have arisen from PIE forms in *-a*, *-i* or *-u* followed by the zero grade of suffix *-eC/C-*, but the large-scale existence of these alternations must be partly due to the existence of non-IE suffixes with this alternation. The suffix *-ont* did not occur in PIE, and cannot be explained as an ablaut variant besides IE *-ent* (Beekes 1996: 231).

3) The third substratum layer is heavily present in Germanic (see e.g. Boutkan 1998a), but there is also some material in Celtic and Balto-Slavic. As a consequence, the territory of this language may be found somewhere in Northern Europe. Kuiper (1995), who may be credited with the identification of this substratum, called it A2. In a recent article, Schrijver (2001) investigated the nature and origin of non-Indo-European words in northern IE languages (Germanic, Celtic) with cognates in Lappish and/or Finnish (Schrijver 2001). It appears that these IE and Uralic languages individually borrowed words from the A2 language, which he calls "the language of geminates".¹⁴

A highly characteristic feature of words deriving from this language is the variation of the final root consonant, which may be single or double, voiced or voiceless, and pre-nasalised, cf. Kuiper (1995: 68-72). The reason for this phenomenon is unknown, but it seems likely that the alternation found in Germanic reflects a similar alternation in the substratum language. The only regularity of this alternation is that after a long vowel apparently no geminate consonants occur. The A2 substratum cannot be Uralic, as another of its characteristics is the frequent occurrence of word initial **kn-* and **kl-*, whereas the Uralic languages do not allow consonant clusters at the beginning of the word.

The vowels are primarily *a*, *i* and *u*, apparently without preponderance of *a*. It can also be demonstrated that both disyllabic **CVCVC* formations and vocalic variation (*i* ~ *a* ~ *u*) in Germanic reflect features of this substratum language

¹² Every PIE long *ī* or *ū* derives from *i*, *u* + laryngeal.

¹³ Cf. Beekes (1996: 231) on why this ablaut must be non-IE. On the same page, Beekes observes that short vowels occur before consonant clusters (e.g. **-pt-*) and long vowels before a single consonant. Of course this distribution (lengthening in open syllable) is well known to Germanic. Thus, this distribution might have originated in a substratum, and (much later) have become a rule in the language. See Boutkan (1998a: 127-8) for a discussion on the virtual levelling of the PIE ablaut in Germanic.

¹⁴ Everyday words like *many*, *hand* and *suck* have cognates in Uralic and are identified as substratum words from A2 (Schrijver 2001: 422-3).

(Boutkan 1998a). A promising explanation for this variation is the assumption that the vowel system of the substratum language and that of Germanic did not entirely match, cf. Boutkan (1998a: 128-9). At any rate, when the central vowels were integrated into their own vocalic system, Italic, Celtic, Baltic and Slavic apparently used these vowels differently from Germanic. Continental Germanic also shows **a* ~ **e* variation, which cannot be explained by an ablaut pattern (**o* >) Gmc. *a* ~ (**e* >) Gmc. *e*.

4) The fourth substratum language is present mainly in the Mediterranean. This language, which furnished many loanwords in Greek, is called 'Pre-Greek' by Furnée (1972) and 'Helladic' by Beekes (1996). Helladic is characterised by: a) prothetic vowels, mainly *a*- (Furnée 1972: 368-378); b) vowel alternations *o/ou*, *a/au*, *i/i*. Schrijver (1991) suspects that many Latin words are loans from this substratum language.

The relation between these four substrata is not entirely clear. It may be the case that they belong to the same substratum language family, because in several instances, apparent non-IE words could be assigned to more than one substratum language. A common denominator among these substrata is the presence of the vowel **a*, which can be used as a heuristic principle.

1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEMMATA

The lemmata are diachronically structured: from contemporary Old Frisian (ca. 1300 AD) to the Proto-Indo-European reconstruction (ca. 3500 BC), spanning a period of nearly fivethousand years. With three stepping stones -- the PFrīs., PGmc. and the PIE reconstruction -- the Old Frisian etymon is taken back to its oldest reconstructable root. The information contained within a lemma has been divided up into as many meaningful fields as possible, in order to facilitate the database structure. The fields with reconstructions and cognate forms are especially important for the compatibility with the other IEED databases.

The Old Frisian etyma can be separated into four etymologically distinct types of lemmata: i. words with unclear etymology; ii. loanwords; iii. inherited Indo-European words; iv. substratum words. Below, a schematized form of the lemma structure is given with horizontal rules that define up to which point the general lemma structure is relevant for the different types of lemmata. The optional lines are marked with an asterisk.

1) lemma entry grammatical remarks; 'meaning of the word'; etymological label

— **i. Lemma with unclear etymology** —————

2)* (miscellaneous preliminary remarks)

3) Old Frisian cognates

4) Discussion of Old Frisian forms

5) PFRIS: Proto-Frisian reconstruction

 ii. Loanword

- 6a) Germanic cognates
 6b)* related Germanic reconstruction: Germanic cognates
 7) ●PGMC: Proto-Germanic reconstruction
 8)* Discussion of Germanic forms

 iii. PIE inherited

- 9a) ●PIE: PIE reconstruction POKORNY: Page of reconstruction in Pokorny

 iv. Substratum etymology

- 9b) ● No PIE reconstruction
 10) PIE cognate forms and discussion of the possible PIE reconstruction
 11)* Lit: References to relevant literature
 12)* see also: References to other relevant lemmata
 13)* notes: Numbered notes

The first line contains the lemma entry, the meaning of the word, its grammatical category and its gender. These have been taken over from the glossary by Buma (1961: 158-270), and are rarely problematic. There are three etymological labels: LW (loanword), Gmc. (only cognates in [a part of] Germanic), and PIE (a word inherited from Proto-Indo-European with cognates outside Germanic). In most cases, the label Gmc. denotes substratum words and PIE words that are inherited from the common Proto-Indo-European language stage.¹⁵ When there is doubt about the origin a question mark is added. Line (2) is optional and may contain information about the distribution of the word in R₁ or other relevant information, such as syntagmata in which the word can be found. This is the case with e.g. *bli*, *kona* and *ābēl* (cf. section "i. Lemmata with unclear etymologies"). Line (3) lists the Old Frisian cognates¹⁶ and line (4) contains a synchronic interpretation of these cognates that leads up to the Proto-Frisian reconstruction.

The following line is marked with a bullet (●). It signals that a line contains a reconstruction. The reconstructed forms themselves are always marked with an asterisk (*). For the purpose of line (5), the Proto-Frisian reconstruction, the archaic nature of R₁ is an advantage. In most cases, the R₁ form contains enough information for the reconstruction. Sometimes, the reconstruction of Proto-Frisian variants is necessary, when, for example, two variants are in fact

¹⁵ The label Fris. is used in some cases when a word is a Frisian innovation.

¹⁶ This section is somewhat problematic for two reasons. Firstly, there is no exhaustive synchronic dictionary which covers all Old Frisian material. Secondly, the alternative of checking all glossaries still gives an arbitrary result, because many of the text sources have not been published with a glossary, leaving the better part of the Old Frisian sources inaccessible. Searching through dictionaries and linguistic manuals nevertheless provides us with the most important variant forms. See, for example, the well-known variation between *gunga* and *unga*, cf. s.v. *gunga*.

competing reconstructed formations or when, as in the case of *kuic* (cf. s.v.), there seems to have been an umlaut variant *quek* in Proto-Frisian besides *kuic*. After the uniform common structure (lines 1-5), the four types of lemmata start to diverge.

i. Lemmata with unclear etymologies

The first category, the lemmata with unclear etymology, is slightly different from the other categories, because it basically consists of everything that does not belong in any of the other categories. Here, words are grouped that are already problematic apart from the discussion about their etymology. For example, Old Frisian has a number of words, of which the meaning and thus the etymology are unclear. An example is the well-known Riustringer currency term *kona*. Sometimes the discussion breaks down even earlier, at the level of philological interpretation. The lemma *bli* is an example of this, since the interpretation of the word is subject to dispute. Every lemma of this category demands an exhaustive discussion of the precise problems and possible solutions. If the problem can be overcome, the word can be placed in one of the other categories. Otherwise the etymological label in line 1 becomes a question mark.

ii. Loanwords

Loanwords are discussed up until line 6a, where the Gmc. cognates are discussed. There are some inventories of Old Frisian loanwords. The oldest survey is by Holthausen (1921: 34-39). Wollmann (1990) is of a more recent date. For every loanword, it is mentioned whether the word is listed in either of these inventories, and if so, where the word is dealt with by Wollmann. Following the Proto-Frisian reconstruction (line 5), the origin of the word is discussed. To illustrate the spread of a loanword, examples are given from other Germanic languages that have also borrowed this word. An elaborate example is *abbīt*.

iii. Inherited words

The category of inherited words contains words that have an Indo-European etymology. Following lines 1-5, the Germanic cognates are listed (line 6a). Sometimes when cognates with different root suffixation are relevant for the interpretation of the PGmc. reconstruction (line 7) these are listed with a reconstruction in line 6b. This line is usually introduced by 'cf. also'. When the PGmc. reconstruction (line 7) is problematic it can be followed by line 8, which contains a discussion of these problems.

The Old Germanic languages are relatively well accessible through the usual dictionaries and secondary literature. However, some problems may have remained untreated (and could even be incorporated into this dictionary)

due to the limited amount of time and the enormous quantity of literature. See, for example, the remark on ON *ábóti* in the 'abbit' lemma. Here, detailed research has led to a revision of the ON dictionary form listed by de Vries (1977). This kind of detailed research was not always possible within a reasonable time frame, nor was its necessity always eminent. Thus, most of the time, the standard reference works had to be relied on.

The PIE section of the lemma starts with line 9a, which gives the PIE reconstruction and the page in Pokorny (1959) on which this root can be found. Line (10) contains the IE cognates and a discussion of the IE etymology. This section incorporates many new insights of modern Indo-European comparative linguistics. The Laryngeal Theory plays an important role in the reconstructions, because it has shed new light on the interpretations of IE vocalism and ablaut. Also, whenever necessary, the Balto-Slavic accent has been incorporated, in the application of Winter's Law¹⁷ or in order to assign an acute accent to an original laryngeal in the root. Often, these new insights lead to the rejection of an Indo-European etymology, cf. s.v. *flarde*.

There have been some significant changes to the traditional 'Pokorny' notation, as for example, the reconstruction of the laryngeal. On the other hand, it is deemed unnecessary to explicitly use the glottalized consonants as long as one realizes that the spellings , <d>, <g>, <g^w> correspond to what in fact were glottalized consonants.

There are two complications, which might have led to the addition of a questionmark to the etymological label 'PIE' in line 1:

1. When it seems likely that the etymon is an inherited word, but there are still different possibilities for an IE etymology. Lemma *a-2* is an example of such a complication.
2. When there are some doubts about the IE origin. For example, when some formal details are different from what is to be expected, but a rejection of the etymology seems unnecessary. See, for example, *mār*.

iv. Substratum words

The lemma structure of substratum words differs, in comparison with the inherited lemmata, in the last part of the lemma, the PIE section (line 10) and often in the inclusion of line 6b with related Gmc. reconstructed roots. Instead of a full discussion of the Indo-European etymology or possible solutions, the Proto-Germanic etymology (line 7) is followed by line 9b, which generally states that there is no certain IE etymology. The next line, (10), contains a discussion which tries to disprove the alleged IE etymology and/or deals with the elements that argue for a substratum origin. These elements can refer to:

¹⁷ Winter's Law constitutes vocalic lengthening and acute accent in front of voiced, and originally pre-glottalized, consonants (see Kortlandt 1988a).

1. Formal characteristics. This is the case when a word does not show the usual IE root structure, contains a radical *a, or has doublets that cannot be ascribed to IE ablaut, etc.
2. Limited geographic spread. When a word is, for example, only attested in Germanic and Baltic.
3. Semantics. Germanic has certain semantic fields which for cultural historical reasons do not have many IE counterparts. These include for example terminology of social order (landownership, marriage, parts of the laws, etc.), but also anatomy, as can be seen in *lippa*.

Although the substratum origin of the body part ‘lip’ may seem doubtful, the Old Frisian corpus does contain the words ‘beard’ (OFris. *berd*), ‘mustache’ (*kenep*, see below), ‘head’ (*hāued*, Lat. *caput*, etc.), ‘gristle’ (*gristel*), which are all substratum words. Often taboo words lead to borrowing. An example of a word that meets all three criteria is *flarde*. It has a suspicious root structure, a limited geographical spread, and belongs to the field of anatomy.

It is not always possible to assign a word to a specific substratum layer. This is the case when an obvious substratum word has no distinctive features or no feature that excludes one of the layers.

The influence of substratum forms is far more pervasive than was thought a couple of decades ago. Pokorny’s dictionary, for example, contains an unexpected wealth of substratum material – even etyma that are recorded only in a single PIE language are listed under a reconstructed root. Most of these etyma belong, suspiciously enough, to the Germanic branch. Sometimes even Pokorny had doubts about the IE origin of an etymon, as can be seen in the lemma *klętsic*.

References

Finally, all lemma types may contain references to the secondary literature (line 11) or references to other relevant lemmata (line 12). The literary references to the secondary literature mainly refer to literature on specific fields of research. For example, when dealing with strong verbs, there will be a reference to the place where this particular verb is dealt with in Seebold (1970), cf. *bręda*. These can be followed (line 12) by possible internal references to relevant lemmata. The semicolon in the list of references indicates different ranges of related lemmata. The final line, (13), is optional and may contain numbered notes to the lemma under discussion.

1.4 FROM MANUSCRIPT TO DICTIONARY

The sole purpose of this section is to give insight into the choices made while finalising the dictionary. The only tangible evidence on how Boutkan designed the work on the dictionary can be found in Boutkan (1998c), which is an article

based on a lecture. Most of the explanations (given in section 1.3) on how the dictionary works has been distilled from the manuscript itself. Revising the manuscript took from May 2002 to July 2003. The work was complicated by the fact that Boutkan had worked on several versions of the dictionary¹⁸ simultaneously, which meant that all differences had to be carefully judged so as to determine which one would end up in the final manuscript.

In order to create one definitive text from the four different versions, a PDF (Portable Document Format) version was made from the WordPerfect 5.1 files in Boutkan's legacy. After the index markers were added automatically with a Python script, the PDF and the two paper versions were manually collated against the database version. During this phase of edition, all citations were replaced by ConT_EXt bibliographical markers, which made it possible to create one coherent citing regime throughout. The bibliography itself is now generated from a bibliographical database. The bibliographical markers also structured the verification of citations and their representation in the bibliographical database.

After deliberation with the editor of the Series, Alexander Lubotsky, it was decided to use the Starling database version as a basis for the final edition. The versions up until the autumn of 2003 were typeset with L^AT_EX2e. During the final stage of typesetting ConT_EXt was used, because it had better multiple index and unicode support, and was overall more user-friendly.

During the collation phase, it appeared that there was some sort of caesura between the letters M and N. Halfway the dictionary, Boutkan had apparently adopted a more elaborate lemma design for the PGmc. database and probably planned to rework the previous letters later. In general, these structural differences are still present in the final manuscript, because they are enrichments of the original design. Lemmata in the first section (i.e. A-M) on which Boutkan's view had changed over the years have been updated accordingly. Most of these are substratum words on which he had written in various articles. Generally, these can be recognized by the Gmc. level indicator in the A-M lemmata.

Another problem was that the macros used in the WordPerfect 5.1 files were not always rendered properly, which meant that all cognates with diacritics had to be checked manually. In most cases, common Old Germanic and etymological dictionaries were used to determine the correct form. Finally, the letters N (in Dutch) and R, which had been written by Jim Holders and Han Nijdam under the supervision of Boutkan in 1997 and 1998 respectively, differed structurally from the other lemmata and needed special attention. Even though Boutkan had made some corrections on paper, the N and R lemmata needed major additional revisions with respect to both content and structure.

¹⁸ Two paper versions with numerous corrections, one version in WordPerfect 5.1 with defective diacritic macros and one Starling database version from the IEED project at Leiden University.

In October 2003, the additional lemmata were written. Although at an earlier stage a non-intervention strategy had been adopted, the manner in which Boutkan had split up and referred to the lemmata demanded that at least 65 core lemmata had to be written to further the coherence. The remaining 300 lemmata, which were either compounds with references, enclitica or proper nouns (such as religious days, proper names, etc.), could theoretically have been left out, but the reworking of the reference system (as described in section 1.3 “The structure of the lemmata”) would have taken a lot more time than adding them.

Below are lists of all the missing lemmata that were added to the dictionary. The first one contains the core lemmata and the second one contains the compound and reference lemmata.

1. core lemmata

-sek	thet 3	uwra	wertha	wisia
-seka 2	thi 2	waxa	werthma	-wisse
seke	thi 3	weddia	wester	wita, weta
self	thingath	wein	wetir	withe
sellonge	thingia	weldich	wi 1	withir 1
skilling	thredda	wera 2	widwe	withir 2
(wicht)goldis	thrimine	-werdene 1	wiene, wigenc	withume
the 2	tian	-werdes	willa, wella 1	wixle
thenne	-tin	were 3	willa 2	word
ther 1	-tinda	werka	wis 1	
ther 2	unideve	werth 1	wis 2	
thet 2	uter, utur	werth 2	wisa	

2. compound and reference lemmata

min(ne)ra	ofnima	onfa	ovirfiuchta	sante
minnast, min-	ofsla	onfest	ovirhere	sante vites di
must	ofsnitha	onfiuchta	ovirtia	sare
minnust	ofsteta	onkeme,	-s	sasc
minra	ofstonda	onkimi	sa hwsa	saxa
misededoch	onawinna	onkimi	sa hwelik	seburch
misfara	onbijen	onsitta	sa hwersa	selond
misgunga	onbijenna	onspreka	sama	sex and thri-
modermech	onbinda	onspreke	sancte Maria	tich
modiransunu	onferd	onwinna	di	sexbete
ofbreka	onhaved	opawerpa	sancte	sexmete
offlecht	Ondreusmisse	overdwa	Michales di	sexta
ofgong	onwarda	overhor	sancte Wal-	sextich
offedene	onwarda	ovir	burge di	sextin
offlive	onwardia	*ovirbelga	sane	sextinda

sigun and twin- tich	these	tohalda	undffia	urjelda
sigunda	thet 1	tohape-	undgunga	urjeva
siugun	thete 1	tohapetia	undkuma	urkapia
siugunda	thete 2	tohera	undswera	urkuma
siuguntich	thete 3	tohlapa	unfach	urlibba
siuguntin	theter	Toseka	unforwrocht	urlovia
siuguntinda	thetes	Tosemine	unfretmon	urmeldia
skillere	thetet	Tosla	ungeroch	urmod
skilling cona	theti	Tosplita	uniaththa	ursella
skilma	thetma	Tospreka	unideld	ursetta
skilmat	thetter 1	tvene	uniskif	ursitta
skilre	thetter 2	twa 1.	unlende	urskrida
skilse	thetterne	twa 2.	unriucht 1.	urstela
spethera	thettet	twa and siu- guntich	unriucht 2.	urstonda
-t	thiadfeste	twa and tritich	unriuchte	urswera
te	Thiadricus	twa and twin- tegosta	unskelda	urtia
there	Thiadrik	twa and twin- tegosta	unskeldich, -ech	urtiuga
thase	thingfretho	twa hundred	unskeldiges	urweddia
that	things(e)ne	twasla	untgunga	urwinna
the 1	thingstapul	twede	unweldich	urwixlia
thene	threddahalf	twene, twa	unwerthlike	uta
thene	thredknill(n)g	twi-	unwilla	utawerdes
thera	thredtin	twia (adv.)	unwisse	utbelda
ther binna	thredtinda	twibete	uphalda	utbiada
therefter	thria	twifald	upnema	utbreka
ther et	thria 1 s.v.	twifrethe	upriuchta	ute
therfon	thre	twiiefrethe	upstonda	utethma
therfori	thritich	twiiefde	urbarna	utfere
therinne	thriu and twin- tegosta	twiief	urbek	utfiuchta
therma	thriu s.v. thre	twiiflita	urbek	utgong
thermith	thruchkeme	twintich	urberna	utgunga
thermithi	thruchmeta	twintigosta	urbiada	uthald
therof	thruchskiata	twira	urbote	utia
theron	thruchslata	umbemeta	urbrida	utkwinka
therova	thruchstata	umberavad	urdel	utrene
therto	thruchsteta	umbethingades	urdela	utria
thertofara	thruchstet	umbewullen	urdemnesse	utrost
thertwisk	tianda	umbibir	urdwa	uttia
therumbe	-tigia	unafte	urfara	utur
therunder	toaskia	unblikande	urfella	utwach
therur	tobreka	underdenoch	urfiuchta	ved
therut	tofara 1.	underwinna	urgripa	Vitesdi
	tofara 2.	undfa	urjeld	Waldesburgedi

wapuldepene	welik	werthmond	wilire	withstonda
wardia	Wepilinge	wethere	Willebrod	wit
-waxe	wepinroft	wichtgold	willehad	-wixlia
wederwond-	werand	wids	wisdom	wlitiwlemelsa
longe	werlas	wilas	Wisura	wonspreka
wedmerk	werther	wilima	witheth	wonware
weldegia	-werthlike	wilira	withirjeld	

Early January 2004, when the first versions of the new lemmata were ready, the corrections of the review commission were incorporated into the manuscript. The review commission of PIE specialists (see “preface”) had as a working premise that only obvious errors were to be corrected. Thus, for example, even though they might in certain cases disagree with Boutkan’s views, the original explanation would be retained, provided it was persuasively supported by arguments.

In May and June 2004, the final tasks were concluded: the preface and the introduction were written, the last corrections on the indices and the bibliography were implemented, and a list of all abbreviations was generated and subdivided in meaningful categories (see “conventions, symbols and abbreviations”). Finally, the manuscript was typeset and the proofs were corrected.

CONVENTIONS, SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CITATION OF ORTHOGRAPHIC FORMS

If a language has a conventional roman orthography, this will be used except where phonetic or phonemic representation is appropriate. If the original alphabet is non-roman (as in Sanskrit, Greek, Old Church Slavic, Germanic runic inscriptions), the normal transliterations are used, with diacritics for length and (where relevant) accent. I will comment below on special conventions for some of the more exotic languages.

LENGTH

Long vowels are marked with a macron <ˉ> in all languages except Old Icelandic and Old Irish, where length is conventionally indicated by an acute: OE *gōd*, OIc. *góðr* 'good'. In general, where length is marked (as in OE, OFris., Latin, Greek, etc.) short vowels will be left unmarked: except when shortness itself is of importance, in which case a breve <˘> will be used: Lat. *stā-tus* vs. *stā-re*.

SPECIAL CONVENTIONS FOR SPECIFIC LANGUAGES

- i. *Proto-Indo-European*: *[m, n, l, r] are syllabic resonants; */H/, with or without subscript numerals, represents a laryngeal.
- ii. *Sanskrit*: <t, ḍ, ṇ, ṣ, ḷ, r> are retroflex; <ś> = /ʃ/; <c> = [tʃ]; <j> = [dʒ]; <ñ> is a palatal nasal; <ḥ> = [h]; <ḥ> = voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]; <bh, dh, gh> are breathy-voiced stops; <iṃ> = nasal with the same place of articulation as a following consonant; <ṛ, ḷ> are syllabic; <e, o> are long vowels; <ai, au> are long diphthongs; <˘> marks an accented high-tone vowel.
- iii. *Avestan*: <ȧ> = nasalized a; <x> = [x]; ϑ = [θ]; <β, δ, γ> are voiced fricatives; <c, j> (formerly <č, j>) as in Sanskrit; <ń, ŋ, ǰ> are palatalized; <-t̚> is an unreleased (i.e., the first part of) [t]; <y>, <v> are also written <ii> and <uu> respectively in a non initial position.
- iv. *Old Persian*: <c, j>, see Sanskrit; <θ> = [θ]; <x>; <ç> = [ř].
- v. *Hittite*: <s> also written <š>; <z> = [ts]; <h> (also ḫ) = [x̣].
- vi. *Tocharian*: <a> = [ə]; <ā> = [a]; <ä> = [ɨ]; further as in Sanskrit.
- vii. *Armenian*: <p^c> etc. = [p^h]; <c> = [t^s]; <j> = [d^s]; <c^c> (formerly ç) = [t^{sh}]; <č> = [t^ʃ]; <j> = [d^ʃ]; <č^c> (formerly ç^c) = [t^{shh}]; <ř> (formerly ř) = /r̥r̥/.

- viii. *Lithuanian*: <˘> = rising pitch; <˙> = falling pitch; <ˆ> = accented short vowel; <è> = long closed [e]; <ę, ą> (originally nasalised) = long [œ, a]; <y> = /i/; <ie> formerly <ē>; <uo> formerly <û>; <š> formerly <sz>; <č> formerly <cz>.
- ix. *Old Church Slavonic*: <ě> = [ɛ]; a hook under a vowel symbol as in <ę> = nasalization; <ь, ъ> as in *pit, cut*; <š> = [ʃ]; <c> = [tʰ]; <č> = [tʰʰ]; <y> = [i]; <x> see Avestan.
- x. *Old Irish*: <c> = [k]; <˘> marks a long vowel.
- xi. *Welsh*: <ll> = a voiceless fricative /l/ whereby air escapes on one side.
- xii. *Old Norse*: <ǫ> = [ɔ].
- xiii. *Gothic*: <ei> = /i/; <ai, au> (also aī, aú) = [ɛ, ɔ] before <r, h, hv>; <lv> = [xʷ]; <gg> = [ŋg]; <q> = [kʷ].

OTHER SYMBOLS

*	In historical contexts, reconstructed item; in non-historical contexts, ungrammatical or non-occurring item.	→	borrowed to
		< >	graphemic representation
		[]	phonetic representation
		/ /	phonemic representation
>	becomes] or [prefixal boundaries
<	derives from	#	word boundary
~	in variation with	ø	zero
➤ or ➤	analogical replacement		
←	borrowed from		

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

Aeol.	Aeolian	Fris.	Frisian
Alb.	Albanian	Gaul.	Gaulish
Aram.	Aramaic	Gmc.	Germanic
Arm.	Armenian	Goth.	Gothic
Av.	Avestan	Gr.	Greek
Bret.	Bretonic	HG	High German
BS.	Balto-Slavic	Hitt.	Hittite
Celt.	Celtic	Icel.	Icelandic
Corn.	Cornish	IE	Indo-European
Cz.	Czech	Ir.	Indo-Iranian
Da.	Danish	Ingv.	Ingveonic
Du.	Dutch	Ir.	Irish
EModE	Early Modern English	Langob.	Langobardian
F	French	Lapp.	Lappish
Fi.	Finnish	Lat.	Latin

Latv.	Latvian	OLith.	Old Lithuanian
LG	Low German	ON	Old Norse
Lith.	Lithuanian	ONorw.	Old Norwegian
MBret.	Middle Breton	OPers.	Old Persian
MCorn.	Middle Cornish	OPruss.	Old Prussian
MDu.	Middle Dutch	OR	Old Runic
ME	Middle English	ORuss.	Old Russian
MHG	Middle High German	OS	Old Saxon
Mr.	Middle Irish	Osc	Oscan
MLG	Middle Low German	OSwe.	Old Swedish
MLG °	Middle Low German from Lasch et al. (1933)	OWFris.	Old West Frisian
Mod.	Modern	P-	Proto-
MWelsh.	Middle Welsh	PDE	Present day English
NGmc.	North Germanic	PFris.	Proto-Frisian
NHG	New High German	PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
Norw.	Norwegian	Phryg.	Phrygian
NWGmc.	Northwest Germanic	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
OBret.	Old Bretonic	Pol.	Polish
OCorn.	Old Cornish	PWGmc.	Proto-West-Germanic
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Rom.	Romance
ODan.	Old Danish	Russ.	Russian
ODu.	Old Dutch	SCR.	Serbo-Croat
OE	Old English	Skt.	Sanskrit
OEFrisk.	Old East Frisian	Swe.	Swedish
OFris.	Old Frisian	Toch. A	Tocharian A
OGmc.	Old Germanic	Toch. B	Tocharian B
OHG	Old High German	Umbr.	Umbrian
Oic.	Old Icelandic	Ved.	Vedic
OIr.	Old Irish	W	Welsh
OLat.	Old Latin	WFris.	West Frisian
		WGmc.	West Germanic

ABBREVIATIONS OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS, SOUND CHANGES, ETC.

A	accusative	cl.	class
abl.	ablaut	comp.	comparative
adj.	adjective or adjectival	conj.	conjunction
adv.	adverb(ial)	D	dative
anom.	anomalous	def.	definite
art.	article	demon.	demonstrative
C'	consonant	denom.	denominative
card.	cardinal	deverb.	deverbative
cf.	confer	Dial.	dialect(al)

e.g.	exempli gratia	pers.	personal
encl.	enclitic	pl.	plural
esp.	especially	poet.	poetic
et al.	et alii	poss.	possessive
etc.	et cetera	p(p).	page(s)
f(em).	feminine	ppp	past passive participle
ff.	following	pref.	prefix
fig.	figurative	prep.	preposition
fn.	footnote	pres.	present
G	genitive	pret.	preterite
H	any laryngeal	pron.	pronoun
hap.	hapax	ptc.	participle
I	instrumental	q.v.	quod vide
ibid.	ibidem	R	Resonant
id.	idem	red.	reduplicating
i.e.	id est	refl.	references
ind.	indicative	refl.	reflexive
indef.	indefinite	rel.	relational
inf.	infinitive	s	singular
intr.	intransitive	sb.	somebody
lit.	literally	scil.	scilicet
loc. cit.	locus citatus	sg.	singular
LW	loan word	sim.	similarly
m	masculine	st.	stem
med.	medium, middle	sth.	something
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)	str.	strong
n	neuter	subj.	subjunctive
N	nominative	subst.	substantive
NB	Nota Bene	suff.	suffix
NL	Nomen Loci	superl.	superlative
NP	Nomen Proprium	s.v.	sub voce
num.	numeral	s.vv.	sub voce voce
obl.	oblique	swh.	somewhere
opt.	optative	UL	umlaut
ord.	ordinal	V	vowel
orig.	originally	vb.	verb
p	plural	vel sim.	vel similis
part.	participle	viz.	videlicet
pass.	passive	vs.	versus
p.c.	personal communication	wk.	weak

ABBREVIATIONS OF OFRIS. MSS. AND DIALECTS

A	Codex Aysma	J	Jus municipale Frisionum
B	Brokmer	P	Codex Parisiensis
Dr.	Druk	R ₁	Riustring 1 ms.
E	Emsingo	R	Riustring
Fs.	Codex Fumerius	U	Codex Unia
H	Hunsingo		

Old Frisian Etymological Dictionary

A

a 1.A subst. f. 'water' PIE

Recorded in Ds *Wisur-ā* NL, III, 80, perhaps in *ā-pal* 'pile as part of a sheet-piling (against water)'.

Ofris. also *ē*

NL *wisurā* most probably contains this etymon in view of *wisur-aha* and similar forms in old chronicles (von Richtofen 1840: 585). The form *ā* either represents contraction of (**ah(w)ō >*) **aho/ahu > *ao/au > ā*, or **aho/ahu > *a(h)a > ā* (van Helten 1890: 47). In the former case, we have a parallel in OE *ēa < *au* (Brunner 1965: 110). In the latter case we must assume weakening of unstressed **u/o* to **a* and subsequent contraction (van Helten 1890: 8, 55, 242). Ds *ā < *ahě* etc. or Ns used for Ds (van Helten 1890: 47, also 139). On *āpal*, cf. Micdema (1987: 178).

The OFris. by-form *ē* (also ODu. *ē*, Mod. Du. NL *Ec*) is sometimes labelled Ingveonic (e.g. van Loey 1970: 31). From a (dialect-) geographical point of view, this seems an adequate characterisation, because the form is found in both Frisian and coastal Dutch between Flanders and Groningen. However, the use of the term is quite confusing from a linguistic point of view, because it is the development **au > ā* rather than the form *ē* that is typically Ingveonic. A distribution of the OFris. monophthongisation products *ē* and *ā < *ai* has not yet been found (recently Nielsen 1983: + ref., Hofmann 1995: especially p. 28). The form *ē* has been explained as an unlauded G/Ds of a f. consonantal stem **ahw-*, cf. PGmc. **ahw-ez/-i > *ah-iz/-i > *e(h)i > OE *īe*, *ē* (Sievers 1884: 240; van Helten 1889: 237-8; cf. also Brunner 1965: 228). Alternatively, one may postulate another secondary formation containing a vowel causing umlaut, e.g. an *ich₂*-stem (= Gmc. *jō*-stem) or an *i*-stem.*

Later raising of *ē* is found in both Fris. and Dial. Du. (province of North Holland), cf. *Soerc Ie* NL, *Krommen-ic* NL etc., respectively. Further details in van Loey (1970: 31-2).

●PFRIS: **ā (< *ahu)*, **ē (i-UL)*

Goth. *ahva*, ON *ǫ́* (often spelled *ó*; later *> á*), OE *ēa*, OS *aha*, OHG *aha*, MHG *ahē(-)*, MLG *ā*, ODu. *aha*, [*Gold-]a* (NL), *Ē* (NL), Mod. Du. *Ec* (NL)

●PGMC: **ahwō*

●PIE: **h₂ek^weh₂*

POKORNY: 23

cf. Lat. *aqua* 'water'; the rest of the evidence in Pokorny (1959) is uncertain. For a discussion cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *ahva* who summarizes and gives many ref., also Schrijver (1991: 45) and Beekes (1998).

The comparison of Gmc. **ahw-* with **ǣp-/up-* (thus explicitly Sievers 1884: 240; van Helten 1889: 237-8), cf. Ved. *ǣp-* 'water', OPruss. *ape*, Lith. *ùpé* 'river' etc. (Pokorny 1959: 51-2) must be given up as pre-Gmc. **k^w* and IE **p* simply do not correspond.

The status of **ab-* in OIr. *ab*, Lat. *amnis* 'river' etc. (Pokorny 1959: 1) also

remains unclear; Wagner (1958: 69) compares the forms in *-p* as ‘... Dialektformen ein und desselben Wortes’.

Lit: Gildemacher 1990: with ref.; Lendinara 1990: 305; Beekes 1998

notes: Buma’s 1961 lemma 1) a actually contains two lemmata, i.e. A. ‘water’ and B. ‘island’.

a 1.B subst. f. ‘island’ PIE

ā-lōnd ‘island’, perhaps in *ā-pal* ‘pile as part of a sheetpiling (against water)’ OFris. also *ey(land)* ‘island’ (borrowed in ODu. *ālendi* (Wachtendonckse Psalmen), MDu., Mod. Du. *eiland* (in ODu. also *landiage* and *landei*).

In *ā-lōnd*, *ey-land*, the element *lōnd*, *land* was added later, as in Du. *wal-vis* ‘whale’, lit. ‘whale-fish’, in order to distinguish the word from homonyms, e.g. a I.A ‘water’ and *ei* ‘(female) sheep’ (Miedema 1987: 175ff.).

It remains unclear whether this element *ā-* is also found in *ā-pal* (cf. sub a 1.A). It does appear in OFris. (not R₁) *āburch* ‘dike of a polder’, *Ābert* NP (Miedema 1987: 177-8).

●PFRIS: **ā* (< **awj-*)

Gmc. *-avia* by classical authors, e.g. *Sca(n)dinavia* Plinius, also *Oium*, *Auha* NL (Jordanes), ON *ey* ‘island’, OE *ī(e)g*, *ēg(lond)*, OHG *-ouwa*, *-awa*, MHG *o(u)we*, MLG *ou(we)*, *oy(e)*, ODu. *ōi*, *owe* ‘meadow, peninsula, river’, HG *Aue*, also OSwe. *agh-borre*, *ā-borre* ‘(river)bass’, MDu. *ouwe*, *ooy* ‘meadow’, Mod. Du. (*land*)*ouw*, *ooi*.

Perhaps, the attested variants arose in different phonological environments (Miedema 1987: 175-6, after Rooth):

(1) **awi* > **ewi* (i-UL) > *ei* in OFris. *ei-lond*;

(2) **aw#j-* > *auj-* > OFris. *ā*, ODu. *ōi* (> MDu. *ooy* etc.) (no i-UL and monophthogisation of **au*);

(3) **a#wj-* > **awwj-* > MDu. *ouwe* etc., HG *Aue* (WGmc. gemination).

Similarly van Loon (1986: 48).

●PGMC: **a(g)wjō*

●PIE: **h₂ek^{w-}*

(cf. sub a 1.A)

a- 2 subst. f. ‘law’ PIE [?]

recorded in *ā-fte* ‘legal’, *ā-sega*, *ā-siga* (lit.) law-sayer’

OFris. also *ē*, *ēwe*, *ēwa*

I assume an original i-st. **a_wiw-i-* > **āwi-* > OFris. *ē*, OE *ǣ(w)* (Brunner 1965: 116).

OFris. *ā-* arose in the non-unlouted oblique case forms, e.g. Ds **a_wiwai* < **a_wiwei* (cf. also Steller 1928: 14). By-forms *ēwe*, *ēwa* < **a_wijōn-* (van Helten 1890: 24, Steller 1928: 22).

●PFRIS: **ā*, **ē* (i-UL)

OE *ǣ(w)* ‘law, marriage’, OS *ēo*, *ēwa* ‘law’, OHG *ēwa*, ‘law, marriage’, MHG *ēwe*, *ē*, MLG *ēwe*, *ē*, ODu. *ēwa* ‘law’, MDu. *ēwe*, *ee* ‘law, marriage’.

●PGMC: **a_wiw-i-*

• No certain IE etymology.

It is difficult to connect the Gmc. forms with Lat. *aequus* 'equal, fair' (cf. Walde and Hofmann 1938-1955, especially Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v.; pace de Vries 1992, Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *echt* 1.).

At first sight, a connection with Skt. *yóh* 'hail!', Av. *yaož-daδāiti* 'makes holy', Lat. *iūs* < OLat. *ious* < **ieuos* [s-st.] would seem an attractive alternative (perhaps also Alb. *jē* 'permission', cf. Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v. *iūs*, p. 11; on the etymology, cf. also Schrijver 1991: 273, Walde and Hofmann 1938-1955 s.v. *iūs*), but the formal complications cannot be overcome. PIE **h₂ieuos* would yield PGmc. **jawaz*, which form shows the wrong vocalism in the stem; moreover, it would have retained **j-*. The assumption of Schwebelaut in **h₂e/oiuos* > PGmc. **aiwaz* >> **aiwez* (after the oblique stem **aiwez-*, as in OE, cf. Boutkan (1992: 14) > **aiwiz* (joins i-stems) yields the right result but is *ad hoc*. Similarly Seebold 1981: 92 (after an idea of Hirt), but not in accordance with modern insights as to IE ablaut.

Pace Seebold (loc. cit.) and e.g. Lendinara (1990: 294), Lehmann (1986) s.v. *aiws* (+ ref.), the meaning 'law' is not to be regarded as a semantic specialisation of PIE **h₂ei-u-* 'long time' (Pokorny 1959: 17-18 '*Lebenskraft*'), as attested in Goth. *aiws* 'time, eternity', ON *ævi*, *æfi* 'life, age', OHG *ēwīn* 'eternity' etc.; on this etymon cf. a 3. Overlapping meanings in OHG and in OFris. *ēwelik* 'forever' next to *ewc* 'law' (von Richthofen 1840: 584) simply are due to homonymy of two different words (thus explicitly Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *echt*, Walde and Hofmann 1938-1955 s.v. *iūs*). The latter suggest connection with *(*h₁*)*ei-* 'go', cf. **h₁oi-uo-* > Skt. *éva-* 'Gang, Sitte' (Pokorny 1959: 293-7, esp. 295-6); although this is a single correspondence, it seems attractive.

see also: *aftc*, *asega*, *asiga*

a 3 adv. 'in any case, under all circumstances; every time, whenever; in both the one and the other instance' PIE

Also in: *ā-hwedder* 'either', *ā-(u)wet* 'something'

OFris. also *ē, ī*

OFris. variants are distributed according to the occurrence of i-UL: *ē* (> *ī*) < **aiw-iN* (i-st.; cf. OE *æ*, Goth. *aiws*) next to *ā* < **aiw-aN* (o-st.; OE *ā*), cf. van Helten (1890: 23). In spite of the claim made by von Richthofen (1840: 585), *ā* occurs as a separate word, e.g. ... *thet hi a umbe thet hus sextich merk selle...* (VIII, 16) '... so zahle er jedesmal für das Haus sechzig Mark...' (translation from Buma and Ebel 1963: 79; in this connection cf. also Oosterhout 1969: 90).

•PFRIS: **ā*

Goth. (*ni*) *aiw* '(u)ever', ON *æ*, *ei*, *cy*, OE *ā*, *ō*, OS *ēo*, *io*, OHG *io*, MHG *ie*, *i*, MLG *io*, *ie*, *ī*, *jē*, *jī*, ODu. *io* 'always', MDu. *ooit* < **ō-jet* (?; cf. de Vries 1992 s.v.).

•PGMC: **aiw-*

•PIE: **h₂ei-u-*

Lat. *aevum* 'time of life, eternity' < *h₂eiu-o-, Skt. *áyu-*, Av. *āiiu-* 'life (time), etc.' < *h₂oiu-, Goth. *aivs* < *h₂oiu-is, etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294; Oosterhout 1969

see also: abel, ahwedder, a(u)wet, ewich

a 4 prep., adv. 'in, to, at' PIE

as adverb recorded in combination with *ther* 1: *thera* 'therein'

●PFRIS: *a

Goth. *ana*, OR *ana*, ON *á*, OS *ana*, OHG *ana*, MHG *ane*, MLG *āne*, ODu. *ana*, MDu. *ane*, *acn* 'at, in, upon'; beside:

OR *an*, OE *an*, *on*, OS, OHG *an*, MHG, MLG *an*, ODu., MDu. *an*

●PGMC: *anē (beside *an-V)

A group of adverbs/prepositions shows the correspondence Goth. -a/ OR -a/ ON -o/ OE -e/ OS -a, -e/ OHG, ODu. -a. This suggests that they are to be derived from forms in *-ē, i.e. old instrumentals (Hollifield 1980b: 145-6, Boutkan 1995: 383-4). The group of forms lacking the second vowel can either represent originally enclitic use of the long forms (as to Runic e.g. Gutenbrunner 1951: 42) or another formation, cf. Av. *ana* 'over', *anu* '(according) to' etc., Gr. *aná* etc. with short final vowel (cf. further Schmidt 1962: 203ff., also Lehmann 1986 s.v. *ana*).

PFRis. **an < *anV or enclitic *anē would, however, not lose its final vowel unless the form was unstressed (Steller 1928: 26). In view of the by-form OFris. *an*, *on* (q.v.), we have to assume a PFRis. doublet *án ~ (enclitic) *a(n), yielding *on/an* and *a* respectively.

●PIE: *h₂en-eh₁ (next to *h₂en-V/H)

POKORNY: 39-40

cf. Gr. *ánō* 'to above' (adv.), next to *aná* 'on, along, to above' and above Av. forms.

a- 5 verbal prefix 'cf. German 'ur-', orig. 'out' PIE

recorded in *alíknia*, *onawinna* (q.v.)

●PFRIS: *a-

Goth. *uz-*, ON *ór-*, *or-*, *ur-*, OE *or-*, OS *or-*, *ur-*, OHG *ur-*, *ir-*, *ar-*, MHG *er-*, *ur-*, MLG *er-*, *ir-*, *der-*, *or-*, OFris. *ur-*, *or-*, ODu. *ur-*, *a-* MDu. *o(o)r-*; beside: (unstressed) OS, OE, OFris. *a-*

●PGMC: *uz-

The sibilant *-z was lost in Ingeveonic unstressed forms but retained as *r* elsewhere, hence preverbal (= unstressed, cf. Prokosch 1939: 119, 138) OS *ahēbbian*, OE *ahēbban* (OHG *arheffen*) 'lift up' beside (stressed) OS *urdēli*, OE *ordāl*, OFris. *ordēl* (OHG *urteil*) 'judgment' (van Loon 1986: 117). The vowel was short /a/, cf. Campbell (1959: 13, 31), van Helten 1890: 81 (pace Gallée and Lochner 1910: 118). This can be concluded from OHG *ar-* < *az-, because in OHG *z was retained as *r in short monosyllables, cf. *mir* 'me', *wir* 'we' but lost in long monosyllables, cf. *kuo* < *kō 'cow' etc. Thus, the retention in *ar-* shows that the preceding vowel was short. Ingeveonic is inconclusive, cf.

OE *me, we, cū* with general loss of *-z (Jones 1979: 197).

The OHG variants *ir-, ar-* can hardly represent old ablaut forms and probably indicate weakening of the vowel: /ər-/ (Braune and Eggers 1987: 76).

●PIE: *uts-

POKORNY: 1104

The PIE etymology has been subject of dispute, cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *us* with refl., cf. Av. *us* (< *uts) vs. Skt. *úd*.

see also: *alikhnia, onawinna, ur-* 4.

a- 6 = *a- 5.*, but supposedly added to a noun in *abēl* (Buma 1961 and Holt-hausen and Hofmann 1985); however cf. s.v. *abēl*.

abbit, *abbet subst. m. 'abbot' LW

recorded twice in Ns *abbit* (I, 109 for ***abbet*, cf. van Helten 1906: 174, fn. 1), Ds *abbete* (XVII, 5)

OFris. also *ebbete, abba, abbet, awete*

OFris. *ebbete* < **abbēte* shows regular fronting of the stem vowel before *-ē- (van Helten 1906: 173). This reconstructed form can regularly be derived from **abbāte* (loc. cit. fn. 2). This would imply that borrowing preceded the fronting *-ā- > *-ē- (i.e. under half-stress). The form containing *e-* being regular, *abbit* must have its *a-* after *abba*, where no fronting is to be expected (van Helten 1906: 172, Steller 1928: 10, Campbell 1939: 94-5). The vowel *a* may also have been retained since we are dealing with a loan word used by the 'learned' (Wollmann 1990: 533, fn. 83).

The alternative explanation of *a-* from a contamination of PFris. **abbut* and **ebbit* is improbable (thus van Helten 1890: 1 under reference to Paul 1879: 227), since the occurrence of *-ud* in the second syllable is restricted to OE (see below). There is no reason to assume *-*ut* in OFris., since it cannot represent an inherited ablaut form (e.g. *-*ud-* < As *-*ad-uN*, cf. van Helten 1891: sub III) given both the late date of borrowing (when the ablauting dental stems probably were no longer a productive category anymore) and the lack of ablaut in the Latin source word *abbās, -ātis*.

●PFRIS: **ebbit*

ON *abbāti, abbati* (← OE, cf. de Vries 1977 s.v. *ábóti*),¹ OE *abbud, -od, -ad*, OHG *abbat*, MHG *ab(b)et, abt*, MLG *abbet, abt*, MDu. *abbet, abd, abt*

The WGmc. cognate forms suggest a source form containing *-d(-)*, viz. Rom. *abbāde* (post-Roman era: V/VIth century) < Lat. As *abbātem* (Ns *abbās*) from Gr. *ábbas* from Aram. *abbā* 'father'.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *abt*; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *abba*; Wollmann 1990: 533 fn. 83 as to *abba*.

notes: ¹ De Vries labels this by-form *ábóti* as 'ws. volksetym. umdeutung als 'sittenverbesserer''. However, Andrea De Leeuw van Weenen informs me that the oldest Norwegian MSS have *abbote*, whereas the conjecture to *abbāti* is based on an unmotivated proposal by Sophus Bugge.

abel subst. m 'tumor vulneris; swollen scar of a wound' PIE

Always in formula: *abel and inseptha* (V 21, 34[As], 123) 'erhöhte und vertiefte Narbe' (Munske 1973: 141)

Ofris. also *apel*, *abeil*

The form *apel* must be a scribal error (von Richthofen 1840: '...entstellt und nicht mehr etymologisch verstanden.'). On the by-form *abeil*, cf. the frequent interchange <ē>/<ei>, cf. also *breid*, *brēd* 'bride' etc. (Holthausen 1924: 463; after Heinertz contra van Helten 1907a who equates *beil* and HG *Bügel*).

I found three etymologies, which all start from compounds of *a-* and *bēl* 'bump' (cf. s.v. *-bēl*); the crux is the identification of the meaning of *a-*:

(1) *a- 6*. (e.g. Buma 1961: 158);

(2) von Richthofen (1840: 586 s.v.) assumes *ā-bel* '(lit.) Wasser-Beule' = 'Eiter-Beule' ('pus-bump'), i.e. a compound with *ā-* 1.A (contra van Helten 1907a: 5);

(3) Oosterhout (1969: 94, 96) starts from *ā 3.*, assuming a meaning 'bliuwende bult' = 'remaining bump'.

I feel most sympathetic toward the last explanation as the semantics fits well the kind of bump that is meant in the text, viz. a visible, remaining scar.

●PFRIS: *ābēl

see also: *a- 3.*, *a- 6.*, *-bel*, *inseptha*

achta card. num. 'eight' PIE

Ofris. also *achte*, *acht*

The final vowel was weakened in *achte*, lost in *acht*.

●PFRIS: *ahta

Goth. *ahtau*, ON *átta*, OE *cahta*, OS, OHG *ahto*, MHG *acht(c)*, MLG *ah*, *eh*, MDu. *achte*

●PGMC: *ahtōu

●PIE: *h₃ek^hteh₃(u)

cf. Skt. *aṣṭá(u)*, Gr. *októ*, Lat. *octō*, OIr. *ocht* etc.

The Gmc. forms can be traced to one proto-form if one accepts a reconstruction *ahtōu, cf. Skt. *aṣṭaí*.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *acht 2*

achtanda cf. s.v. *achtunda*

achtandahalf cf. s.v. *achtundahalf*

achtantich card. num. 'eighty' PIE

Ofris. also *achtich*, *tachtich*

The older OFris. form must have been *achtatich (cf. OE *eahtatig*). The *-n-* can be explained from '...anlehnung an *siugun-*, **niuguntich*' (van Helten 1890: 185). Syncope in *achtich* as in *achtēn* (cf. s.v. *achtatīn*; also MDu. *achtich*). It has been generally assumed that in OFris. *tachtich*, OE *hund eah-* *tatig*, OS (*ant*)*ahroda*, MDu. *tachtich*, *tachentich* we are dealing with OFris.,

MDu. *t-* < *ant- (cf. OS) < *hund- (cf. OE). In this connection cf. Goth. '70' *sibuntehund* = *sibunte-hund*, i.e. 'of sevens (Gp) a hundred' = '70' (originally Brugmann's idea), but see below. For PGmc. *sibunt- cf. also *tihund- < *dekmt-, Gr. *dekás*.

●PFRIS: *ahtatih

Goth. *ahtautehund*, ON *átta tiger*, OE (*hund*) *cahtatig*, OS (*ant*)*ahtoda*, *achtodoch*, *achtedeg*, OHG *achtozo*, *achtozug*, MHG *ah(t)zec*, MLG (*t*)*achten-tich*, MDu. (*t*)*achtich*, *tachentich* (van Loey 1970: 153 opm. 3).

The analysis of the Germanic (especially higher) decades has yielded enormous difficulties (general overviews in Frings 1960b, Schmidt 1970; also Lehmann 1986 s.v. *tigu-). On the older discussion, cf. Streitberg (1963: 220ff.). van Helten (1906: 119) criticises the derivation *t-* < *hund and reconstructs (hardly more convincing) *ant-* < *anda- 'Ende, Grenze'. Kortlandt (1983) suggests a difference between *wīkntī '20' > PGmc. *-hund and e.g. *trikont- '30' (o-grade also in the rest of the decades) > *-hand. The long medial vowel in Goth. '70' *sibuntehund* may result from generalization of the long vowel in *fimftēhund < *penk*ekont- < *penk*e'dkont- (with glottalised *d > *h₁d). Frisian *achtatih represents the same construction as ON *átta tiger* and OE *cahtatig*, i.e. '8' + 'decade' (plural in ON).

●PGMC: *ahtōu tigu-

●PIE: *h₃ekteh₃(u) deku-/*dekmt-

POKORNY: 191-2

*deku- in Italic, cf. Lat. *decuria* 'group of ten', Umbrian *dequrier*, *tecuries* 'decuriis' etc.

*dekmt- 'decade', cf. Gr. *dekás*, Skt. *daśat-* etc.

The assumption of a PIE u-stem *deku- is only supported by Italic. Its presence in Gmc. *-tegu is rejected by Schmidt (1970: 120, also 125-6).

As an alternative, it has long been suggested that an u-stem *tegu- arose from Dp (better Ip, cf. Boutkan 1995: 204) *tegu(m)iz < *tegu(m)iz < PIE *dekmt- 'decade'. This old idea (of Brugmann) has been criticised by Streitberg (219; taken over by van Helten 1906: 115) who expected *tegu(m)iz < *amiz. The reconstruction of this latter ending as well as the reflex Gmc. *-u < *-ə (= *H) must be abandoned, however (Boutkan 1995: 98-9, 100ff.; pace Fulk 1988). Thus, the possibility of *tegu- < *tegu(m)iz etc. remains.

The ablaut of OHG *-zug* remains unexplained ('Schwundstufenbildung' [Krahe 1948b: 89] is not in accordance with modern insights on IE and Gmc. ablaut); perhaps mutual influence of *-zo* (e.g. *achtozo*) and *-zig* (originally in lower decades) yielded *-zog*, *-zug* with regular <u/o> in final syllables before consonants (Frings 1960b: 29).

see also: *achta*

achtatin card.num. 'eighteen' PIE

OFris. also *achtetēn*, *achtēn*

achtetēn shows weakening, *achtēn* shows syncope of the medial vowel followed

by simplification of the resulting geminate *-tt-.

●PFRIS: *ahtatīn

ON *attjān*, OE *eahatātēne*, *eahatātȳne*, *eahatātīene*, OS *ahttein*, *achtetian*, *achte-tein*, OHG *achtozehan*, MHG *ahzehen*, MLG *achtein*, MDu. *achtien(en)*

Basically, the numbers 13-19 are compounds in Germanic, containing the numerals 3-9 followed by 'ten' (Prokosch 1939: 288-9). Several problems of detail remain, however see Krahe (1948b: 88). As to OFris., we find a remarkable difference between the numeral '10', i.e. R₁ *tian* (cf. s.v. *tegotha*) vs. the compound R₁ *-tīn*, other MSS *-tēn*. According to van Helten (1890: 8) and (1906: 105), *tian* reflects *tehon (cf. Goth. *taihun*) or *tehan (either WGmc. *tehan [OS *tehan*, OHG *zehan*] or weakening of *tehon). Thus, *-tīn*, *-tēn* must have another origin, which is difficult to find.

It has been suggested that we are dealing with *-tīn(e)* < *-ti(h)en* and *-tēn(e)* < **te(h)en* respectively (latter form containing analogical *i* after *tian* 'ten'), cf. van Helten (1890: 117), van Helten (1906: 110). The status of these reconstructed forms is unclear, however. Hardly convincing, van Helten (1906: 110) compares the OE forms and starts from a replacement of **prī tehan* by **prī tehani*. Obviously, he assumes **tehani* > **tehen(i)*; cf. also Holthausen (1963: s.v. *tien(e)*) who derives OE *tien(e)* from **tehani* without further discussion.

Perhaps, we are simply dealing with accentual differences (with earlier vowel reduction in third syllables):

*tehan > *te(h)an > *tian
 *achtchan > *achte(h)ən > *tēn
 > *achti(h)ən > *tīn

●PGMC: *ahtōu + *tehun (tehan)

●PIE: *h₃ek₂teh₃(u) + *de₂kmt-

see also: *achta*, *-tin*

achtatinda ord. num. 'eighteenth' PIE

OFris. also *achtēndeste*, *achtiensta*, *achtēnsta*

The R₁ form in *-da* shows an older formation than the other Fris. forms (and MDu. *achtienste*), cf. also MHG *ahzehende*, MLG *achteinde*.

●PFRIS: *ahtatīnda

This is an expected *-to-formation functioning as ordinal (e.g. van Loey 1970: 155; Prokosch 1939: 292-3) of *achtatīn*, cf. s.v. *-tīnda*.

see also: *achta*, *achtatin*, *tin*, *-tinda*

achtatwintegosta ord. num. 'twenty-eighth' PIE

OFris. also *achta* and *twintegosta*, *acht end/and twintegosta*

Compound of *achta* and *twintegosta*, cf. s.vv.

In composite ordinals, both elements are connected by *and* and only the second element is a real ordinal, cf. *ēn* (=card.) and *twintegosta* etc. (van Helten 1890: 187); sim. *achta* and *twintegosta*. Crasis resulted in loss of *-a* in *achta* and

(van Helten 1890: 185), hence *achta-and-twintegosta > *achtantwintegosta, cf. *acht* and *twintegosta* (H), also *acht antvintech* (H). The R₁-form represents a reanalysis of this sequence as *achtan-twintegosta whereby the first part was replaced by the cardinal *achta*.

see also: *achta*, *twintich*, *twintegosta*

achtunda ord. num. 'eighth' PIE

Ofris. also *achtanda*, *achtenda*, *achta*

Ofris. *achtunda* (also ON *áttundi*, MDu. *achtende*) represents an innovation: the *-n-* was introduced after 'seventh' and 'ninth', cf. OFris. *si(u)gun-*, *niugunda* (van Helten 1890: 187; de Vries 1992 s.v. *achtste*). The older formation (without *-n-*) is retained in *tegotha* 'tax, tithe (lit. 'tenth')' (Stiles 1986a: 15, after Van Helten). OFris. *achta* may be attributed to ON or Middle German influence or to analogy after *fifta* (Stiles 1986a: 14 + ref.);

The by-form *achtanda* represents either weakening of more frequent *achtunda* according to the rule unstressed *-u- > *-a-, or analogical replacement of *achtu-* by *achta* 'eight' (van Helten 1890: 187). Also *achtenda* represents a weakened form containing -ə- <-e->.

●PFRIS: *ahtunda

Goth. *ahtuda*, ON *átte*, *áttunde*, *áttande*, OE *eahtopa*, OS, OHG *ahtodo*, MHG *ahzehende*, *ahtode*, *ahte*, *ahtede*, MLG *achtede*, *ahte*, *ahtedeste*, *achteste*, MDu. *acht(t)e*, *achtende*

●PGMC: *ahtud-ōN

●PIE: *h₃(e)kth₁uō-

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v.

see also: *achta*

achtundahalf card. num. 'seven and a half' PIE

Compound of *achtunda* 'eighth' and *half* 'half', cf. s.vv.

Ofris. also *achtahalf*

The form *achtahalf* must represent a later reformation after the cardinal *achta* since the meaning requires an original ordinal (see below).

●PFRIS: *ahtundahalf

ON *halfr áttandi*, OE *cahtopa healf*, MLG *achtehalf*, MDu. *achtehalf*

The formation is Gmc. It has been explained as elliptic '(seven and) the eighth half' (Buma 1969 s.v. *achtehalf*); cf. also Du. *anderhalf*, i.e. lit. '(one and the) second half' with archaic use of *ander* in the meaning 'second' (OS, OFris. *otherhalf*, OE *ōþer healf* etc.).

However, it seems more convenient to start from a meaning 'half of the eighth = 7 1/2', which has a parallel in Russian, cf. ORuss. *pol-(v)tora* '(lit.) half of the second = 1 1/2' (Lubotsky p.c.).

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *achtehalf*

see also: *achtunda*, *half*

advent <**aduent**> subst. m. 'advent' LW

●PFRIS: *advent

From Lat. *adventus* 'the coming (of Christ)', to *advenire*.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *advint*; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *advent*; Wollmann 1990: 533 fn. 83

afara prep. 'before, in front of' PIE

in: *afara thene warf (gunga)* lit. '(go = appear) in front of the court' (IV, 177).

●PFRIS: *afara

Compound of *a* 4. and *fara* 3., cf. s.vv.

cf. von Richthofen (1840: 589 s.v.), who also points to *afori* = *a* + *fori* (cf. PDE type *be-fore*, Mod. Du. *te-voren* [adv.]).

afte adj. 'in accordance with the law; married (by law)' PIE

OFRis. also *ēfte*

**ēfte* < *ēhefti-* (van Helten 1890: 117) or old umlaut-variants (cf. *a-* 2.); shortening before /ft/ yielded *efte*.

Compound of *ā-* 2., q.v., and PGmc. **hafta-*.

●PFRIS: **āfti*, **ēfti*

OS *ēhaft*, OHG *ēhaft*, *ehaft*, MHG *ēhaft*, *echt*, MLG *ēcht*, *echt(e)*, *gecchte*, MDu. *echt(e)*

●PGMC: **aiwi-* (cf. *a-* 2.) + **hafta-*

As to **hafta-* 'captus' as a suffix cf. Goth. *-hafta*s, OS *-haft*, OHG *-haft*, MHG *-haft*, MLG *-achtig*, *-chtig*, *-(h)aftig*, OWFr. *-(h)aftig*, *-heftig*, ODu. *-haft*, MDu. *-achtich*, *-chtich*, *-eftich*, *-(h)aftich*, Mod. Du. *-achtig*.

The rise of **hafta-* as a suffix may have started in syntagms where this verbal noun was preceded by a modifying Ds (Kluge 1989 s.v. *haft*), which yielded a meaning 'kept by ...; caught by ...'. Cf. also the Gmc. substantive use in ON *haftr*, OE *hæft*, OHG *haft* 'prisoner'. On complications concerning the Dutch form (probably a contamination of ODu. *-haft* and *-cht*).

●PIE: **kh₂p-tós*

POKORNY: 527-8

Lat. *captus*, OIr. *cacht* 'prisoner'

√*kh₂p-* in Gr. *káptō* 'to seize (eagerly)'

Lit: Seebold 1981: 79-81, (89-) 95-98

see also: *a-* 2., *unafte*

aga vb. pret.-pres. 'have to, ought to' PIE

The usual form is *hāga* (cf. especially Buma 1961: 51: 83x *h-* vs. 2x *ø-*) which is typical for Riustring OFris.; *h-* probably after *hebba* 'have'. Common-OFRis. *āga*

●PFRIS: **āga*

Goth. *aih*, *aigum*, ON *eiga*, OE *āgan*, OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan*, MHG *eigen*, MLG *e(i)gen* 'have, own'.

Substantivised ppp Goth. *aigin*, ON *eigin*, OE *ægen* etc. 'property' and other

formations in Pokorny (1959: 299). Note especially Lapp. *āitār* 'owner', borrowed from PGmc. *aihtēr.

●PGMC: *aiganaN

●PIE: *HiHK-

POKORNY: 298-9

Only in Ilr.:

Skt. *īśe*, *īṣṭe* 'owns, rules', *īśvará-* 'ruler'.

Av. *iśē* 'is ruler over', *isuuān-* 'ruler', *īšti-* 'property, power'.

see also: cin/cyn, haga

age subst. n. 'eye' PIE

Ofris. also *āg*, *āch*, *ōge*

Apocope yielded *āg* (Steller 1928: 43). Final devoicing yielded *āch*. The form *ōge* must be a loan; it shows the non-Ingveonic monophthongisation of *au > *ō*, cf. Mod. Du. *oog*.

●PFRIS: *agi

Goth. *augo*, ON *auga*, OE *ēage*, OS *ōga*, OHG *ouga*, MHG *ouge*, MLG *ōge*, ODu. *ouga*, *ōga*, MDu. *oghe*

All forms unambiguously point to a neuter n-stem containing the diphthong *au, which is problematic in view of the IE evidence (see below). The diphthong is absent in Gmc. cognate forms:

*ag^w- > *ag-: in OHG *ac-siuni* Tat. 'appearances' (with *g- > -k- <c> before voiceless -s-); NB in glosses also *auc-siuno* 'evidenter' with diphthong;

*ag^w- > *aw-: (regular development before [stressed?] palatal vowels, i.e. *ag^w-f-): OHG *awi-zoraht* 'openly', OE *ēawis* < *ēaw-wīs 'apparently', apparently also in OFris. *ā-*, *aubere* 'public' (q.v.), *auwia*, *āwia* 'show'.

Overview of the evidence in Lehmann (1986: s.v. *augo*) and Pokorny (1959: 776-7). It has been suggested that, according to the most probable interpretation of the development of *g^w, the stressed e-grade *ag^wén- yielded *aw-en- (Lehmann 1986 s.v. *augo*, Pokorny 1959: 777). The sequences *aw-(-én-) and *ag-(-ōn-/-on-) occurred in one paradigm, which yielded *aug-/ag- due to contamination of two stems. Later, *aug- was generalised. Influence of *aus-en- 'ear' (Goth. *auso*) is also held responsible for the spread (or even rise) of *au in 'eye', cf. also Av. *aši* 'eyes' for ***axsi* after *uši* 'ears'.

On the development of PGmc. *g^w-, cf. e.g. Streitberg 1963: 122-3 (partly after Sievers).

●PGMC: *a[u]g^w-n-

●PIE: *h₃ok^w-

POKORNY: 775-777

Skt. *ān-aks-* 'blind', *ākṣi-* 'eye', Gr. dual *ósse* < *h₃e/ok^w-i-h₁ '(two) eyes', *ōps* < *h₃ōk^w-s 'face', Lat. *oculus* < *h₃e/ok^w-el-os 'eye', Lith. *akis* 'eye'.

On the probability of *h₃ cf. Schrijver (1991: 49).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

Agrip NL 'Cologne' LW

agripinisk adj. 'from Cologne' LW

Adjectival *-iska-formation to *Agrip*, q.v.

cf. *thet pund skil wesa bi sigvun agripiniska panningon* (III, 7). The Agrippiner was a current coin, especially in the 10th century, with great prestige.

ahwedder conj. 'either' PIE

In combination with *ieftha*: *ahwedder ... ieftha ...* 'either ... or ...'

OFris. also *āuder*, *ōuder*

āuder, *ōuder* < *ā(h)wdder* < **āhwedder* (van Helten 1890: 76, 117). The form *ōuder* has a variant *ō* before *w* (van Helten 1890: 24). The geminate -*dd*-regularly arose before a following resonant after syncope (van Helten 1890: 119-120): **hwedder* < **hweddr* < **hwedr* < **hwedera*-.

●PFRIS: **āhweddri*

OE *āhwæþer*, *ā(w)þer*, *ōwþer* 'one of two', OS *io-*, *ichwethar*, OHG *iowedar*, *eo(h)wedat* 'each (of two)', MHG *ieweder*, *ieder*, MLG *iewēder*, *iet-*, *je-*, MDu. *ieweder*, *iewer*, *ieder* 'each, every'

WGmc. formation containing *ā* 3. 'ever etc.' and **hwe/adera* = Gr. *póteros* 'which of two'; o-grade in: Goth. *hwapar*, ON *hvaþarr* (?), *hvár*, OE *hwæþer* 'which (of two)'; (secondary) e-grade in: OE *hweþer*, OS *hwethar*, OHG *hwedar* 'which (of two)', MDu. *weder(...noch)* 'neither (...nor)'. The vowel of OFris. *hwedder*, *hwether* (cf. s.v. *hwedder*) represents fronted **a*.

NB: Not to be confused with OFris. *aidar*, *eider*, *eyder* (last two forms in R₁, q.v.), OE *æghwæþer*, *ægþer* (= PDE *either*), OS *gaihweþar*, OHG *cogiwedar* < **aīw-gi-hwe/adera* 'each of two'; OFris. also has *jāwedder* < **gi* + **āhwedar* (van Helten 1890: 199), cf. also s.v. *ja*- 2. < **gi* + **ā*-.

●PIE: **k^wotero-*

POKORNY: 645-6

Skt. *katarā-*, Gr. *póteros* 'which of two', Lith. *katràs* 'which of two, which one'. Pokorny (1959: loc. cit.): '... Komparativ-bildung (Beschränkung auf die wahl zwischen zwei Gegensätzen) ...' to **k^wo-*, i.e. the adjectival form of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun **k^we-/k^wi-* (Beckes 1990: 247).

aiechta prep. + subst. 'legal term in *confesso*; found guilty, having pleaded guilty' PIE

Syntagm (incidentally written as one word, e.g. IV 132) containing *a* 4. and *jechta* 2., cf. s.vv.

see also: *alla*

ak conj. 'also; as well; moreover; and; but, however; (and) if' PIE

OFris. also *ocke*

The form *ocke* may be attributed to MLG influence (Fokkema 1953: 113). Alternatively, van Helten (1907a: 10) starts from **allikē* 'gleichfalls' > **alke-/olke* (cf. *ol* next to *al*, cf. s.v. *al*, *alle* 1.) > **okke*. This explanation seems less likely to me.

●PFRIS: **āk*

Goth. *auk* 'for, also, but', ON *auk* 'also', *ok* 'and, also', OE *ēac* 'also', OS *ōk* 'and, also', OHG *ouh*, MHG *o(u)ch*, *ōch* 'and, also, however', MLG *ōk* 'and, also', ODu. *ne ōk* 'nec', MDu. *ooc*, *ōc* 'also, even, however, as well'

●PGMC: *auke

●PIE: *h₂eu-ge

POKORNY: 74

Gr. *aūge*, strengthened form of particle *h₂eu, Gr. *aū*, -*tc*, -*tis*, 'again', Lat. *aut* 'or', *autem* 'on the other hand' < *h₂eut(i) (Schrijver 1991: 48) etc. The assumption of (influence of) an imperative *auke from *aukanaN (cf. s.v. *aka*) has now been given up (Lehmann 1986 s.v. *auk*).

aka verb 'increase, enlarge' PIE

Only attested in strong ppp *aken* (IV, 36)

●PFRIS: *āka

Goth. *aukan*, ON *auka*, OE *īecan* (*īecian* 'abound'), OS *ōkian*, OHG *ouhhōn*, MHG *ouchen*, MLG *ōken* 'increase', ODu. **ōkon* in *geōcodion* 'cause to increase'

Different verbal formations to a root *auk- 'increase', cf. also

*wahsjanaN: Goth. *wahsjan*, ON *vaxa*, OE *weaxan*, OS, OHG *wahsan*, MHG *wahsen*, MLG *vassen*, OFris. *waxa* (q.v.), MDu. *wassen* 'grow'

●PGMC: *auk-

●PIE: *h₂eug-

POKORNY: 84-85

e.g. in Lat. *augeo* 'increase, augment, let grow', Lith. *áugti* 'grow'; Skt. *ójas* 'strength' < *h₂eug-es-; Gr. *ácksō* < *h₂ueg-s- 'increase', NB o-grade in OFris. *waxa* < *waksanaN < *h₂uog-s-, Goth. *wahsjan* etc., cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. Lit: Lendinara 1990: 307

see also: *walduwaxe*, *waxa*, -*waxe*

al, alle 1 adj. 'all' PIE

OFris. also *ol*

The form *ol* is also found in coastal (Old, Middle and Modern) Dutch and can be ascribed to the velarising effect of the following /l(l)/ (in this connection also Weijnen 1966: 202).

●PFRIS: *all-

Goth. *alls*, ON *allr*, OE *eall*, OS, OHG, ODu., MHG, MLG *al*, ODu. *olla* 'omnes', MDu. *al*, *ol* (*all-*, *oll-*) 'all'

To be derived from a pronominal element *al- (not from *al- 'grow', cf. s.v. *ald*). The geminate suggests *alla- < *al-na-, which is generally thus reconstructed; next to *al-a- in *Ala-teivia*, *Ala-manni* NP etc. Jod-formation in Goth. *aljis* 'other', cf. OFris. *el(i)lend*, OS *eli-lende* 'exile' etc. (lit. 'other+country').

●PIE: *h₂ol-no-

POKORNY: 25

Lat. *ollus* 'ille' < *h₂ol-no-, cf. OCS *lani* 'last year' < *olnī < *h₂e/ol-; adjectival formation to a pronominal element *h₂el- 'darüber hinaus' (Pokorny 1959: 24-5), also in Gr. *állos*, Lat. *alius*, Goth. *aljis* 'other'; probably OIr.

huile < **oljo-* < **h₂ol-*. The ablaut grade **h₂ol-* also in Lat. *ultrā* 'beyond', *uls* 'on the other side' in view of OIr. *ol* 'beyond' (Schrijver 1991: 68).

see also: *al, alle 2., ili- 2., ililende*

al, alle 2 adv. 'wholly, completely' PIE

adverbial use of *al, alle 1., q.v.*

ald adj. 'old' PIE

Ofris. also *old, au(l)d, al, ol*

The form *old* (E) may be due to LG influence (cf. MLG *ocke* E for **āk*, cf. s.v. *ak*); similarly *ol* /*ōl*/ < **old* < **ald* (Lasch 1914: 67) and *al* (if not due to writing errors, von Richthofen 1840: 596 s.v. *ald*). The spellings <*auld*>, <*aud*> (also MLG *auld*, Lasch 1914: 70) indicate the velar character of /*l*/ (Steller 1928: 25).

●PFRIS: **æld*

Crimean Goth. *alt*, ON comp. *eldri*, superl. *elztr* (to *gamall*), OE *eald*, OS *ald*, OHG, MHG *alt*, MLG *alt, olt, ōlt, ol* (<*auld*>, <*ould*>), MDu. *out*. The original stem vowel is 'broken' to *ea* in OE. On MLG *o* see above. MDu. *out* < **old*. All dialects point to the dental **-d*. A different formation is found in Goth. *alpeis* < **alp-ias*. Original meaning 'grown up', cf. cognate verb **alanaN* in Goth. *alands* 'nourished', ON *ala* 'beget, feed', OE *alan* 'grow up'.

●PGMC: **ald-*

●PIE: **h₂[e]l-*tos

POKORNY: 26-7

Gr. *ánaltos* < **n-h₂lto-* 'insatiated'. Gmc. has analogical e-grade in the root, cf. also Lat. *altus* 'high' (if originally meaning 'grown up'), *ad-ultus* 'grown up'; verbal noun (> Gmc. *ppp*) to √*h₂el-* 'feed, grow' [Pokorny 1959: 26-7], Lat. *alō*, OIr. *-ail* 'feed' and Gmc. verbs quoted above.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *ald*; Lendinara 1990: 307

see also: *aldera, aldir-*

aldafeder subst. m. 'grandfather' PIE

Ofris. also *älde-, äld-*

älde- is a weakened form of *älða-* (weak adj. ending; Steller 1928: 42); *äldfeder* shows syncope (or *äld* as the strong m. Ns).

●PFRIS: **aldafedir*

Compound (originally a syntagm adj. + subst. NB members written separately in *R₁*) of *äld* 'old' and *feder* 'father', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *ealdefæder* (next to *ealdfæder* 'ancestor'), OS *aldfader*, OHG *altfater*, MHG *altvater*, MLG *ölde(r)vāder, alder-, elder(e)-, ölt-*, MDu. *outvader*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

aldemoder subst. f. 'grandmother' PIE

Ofris. also *äld-*

äldmöder shows syncope (or *äld* as the strong f. Ns).

●PFRIS: **aldimödir*

Compound (originally a syntagm adj. + subst. NB members written separately in R₁) of *āld* 'old' and *mōder* 'mother', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *ealdanōdor*, MLG *ōldermoder*, *elder(e)-*, *-mūder*, MDu. *oudemoe-der*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

alder, (alther) adv.; conj. 'then, at that time; when, if, in case that' PIE conj. in *alder... after* 'whereafter'

●PFRIS: *alpēr

Compound of *al*, *alle* 2. and *ther* 1. (-*der*), cf. s.vv.

Also cf. MHG *aldā*, MLG *aldār*, MDu. *aldaer*

aldera subst. n. plural 'parents' PIE

Ofris. also *elder-*, *ielder-*

The cluster *ld* may partly check umlaut, hence *ālder-* /*ālder-*/, elsewhere *elder-* < **ældir-* (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX); *ield-* shows OWfris. breaking of /e/ (e.g. Sjölin 1969: 24).

●PFRIS: *ældira

Neuter plural form of the comp. **aldir-* < **iz-* < **is-* of *ald* 'old', cf. s.v.

The use of this comparative form in order to denote the meaning 'parents' also in:

OE (*ealdor-*) *ieldran* (also *caldras*), OS (*aldiro*) *eldiron*, OHG *altiron*, *eltiron*, MHG *altern*, *aldern*, *eltern*, MLG (*older-*) *olderen*, *aldern*, *elderen*, *ōlders*, MDu. (*ouder(e)*, *oudaer*, Dial. [east] *oldcr*, *clder*) *ouderen*, *ouders* etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: *ald*

alderefter rel. adv. 'whereafter' PIE

●PFRIS: *alpērefter

Compound of *aldēr*, *althēr* and *efter*, cf. s.vv.

Aldeson NL 'Oldensum' LW

aldir- comp. adj. 'older' PIE

Comparative of *āld* (<a> rather than <c> points to [æ] as a result of i-umlaut, cf. s.v. *aldera*; spelling <i> has been attributed to *Vokalbalance*.

●PFRIS: *ældir-

Used as a first member in the compound *aldirmon*.

see also: *ald*, *aldirmon*

aldirmon subst. m. 'Elderman, (lower) civil servant responsible for the inspection of dikes, roads and draining of water in a certain district (Du. *buurtschap*)' PIE

On *-ir-* rather than **-er-* (vowel balance) cf. Kock (1904: 182), who assumes dialect borrowing.

Ofris. also *ālderman*, *ielderman*

On the variants cf. also s.v. *ald*; suffix-form *-er-* represents weakening of **-ir-*; *man* represents OWfris. restoration of *a/_N* (Steller 1928: 9).

●PFRIS: **ældirmon*

Compound of *aldir-* (= comp. of *āld* 'old') and *mon* 'man'. The OFris. use of the term shows a semantic specification of an older Gmc. concept, cf. OE *ealdorman* 'dux, ruler, governor'₁ (still PDE *alderman* 'councillor'), MLG *ōlderman*, *alder-*, *elder-* 'governor of a guild or clerical brotherhood', MDu. *ouderman*, *olderman* 'governor of a city or guild'

The MLG meaning is also found in later OFris., cf. Buma (1969) s.v. *ālderman*. Lit: von Richthofen 1840: 398 s.v.

see also: *ald*, *aldir-*, *mon*

notes: 1) Andrea De Leeuw van Weenen informs me that ON *ǫldormapr*, *aldor-* 'dux, noble man' shows curious spellings *oldor-* for expected *-ur-* in early MSS already. It may be a loanword.

aldus adv. 'thus, in this way' PIE [?]

Compound of *al*, *alle* 2. (q.v.) and *dus*.

Ofris. also *althus*

The R₁-form shows the enclitic development <th> /p/ > /d/, e.g. *anda* 2. < *an+tha (several attestations, cf. Buma (1961) s.v. *thi* 2.; cf. also *althus* in R₂).

●PFRIS: **alþus*

MHG *aldus*, MLG *aldūs*, MDu. *aldus*, *aldos*, Mod. Du. *aldus* 'thus, in this way'.

The formation **þu-s* is restricted to part of WGmc.: OE *þus*, OS *thus* 'so, thus', OFris. *thus*, *dus*, MDu. *dus* 'so, thus, therefore', Mod. Du. *dus* 'so' (but 'wird auch für das Ahd. vorausgesetzt durch die Kontaminationsform ahd. as. *sus* "so".' (Schmidt 1962: 82). On the unclear origin of *-s* cf. especially (Schmidt loc. cit.). Perhaps **þu-sa* with as second element a *w*-less by-form of **swa* 'thus', cf. Goth. *swa*. The lack of *a*-umlaut is problematic, however. Rather **-se*, cf. Lat. *se-d* 'but' (also Schmidt 1962: 147). Alternative connection with the sibilant in 'this' (Ofris. m. *this(se)*, f. *thius*, *dius*, *thisse*, *dezza*) is speculative given the unclear origin of this formation itself (Franck et al. 1976: 144).

●PGMC: **þu-*

●PIE: **tu* [?]

Possibly a PIE particle (Beekes 1990: 266), but only confirmed by Skt. *tú*, *tū* 'now, but', for which etymological connection with 2s pronoun is quite probable (Klein 1982: 11). This would render the Vedic-Gmc. parallel doubtful (also Kluge 1989 s.v. *doch*). Perhaps ablauting **tou-* in OFris. *thach* etc.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. *aldus*; further ref. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *þau*.

see also: *thach*

alena adj. 'alone' PIE

Ofris. also *allēna*, *ollēna*

On the variation *o/a* before *l* cf. s.v. *al*, *alle 1*.

●PFRIS: **alēna*

Compound of *al*, *alle 2*. 'all' and *en* 'one', cf. s.vv.

Also in: l-OE *callāna*, MHG *al-cine*, MLG, MDu. *allē(i)ne(n)*. On the weak inflexion of *ēn* 'solus', cf. van Helten (1890: 200).

algadur adv. 'completely, totally; (al)together' PIE

Ofris. also *allegader*, *allegadere*

In *allegader*, *allegadere*, we find the variant *alle* of the first member, i.e. *al*, *alle 2*. (q.v.) and weakening of **u* to /*ə*/ (*gader* < **gadur*).

●PFRIS: **algadur*

Compound of *al*, *alle 2*. 'all' and *gadur* 'together', cf. s.vv.

Also in: MHG *algater*, MLG *al(lc)gāder*, MDu. *algader*, etc.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *allegearre*

alhwenne conj. 'until' PIE

Compound of *al*, *alle 2*. 'all' (q.v.) and *-hwenne* 'if; until'.

Ofris. also *alwenne*

Initial *h-* could be lost before *w* (Steller 1928: 33).

NB van Helten (1907a: 13) also compares OFris. *alhunt*, *alhound*, *alhunt*, assuming weakening of **hwe-* under weak sentence stress to *ho-*, hence *alhunt* < **alhwenne-t*; cf. also *hok* next to *hwek* etc. (also Steller 1928: 21). Van Helten states that *alhunt* (F) is a '...compromisbildung aus *alund* [vgl. Goth. *und*, DB] und *alhunt*. Aus der einwirkung von *alund* aber erklärt sich die schreibung *alhound* für *alhunt*'. The variants *-hout*, *-hunt* would show *-t* after *thet* 'that'. This interpretation is irrelevant in view of Sjölin (1970-75: 174-5), who points out that both oppositions /*h/* ~ /*ø*/ and /*u/* ~ /*o*/ were neutralised in the phonological contexts involved. This renders the quoted forms mere scribal variants of *al-unt* 'until'.

●PFRIS: **hwenne*

Contains PGmc. **hwa-* < PIE **k^wo-*, i.e. the adjectival form of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun as found in Goth. *hwas* (Beekes 1990: 247).

●PGMC: **hwan-nē*

The Gmc. clement **hwa-* < **k^wo-* is found in several adverbial formations; the most important ones are the following:

(1) **hwana*, in: Goth. *hwan* 'when?; at some time', OE *hwon* 'when', OS *hwan* 'when?', OFris. *hwan*, *hwan[ēr]* 'when', MHG *wenn*, *wan(n)* 'because', MLG° *wan*, *wen* 'when, if, as soon as', MDu. (especially eastern dialects) *wan*, *wan[neer]* 'when, if'

**hwana* < **-no*; final vowel retained in parallel formation Goth. *panamais*, OHG *dana mēr* 'further' < **pana* < **-no* (Boutkan 1995: 59-61, partly after Dal 1971: 118);

(2) *hwan-dē, in: OHG *hwanta* 'why, because', OS *hwanda*, OFris. *hwand(e)*, *hwonde*, *hwende* 'because', MLG ^o *wande*, *wende*, *want(e)*, *went(e)*, *wan*, *wen* 'because' [*want(e)*, *went(e)* also 'until'], MDu. *want(e)*, *went* 'because' [east-MDu. *wa(e)nt*, *went* also 'until']

*hwan-dē < *k^wom-d^hē-. Goth. *þan-de* requires a final dental (van Helten 1903: 564), i.e. < *-dē[t];

(3) *hwan-nē (under discussion here), in: OE *hwonne*, *hwanne*, *hwænne*, OS *hwanna*, -e, OHG (*h*)*wanne*, (*h*)*wenne*, *wenno*, OFris. (*al*)-(*h*)*wcnnc*, *hwanna*, MHG *wanne*, *wenne*, MLG ^r *wan(ne)*, *wenne*, MDu. (east) *wanne* 'when'.

*hwan-nē < *k^wom-nē, perhaps containing the PIE particle *-nē (Pokorny 1959: 321), cf. Skt. *vī-nā* [?] 'without', OCS *vъnē* 'outside', Goth. *aftana* 'from behind', OHG *obana* 'from above'; at any rate not PGmc. *-ne (thus Lehmann 1986 s.v. *hvan*), because PGmc. *-ne would have yielded *-n);

(4) *hwan-en- 'whence', in: OE *hwanon(e)*, *hwanan*, OS *hwanan(a)*, OHG (*h*)*wanana*, (*h*)*wanān*, MHG *wannān*, *wannen*, MLG *wannen*, MDu. *wanen*, *wannen*

On this formation, cf. Hollifield (1980b: 148-9).

●PIE: *k^wo-

POKORNY: 644-5

Av. *ka-* < *k^wo, Lat. *quī* < *k^wo + (deictic) *i, Lith. *kà-s*, OCS *kъ-to*, Goth. *hva-s* 'who' etc.

see also: ahwedder, eider, eyder hu, hwana, hwanat, hwande, hwante, hwas, hwasane, hwedder, hweddersa, hwek, hwelik, hwelikera honda, -hwennc, hwer, hweron, hwersa, hwersama, hwet, nahwedder

alíknia wk. vb. 2 'compare with' PIE

Compound of *a-* 5. and *-líknia*, cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 13

alla = **al a** adv.+ prep. 'all in' PIE

In *alla iechta* 'all in confesso' = 'all beyond doubt'.

Syntagm containing *al*, *alle* 1. and *a* 4., cf. s.vv.

allera (alra) adj. 'of all (Gp)' PIE

Gp of *al*, *alle* 1. used as a strengthening element by superlatives, e.g. *allera-skenast* (XX, 9) 'most beautiful', q.v.

see also: *al*, *alle* 1., *allera-erost*, *allera-skenast*, *allera-swesost*

allera-erost adv. superl. 'first of all' PIE

Syntagm containing *allera* and *erost* 2., cf. s.vv.

allera monna ek indef. pron. 'every (person), each' PIE

Syntagm containing *al*, *alle* 1. (Gp), *mon* (Gp) and *ek*, cf. s.vv.

Also weakened to *allera monnik*, q.v.

allera monnik indef. pron. 'every (person), each' PIE

Syntagm containing *al*, *alle* 1. (Gp), *mon* (Gp) and *ek*, cf. s.vv. = (enclitic) weakening of *allera monna ek*, q.v.

allera-skenast adv. superl. 'most beautiful' PIE

Syntagm containing *allera* and *skēne* (superl. *skenast*), cf. s.vv.

allera-swesost adj. superl. 'closest related; most entitled by birth' PIE

Syntagm containing *allera* and *swes* (superl. *swesost*), cf. s.vv.

allerek, alrek indef. pron. 'every, each' PIE

Syntagm containing *al*, *alle* 1. (Gp *aller(a)* or *alr(a)* respectively) and *ek*, cf. s.vv.

allesa = alle sa conj. 'just as' PIE

Syntagm containing *al*, *alle* 2. and *sa*, cf. s.vv.

alletha = alle tha adv. + art. 'all the' PIE

Syntagm containing *al*, *alle* 1. and *thi* 2., cf. s.vv.

alond subst.n. 'island' PIE

Compound of *a-* 1.B (s.v. for discussion of this word) and *lōnd*, cf. s.vv.

alrek indef. pron. 'every, each' PIE

cf. s.v. *allerek*, *alrek*.

alsa adv., conj. 'as, so, thus; as, like, when, if, because' PIE

OFris. also *olsā*, *alse*, *als*, *alsō*

On *ol* for *al* cf. s.v. *al*, *alle* 1. Shift of stress to the first rather than the second syllable (*alsá* > *álsā*) resulted in auslaut weakening: *álsā* > *alse* > *als*, also cf. the MHG, MLG and MDu. development. The variant *al-sō* shows the Du./LG variant of the second member (see below).

NB Not to be connected with OFris. *asa*, *as(e)*, *is* (thus Buma 1961 s.v., also von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *alsa*, Nielsen 1983: 157) given the lack of gemination required by the presupposed assimilation *ls* > *ss*; cf. further s.v. *asa* (van Helten 1890: 82; also van Helten 1907a: 14). On the variation *-a/-ā* cf. van Helten (1890: 45).

●PFRIS: **alsā*

OE *eal(l)swā*, OS *al(l)sō*, OHG *alsō*, MHG *alsō*, *alse*, *als*, MLG *alsō*, *alse*, *al(s)*, MDu. *also*, *alse*, *als* (especially Verwijs and Verdam 1882-1952: 361-2) 'so, thus'.

Compound of *al*, *alle* 2. 'all' and *sa* 'thus', cf. s.vv.

see also: *alsaden*, *alsafir*

alsaden adj., adv. 'such; in the same way' PIE

Compound of *alsa* 'as, so, thus' and *-dēn* 'having a certain shape (lit. 'done')', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OHG *sō gitān*, MHG *sō-(ge)tān*, MLG *alsō(ge)dān* (-den, *dānich*, *dennich*, *dennik*), MDu. *alsō(ge)daen*, *alsoe(ge)daen*.

alsafir adv., conj. 'so far (+ thet = so far that, such that); as far as, when, if, in case' PIE

Compound of *alsa* 'as, so, thus' and *-fir* 'far', cf. s.vv.

Also in: MHG *alsō ver(re)*, MLG *alsō vērn(e)*, *-verre*, *alsevēr*, MDu. *alsō verre*.

alsam = **alsa him** conj. + pron. 'as + him (III, 19)' PIE

Syntagm containing *alsa* 'as, like, when, if, because' and *hi* 'he' (Ds), cf. s.vv.

alsare = **alsa re** conj. + pron. 'as + he (III, 24 etc.)' PIE

Syntagm containing *alsa* 'as, like, when, if, because' and *-re* 1. 'he', cf. s.vv.

alsek adj. 'such' PIE

Compound of *al*, *alle* 1. 'all' and *-sek* 'such', cf. s.vv.

alsemin adv. '(al)together, totally; completely' PIE

Compound of *al*, *alle* 1. 'all' and *-semin* 'together', cf. s.vv.

altare, alter subst. n. 'altar' LW

Ofris. also *aulter*

The spelling *aul* for *al* indicates /a/ + velar /l/ (Steller 1928: 25).

●PFRIS: *altar(e)

ON *altari*, OE *altār(e)*, OS *altari*, OHG *alteri*, *altāri*, MHG *altäre*, *altære*, *älter*, *elter*, MLG *altār*, *alter*, *altäre*, *olter*, MDu. *outer*, *altaer*, *altare*.

Latin loanword *altare* introduced by the Church in order to replace 'heathen' etyma designating the place for offering, e.g. Goth. *hunslastaþs* (lit. 'offer-place'). Accent doublets OHG *älter*, MDu. *outer* /*outār*/ etc. < **ältāri* vs. OHG *altāri*, MDu. *altaer*, *altäre* etc. < **altäre*. See Wollmann (1990: 533) on the lack of fronting of *a (loanword used by the 'learned', cf. also s.v. *abbitt*). On the Latin etymology now also Schrijver (1991: 70ff.).

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *altare*, *alter*.

alterletsen subst. n. 'altar-sheet' PIE

Compound of *altare*, *alter* 'altar' and *-letsen* 'sheet', cf. s.vv.

alther adv.; conj. 'there, in; when, if, in case that' PIE

adv. in *altherova*, *altherwithir*, cf. s.vv.

By-form of *alder*, q.v.

altherova adv. 'thereon' PIE

Compound of *alder*, (*alther*) 'there etc.' and *ova* 'on etc.', cf. s.vv.

altherwithir adv. 'against that, compensating that' PIE

Compound of *alder*, (*alther*) 'there etc.' and *withir* 2. 'against etc.', cf. s.vv.

amorth = a morth prep. + subst. 'to + death' PIE

Syntagm containing a 4. 'in, to, at' and *morth* 'murder etc.', cf. s.vv.

an prep. 'to, in, at, for, on, according to, with, under, of, out, as to' PIE

Ofris. also *on*

Under weak sentence stress, the expected shift *a > o/_N sometimes did not occur (van Helten 1890: 3). The form represents the stressed by-form *án of a 4., q.v.

●PFRIS: *an

ana prep. 'in, on, to, at' PIE

Ofris. also *anna* q.v., with *-nn-* indicating short quantity of the preceding vowel. Double form *an* + *an* (also cf. OHG *an-an*, von Richthofen 1840: 603 s.v.), with regular OFris. loss of the second *-n*, cf. further s.v. *an*.

●PFRIS: *ana

and 1 prep. 'in' PIE

Ofris. also *ande*, *anda*, *end(e)*, *enda*; pref. *ond-*

The forms in *-a* are analogical after e.g. *an(n)a*, *inna*, cf. s.vv.; later weakening yielded *-ə* <*-e*> (van Helten 1890: 49). The apocoped forms represent the expected correspondence to Goth. *and* (see below). Under weak sentence stress, the expected shift *a > o/_N sometimes did not occur, hence perhaps *and-* next to prefix *ond-* (van Helten 1890: 3, but see below).

The variant *end-* represents an unlauted form, see below; (instances of) *and* may also represent this formation where unlaut yielded [æ] <*a,c*>/_*nd* (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *ond

Goth. *and* 'along, through, over', OS *and*, *ant* 'until'; pref. Goth. *and-*, ON *and-*, OS *and*, OE *and*, *ond*, OHG, ODu., MHG *ant-*, MLG *ant-*, *ent-*, *in-*, MDu. *ant-*

●PGMC: *anda

We find several cognate formations containing *and- in Germanic (details uncertain):

- (1) *anda: passim under discussion here.
- (2) *andi: OFris. prep. *end*, *and*? (see above; *end[a]* > *-c* analogical after *anda*); also unlauted 'syncopated' forms of conj. 'and' (if not simply reduction of non-syncopated forms under weak sentence stress as in a 4., q.v.): ON *enn* < *enþi 'but, and', OE *end*, [*a*]*nd*, OFris. *end*, *en*, *and*, *an* (cf. s.v. *and*, *ande* 2.), ODu. *in*, MDu. *en(n)*;
- (3) *andias: adv. ON *enn* 'still', to be connected with *endr* 'earlier'; cf. also OHG *enti*, OS *endi*, OE *end* 'earlier'; also Goth. *andizuh* 'or';
- (4) *andei: 'non-syncopated' forms of conj. 'and': OE *xendi*, OHG *enti*, *anti*, *inti*, OS *endi*, *ande*, OFris. *ende*, *ande*, ODu. *inde*, MLG *ende*, *inde*, MDu.

ende, end (on reconstruction Boutkan 1995: 66; contra Hollifield 1980a: 33);

(5) *andē: Goth. *anda* (Lehmann 1986 s.v.).

ø-grade in:

(6) *undi-: OHG *unti* 'and' (also *unt[a]* < *ē), MHG *und(e)*, *unt*, MLG *unde* 'and';

(7) *und: Goth. *und* 'up to', ON *unz* < *und es 'until', OE, OS, OHG, OFris. *und* 'until' etc. (cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *und*);

(8) *und-tē[t]: Goth. *unte*, OHG *unza* 'until';

(9) *und-tei?: OHG *unzi*, OS *unti* 'until';

(10) *und-tV: OHG *unz*, OS *unt* 'until';

(11) *und-: Goth., ON *and-*, OE *on-*, *an-*, OS *and-*, *ant-*, OHG *int-*, *ant-*, *unt-*, MHG *ent-*, MLG *ent-*, *ant-*, *int-*, *unt-*, OFris. *und-* (q.v.), *unt-* (q.v.), *untont-*, *un-*, *on-*, ODu. *ant-*, MDu. *ont-* pref.;

etc. [Pokorny 1959: 50].

●PIE: *h₂ent- [> ant-]

POKORNY: 48-50

Except the nrs. (8)-(10), the above Germanic series of forms represent obsolete paradigmatical forms of PIE *h₂ent- 'face, front' cf. Hitt. *hanza*; also Gr., Skt. *antí*, Gr. *ánta*, Lat. *antc* etc. (Beekes 1990: 263; de Vries 1977 s.v. *and-*; 102, 103 s.v. *endr, enn* 2.). As to *andias, cf. Gr. *antíos* (de Vries 1977: 103 s.v. *enn*); formally cf. OHG ioNs *hirti* 'shepherd' and cognates < *hertias. ON *endr* is a comparative of *and-* (de Vries 1977: 102). ON *enn* is best derived from the As *anþu < *h₂entm with analogical umlaut of the stem vowel (Kortlandt 1988b: 5). The coexistence of the endingless forms OE *and*, *end* etc. with the forms in -i is remarkable. We would expect i-apocope after a long stem in WGmc. forms (also Voyles 1988: 87). Therefore I derive the endingless forms from the Ls in PIE *-i (Gr. *antí* etc.) with regular apocope and umlaut (*and* has an analogical stem vowel). The long forms may represent the dative in *-ei > *-ī > WGmc. (remaining) -i. [Paraphrase of Boutkan 1995: 65-6]

With respect to 'and', the etymological handbooks often disconnect this word from the above series of cognates and compare Skt. *átha* 'then, thereupon' etc. (e.g. Pokorny 1959: 50, de Vries 1992: s.v. *en*). This etymology has now been proven untenable by Lühr (1979: 122-3). See Lühr (1979) on connection of 'and' and the other Gmc. formations (p. 120-1, + ref.; 129 on possible case forms to be connected), and on semantical details (passim).

Lit: ref. especially in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *and, und, unte*; Lühr 1979 passim on 'and'; Schmidt 1962: 310ff.

and, ande 2 conj. 'and' PIE

OFris. also *ande, anda, end(e), cnda, an, en*

On formal complications cf. s.v. *and I*; additionally, *en, an* show assimilation of *nd* (van Helten 1890: 94).

●PFRIS: *andi, *andi

cf. s.v. *and I*. Gmc. formations (2) and (4).

anda 1 prep., conj. 'to' PIE

By-form of *and 1.*, q.v.

anda 2 = an tha prep. + art. 'to the' PIE

Syntagm containing *an* 'to etc.' and *thi 2.* 'the', cf. s.vv.

ande conj. 'and' PIE

By-form of (*and,*) *ande 2.*, q.v.

andere = an there prep. + art. 'to the' PIE

Syntagm containing *an* 'to etc.' and *thi 2.* 'the (Dsf)', cf. s.vv.

andern subst. n. 'window' PIE

Only attested in Ap <auderna> misspelled for *anderna

OFris. also *andren*

This by-form shows the typical metathesis in the sequence *ern (van Helten 1890: 81).

●PFRIS: *andern

Compound of *and- 'breath' and ***dern* 'door', cf. van Helten (1889: 232).

As to *and-, cf. ON f. *þnd* 'breath, soul', m. *andi*, *-endi* 'breath, spirit'; OE *or(o)þ* < *uz-anþ-a-, also *ōþian* 'breathe hard' < *anþ-ōj- (de Vries 1977: 9, 687); raising of *a to e is checked by the cluster *nd*.

Another OFris. formation is *omma* (q.v.), *amma* 'breath' < *an-man, cf. Goth. (*uz*)*an-an* 'breathe one's last' (also Lendinara 1990: 293); Skt. *āniti* 'breathe', Gr. *ánemos*, Lat. *anima* 'breath, spirit', *animus* 'spirit' etc. PIE *h₂en_h1- (Pokorny 1959: 38-9, Schrijver 1991: 91, 198, 317).

As to *dern*, this (unlauted) form is to be derived from the diminutive *durīn, a formation containing *dur-, also attested in the usual Gmc. word for 'door', i.e. *dur-, OFris. *dure*, *dore* 'door', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *amme*; Lendinara 1990: 293; Lendinara 1991

andlofta ord. num. 'eleventh' PIE

Expected *-to-formation functioning as ordinal (e.g. van Loey 1970: 155; Prokosch 1939: 292-3) of *andlova* 'eleven', q.v.

andloftahalf card. num. 'ten and a half' PIE

Compound of *andlofta* 'eleventh' and *half* 'half', cf. s.vv.

On the construction cf. s.v. *achtundahalf*.

andlova card. num. 'eleven' PIE

OFris. also *clleva*, -e, *clleve*, *clleven*, *elvene*, *cllewa*, *allewa*, *al(le)wene*, *alwena*, *alven*

clleva, -e shows assimilation of -nl- to ll (van Helten 1890: 83) and shortening of ē- < unlauded *ain-; non-unlauded form in *allewa*, *al(le)wene*, *alwena*, *alven* due to influence of *ān* 'one' < *ainas (van Helten 1890: 24). No shortening in *clleve*; -e weakening of older -a < *-an after *tehan 'ten', see below. Further

extension in *elleven*, *elvene* (with syncope < **elevene*), *al(le)wene*, *alwena*, *alven*. The occurrence of *-w-* for *-v-* is due to the OFris. merger of /*v/* and /*w/* in inlaut after vowel, cf. Sjölin (1969: 29). On the *d*-epenthesis in *an-d-lova*, cf. van Helten (1890: 93).

●PFRIS: **ēnliva*

The current assumption of a compound of **ain-* 'one' with a neuter noun **lik^{w-}* (cf. van Helten 1906: 106) is based on parallel formations in Baltic: OLith. *liekas* 'eleventh', *antralikas* 'twelfth', Lith. *vienúlika* 'eleven', *dvylika* 'twelve' (and secondarily *trylika* etc.). The comparison yields difficulties (Beekes 1990: 255). Lehmann (1986) s.v. **ainlif* assumes **lik^{w-}* > PGmc. **lig^{w-}* > **lif* in 'twelve' under influence of the preceding *w*, cf. also Goth. *wulfs* < **wulk^{was}* etc. (Prokosch 1939: 74 + ref.), with later spread to 'eleven'. The second member belongs to the PIE root **leik^{w-}* 'leave', cf. Gr. *leípō*, Lat. *linquere*, Goth. *leihvan* etc. (Pokorny 1959: 669-670): **ain-lif* = 'one left (after 10)' = 'eleven'.

Goth. *ainlibim* (vs. OHG *einlif* in Gramm. Wechsel); OE (Northern) *ælfef*; OHG *einlif*, MHG *einlif*, *-lef*, *cillif*, *eil(e)f*

Extensions:

*-an: (after **tehan* 'ten'): OE *en(d)lifan*, *æn(d)-*, *en(d)lefan* (NB i-UL first member) OS *ēlevan*, *cllevan*, MDu. *elleven*, MLG *el(le)ven*, OFris. *andlova*, *allewa*, *ellewa*, *elleva*, *-e*

*-un:

after 'ten': ON (Oic.) *ellefo* (cf. **tiu*);

after 'seven', 'nine': OE *endlufon*, *-lyfon* (also *endlufan*, *-lyfan*)

Forms with **-u-* instead of **-i-* ('... Entwicklung von *u* aus *i* in mitteltoniger Silbe vor spirantischem Labial ...' van Helten 1906: 107): OE *endlufon*, *-lyfon* (also *endlufan*, *-lyfan*), OFris. *andlova*, ONorw. *ællugu* (with **-g-* pointing to an original labiovelar; also Noreen 1923: 183), OSwe. *ællovo*, ODan. *ælluvæ* I doubt Van Helten's *ad hoc* rule. It is interesting to note that Riustring often shows *u/o* in suffixes where other OFris. dialects show other vocalism, e.g. *ungeroch* 'under age, minor', elsewhere *-gerich* etc. New paradigmatical ablaut patterns may have arisen in Germanic, after which different dialectal generalisations of variants followed (e.g. in the word for 'hero', Boutkan 1995). Furthermore, there might be traces of Germanic ablaut of non-IE origin, cf. in this connection also Beekes (1994: 5-6).

●PGMC: **ainlif-*

●PIE: **Hoi(H)n-o-* + **lik^{w-}* POKORNY: 670, on Lith. and Gmc., see above.

angel subst. m. 'angel' LW

OFris. also *engel*

The cluster *ng* could partly check i-UL (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX), hence *angel* next to *engel* — alternatively we can assume rebuilding of the unlauted form after the Latin word.

●PFRIS: *ængel; *angel?

From Goth. *aggilus*, borrowed from Lat. *angelus* 'angel', in its turn borrowed from Gr. *áγγελος*.

We expect raising of *-el- to *-il- only in Goth. (Boutkan 1996: 72ff.). The Goth. form must therefore underlie the forms in the other Germanic languages: ON *engell*, OE *engel* (i-UL), OS, OHG *engil*, MHG *engel*, etc. We can assume that Arian (= Goth.) mission brought the word to Germany from where it spread further (de Vries 1992 s.v. *engel*).

Lit: Wollmann 1990: 511

Angelond NL 'England' PIE

Compound of *-lōnd* (q.v.) and *Angel-*.

●PFRIS: *ængel(l)ond

The first member — as expected formally identical with the Ns, cf. Steller (1928: 18) — refers to the Anglians, one of the invading tribes in Great-Britain during the migration age, cf. OE *Engle*, *Englan* (also *Engla-land*), ON *Englar*, OHG *Angil-*, *Engil-* in names; also Lat. sources *Anglii*, Gr. sources *Agg(c)íloi*. Note the partial umlaut to [æ] <a>/_ng, cf. also s.v. *angel*.

anna prep. 'in, on, to, at' PIE

By-form of *ana*, q.v.

anta = and tha conj. + art. 'and the' PIE

Syntagm containing *and*, *ande* 2. 'and etc.' and *thi* 2. 'the (Dsmn)', cf. s.vv.

antes = and thes conj. + art. 'and the' PIE

Syntagm containing *and*, *ande* 2. 'and etc.' and *thi* 2. 'the (Gsmn)', cf. s.vv.

antha = an tha prep. + art. 'to the' PIE

Syntagm containing *an* 'to etc.' and *thi* 2. 'the (Asf, Dsn, Dpf)', cf. s.vv.

anthere = an there prep. + art. 'to the' PIE

Syntagm containing *an* 'to etc.' and *thi* 2. 'the (Dsf)', cf. s.vv.

anti = and thi conj. + art. 'and the' PIE

Syntagm containing *and*, *ande* 2. 'and etc.' and *thi* 2. 'the', cf. s.vv.

apal subst. m. 'pile as part of a sheetpiling (against water)' PIE

Compound of *ā-* I.A 'water' and *-pāl* 'pile', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 18

apol = apōl 'in a puddle' subst. m. Gmc.

Syntagm containing *a* 4. 'in, to, at' and *pōl* 'puddle', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 19

apostel subst. m. 'apostle' LW

In *apostolisdi*, q.v.

Ofris. also *apostol*

The R₁-form shows weakening of the vowel of the final syllable; cf. however s.v. *apostolisdi*.

●PFRIS: *apostol

From Lat. *apostulus*, borrowed from Gr. *apóstolos* 'messenger, sent one', to *apostéllō* 'send out'.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *apostel*; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *apostol*, -el; Wollmann 1990: 533 fn. 83

apostolisdi subst. m. 'day dedicated to an apostle' LW (+ PIE)

Ofris. also *aposteldī*

This by-form shows the usual pattern of compounds, i.e. the first member in the Ns form.

●PFRIS: *aposteldī

Compound of *apostol, *apostel* 'apostle (Gs)' and *dī* 'day', cf. s.vv.

are subst. n. 'ear' PIE

Ofris. also *ār*

This by-form is usually considered as an apocopated variant of *āre* (Steller 1928: 43).

●PFRIS: *āri

Goth. *auso*, ON *eyra*, OE *ēare*, OS, OHG, MHG *ōr(e)*, MLG *ōr(e)*, *ō̄r(e)* ODu. *ōra*, MDu. (*h*)*ore*, *oor*, *oir*, (*h*)*oore*; also OHG *ōri*, MHG *æer(e)*, *ōr(e)* 'eye of a needle'

Goth. *aus-* shows Verner variation as compared with NWGmc. **auz-*.

●PGMC: *aus-en- (n.)

●PIE: *h₂ecus [> *aus]

POKORNY: 785

Originally a root noun, cf. New Persian *hōš* < **auš*, Gr. (Doric) *ōs* < **ous* (*o* after 'eye'?: Tarentinian gloss *āta* < **aus-nt-*); secondary formations, e.g. i-st. Lat. *auris*, Lith. *ausis* both < **ausis*, Arm. *unkn* 'ear' < **uson[-ko-*, and the Gmc. forms (further evidence, reff., and discussion in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *auso* also Schrijver 1991: 47, Beekes 1969: 168).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

asa adv., conj. 'so, as; if, when' PIE

Ofris. also *ās(e)*, *is*

Weakening of **asa* yielded /*āsə*/ <*ase*>, *ās*

Compound of *ā* 3. 'in any case etc.' and *sa* 'so etc.', cf. s.vv.

van Helten (1890: 82) against assumption of an assimilated variant of *alsa*, -e, q.v.! Weakening to *is*, as is assumed by von Richthofen (1840) s.v. *alsa* seems hardly possible in view of the long vowel *ā-*. I conclude from the evidence in von Richthofen (1840) s.v. *alsa* that the form is OWFris. Perhaps we must assume **aiv(a)-sa* > **ēwsa* (cf. OHG *eoso*, *ioso*!) > **iasa* > OWFris. *īs(a)* [cf.

Dr. *biede* next to U *biada*, Steller 1928: 15] > *is*.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 14

asega, asiga subst. m. 'law-sayer' PIE

Ofris. also *asga*, [and /*asiga*/ also <*asyga*>]

We find syncope in *asga*. The variant *asiga* shows the variation *i/e* (under secondary stress), e.g. Sjölin (1969: 23).

●PFRIS: **asega*

Compound of *ā-* 2. 'law', q.v., and *-sega* 'sayer' [not in Buma (1961), but cf. s.v.] The etymology, which is quite certain, has figured as an argument in the discussion on the original tasks and function of the *asega*. I feel sympathetic to the conclusions of Gosses (1950), contra Heck, who states that the *asega* recited the law (cf. ON *lōgssögumaþr*) before he was attributed other functions in later ages. Recently, Köbler (1972) and Gerbenzon (1973) debated on the Gmc. origin of the concept — the former challenges the existence of a 'law-sayer' in early medieval Upper Germany, the latter confirms the reality of the *asega* in Frisia and suggests a Frisian origin of the *asega* (p. 87).

OS *eosago*, *eusago* (MLG *āsege*) is probably a loan from Frisian; the same may hold true for OHG *esago*, although the word may have arisen as a calque to Latin *iudex* in OHG glosses (Köbler's theory), cf. *easagari*, *-e*.

see also: *-sega*, *-siga*

askia wk. vb. 2 'demand, claim' PIE

Ofris. also *āschia*,

This by-form shows the spelling <ch> for /k/ (Steller 1928: 31, Anm. 1).

●PFRIS: **āskia*

OE *āscian*, OS *āskon*, OHG (*h*)*ciscōn*, MHG (*h*)*eischen*, MLG *e(i)schen*, *hē(i)schen*, MDu. *eischen*, *eescen*, *heiscen*, *heescen*, *eisgen*, *esscen*, *eisken* 'ask, want' [NB *h*-forms under influence of semantically similar **haitan*-]; also OHG *eisca* f. 'demand', OE *āsce* 'investigation' etc.

●PGMC: **aiskōjanaN*

●PIE: **h₂eis-sk-* [> **ais-sk-*]

POKORNY: 16, **ais* 1.

Skt. *ichāti*, Av. *isaiti* 'ask' < **h₂is-sk-*; Arm. *hayc'em* 'beg' < **h₂eis-sk-*; the Gmc. forms represent either *e-* or *o-*grade: **h₂eis-sk-*/**h₂ois-sk-* > PGmc. **aisk-*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290; Schrijver 1991: 38-9

asta adv.; Ds subst. n. 'east' PIE

Attested in 3 identical passages (XI, 13, 17, 33): ... *fon asta there wralde* ... We can start from a Ds of a neuter noun *āst(a)* ('... from the east of the world...') or an adverb of place in *-a*, cf. *ova*, *fara* 3. etc. ('... from east of the world...').

Ofris. also *oest*

This by-form (von Richthofen 1840 [quoted as *ost*] s.v. *asta*; from a text from Franeker) shows the LG/Du. monophthongisation of **au* to *ō*.

●PFRIS: *āst(a)

OE *ēast* adv., MHG *ōst* subst. 'east', MLG *ōst* subst., adv. 'eastward', ODu. *ōst-*, MDu. *oost* subst., adv. 'east; eastern, in/to the east' < *aus-t-, cf. especially Schmidt (1962: 299); also adj./adv. formation (of direction) *aus-tero-, cf. s.v. *āster*.

A substantive (n-stem) arose from adverbial syntagmata as OFris. *fonāsta* next to simple *asta* < *austan(V) 'from the east', cf. ON *austan*, OE *ēastan(e)*, OS *ōstan(a)*, OHG *ōstana* (Schmidt loc. cit.); also MLG *ōsten(e)* 'east', MDu. *oosten(e)*.

●PGMC: *aus-t-

●PIE: *h₂eus-

POKORNY: 86-7

cf. (s-stem) Skt. *uṣās-* < *h₂us-os-; Gr. *ēōs* < *h₂eus-ōs, Lat. *aurora* < *h₂eus-ōs- 'dawn' etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

aster adv. 'to the east' PIE

●PFRIS: *āstir

ON *austr* (also subst.), OS, OHG *ōstar*, MHG *ōster*, MLG *ōster*, ODu. *ōster-*, MDu. *ooster-* (in compounds; *ooster* scarce as subst./adv.) 'eastern'.

Adj./adv. formation (of direction) in *-tero- of *aus- cf. s.v. *āsta*.

To be distinguished from *ausr- > *austr- in 'Easter', cf. OE *ēastron* (Dp), OHG *ōst(a)ra*, -*ūn*, etc. (cf. Schmidt 1962: 297-8) and perhaps in *Austrogoth[ae] > *Ostrogoth[ae]* (Lehmann 1986 s.v. *Ostrogothae*); cf. Lith. *aušrā* 'dawn', *auštrinis* 'north-east', etc.

●PGMC: *aus-tero-

●PIE: *h₂eus-tero-

Lith. Dial. *auštrinis* 'north-east wind', OCS *ustrъ*, 'activus, summary', *zaustra* 'in the morning'. It is subject to dispute whether Lat. *auster* 'south wind' belongs here (pro: Walde and Hofmann 1938-1955 s.v. following Oberhammer; doubts in Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v.).

Lit: Schmidt 1962: 297; van Helten 1890: 182

see also: *asta*

athing = **a thing** prep. + subst. 'at the thing' PIE

Syntagm containing *a* 4. 'in, to, at' and *thing* 'court etc.', cf. s.vv.

athom subst. m. 'son-in-law' PIE [?]

Attested in III, 116, where the word can only mean 'brother-in-law' given the context; elsewhere in OFris. it can also mean 'son-in-law' (von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *athom* + details), which is in accordance with other WGmc. Dial., see below.

OFris. also *āthum*, *āthem*

Both *-om* and *-em* (/ -*əm*/) represent weakening of the oldest stage *āthum*.

●PFRIS: *āþum

OE *āpum* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law, daughter's husband, sister's husband', OHG *eidum*, *-am*, *-em*, *-im*, MHG *eidem*, *-en* 'son-in-law', MLG *eidum*, *-om*, 'son-in-law, brother-in-law', MDu. (eastern Dial.) *eidom*, HG *Eidam* 'son-in-law'.

●PGMC: *aiþum- [PWGmc.]

The word is not attested outside WGmc. It replaced (or in German coexisted with) PIE *suekuros (Pokorny 1959: 1043); also OFris. *swāger*, borrowed from MLG (Bammesberger 1968, Lendinara 1990: 299).

●PIE: *h₂eitmo- [?]

The etymology is not entirely clear. Kluge (1989) s.v. *Eidam* interprets the formation as containing the 'idg. Vergleichssuffix' *-tmō- > P(W)Gmc. *-þuma-. According to the present-day interpretation of PIE, *-tmō- must be rewritten as *-tmHo- if it yielded *-þuma-. This is problematic because the presence of a laryngeal in the superlative suffix is uncertain (Beckes 1990: 241). Furthermore, we would be dealing with a form ('... pronominal oder lokal [=? DB]') of *oi 'der eine, derselbe', which seems improbable from a semantical point of view.

Perhaps we must start from a formation *-tmo- (not *-tmHo-) but to a root *ai- < *h₂ei- 'give, attribute', cf. Av. *āēta* 'proper share', Gr. *aisa* < *aitj-, *issē* 'share', Oscan Gs *aitcis* 'partis', pl. *aittiúm* (Pokorny 1959: 10 s.v. *aiti*, *ai-to*: *oi-to*; Holthausen 1963: 8, s.v. *ādum* and Lendinara 1990: 299); cf. also Goth. *aiþei* 'mother', which name refers to the status of her children as heirs (in contrast with children of concubines), cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. +reff. From a semantic point of view, this seems a probable etymology to me: orig. meaning 'wer am Erbe der Tochter teilhat' (Pfeifer 1989: s.v.), also HG Dial. meaning 'Erbtochtermann', i.e. the non-relative husband of the oldest daughter that is heir in a family of only daughters. Formally, we can start from a development *h₂ei-tmo- > *aidma- > *aidm̄ with subsequent rise of 'WGmc.' parasite vowels (often *u/_m), thus implicitly Verwijs and Verdam (1882-1952) s.v. *eidom* --- IIG *Eidam* < *eidm̄ with early New High German parasite vowel, cf. Pfeifer (1989) s.v. Additionally, the assumption of a parasite vowel rather than PGmc. *u- also accounts more satisfactorily for the unstable (OHG) vocalism in the second syllable.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

aththa subst. m. 'lit. (a) sworn; civil servant in the court' Gmc.

OFris. also (West-Frisian) *atta*; also *-ētha* in compound *ivenētha*.

The West-Frisian form represents a later development and shows that the geminate was voiceless (van Helten 1907a: 23). The form *-ētha* shows the monophthongization of *ai to ē and simplification of the geminate under secondary stress. This word shows the rare geminate /þþ/ as a result of syncope: *(gi)aiþ(i)þ-en-, i.e. the weak ppp (weak inflexion) of a verb containing *aiþ- 'oath' (Steller 1928: 30; van Helten 1907a loc. cit.).

●PFRIS: *aþ(i)þa

●PGMC: *aiþþo-

The word for 'oath', PGmc. *aiþas, cf. Goth. *aīþs*, ON *eiðr*, OE *āþ*, OS *ǎð*, OHG *eid*, etc., also OFris. *ēth*, is probably a loan from Celtic, although discussion is still going on, cf. s.v. *ēth*.

There is no reason to assume etymological relationship with Goth. *atta* 'father' (Lendinara 1990: 298). Still, this idea is found in Lehmann (1986) and Pokorny (1959: 71).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: *eth*, *-ethoch*

atwa adv. 'lit. in two; [hence:] in pieces, broken' PIE

Syntaxm containing a 4. 'in, to, at' and *twā* I (*tva*) 'two', cf. s.vv.

atwasteta wk. vb. I 'push in two, hit in two, hit to pieces' PIE

Syntaxm containing *atwā* 'in two etc.' and *steta* 'push', cf. s.vv.

aubere adj. '(clearly) visible, manifestus' PIE

OFris. also *ābere*

This by-form (E₁) must be a scribal error (van Helten 1907a: 24 fn. 5, correction of 1889: 233).

●PFRIS: *aubēri

The word was originally a compound, the first member of which is the stem *au(g)wj-, cf. s.v. *āge* 'eye', cf. also OE *ēawis* etc. As the first member we would expect Ns *ei-* < Ns *a(g)wi < *-j(as, u, aN). Apparently, the original reflex was replaced by *awi analogous to the oblique cases van Helten (1889: 233) or van Helten (1907a: 24) the verb *āuwa < *auwjān, cf. OE *īewan*, for OFris. certain on the basis of gerund *to auwande*, ppp. *auwed*; also Goth. *at/aujjan* 'show', ON *cygja* 'see', OE (Mercian) *cāwan*, *æt-jīewan* (see above) 'appear, show' etc.

The second member is *-bere* 2. (Buma 1954: 91 which is contra van Helten 1907a: 24). cf. s.v. *age*.

The formation only has a parallel in OE *ābāere* (Anglo-Fris. isogloss).

Lit: Holthausen 1963: 87; Lendinara 1990: 291

audern cf. s.v. *andern*

Auwesburg NL 'Augsburg' LW

a(u)wet indef. pron. 'something' PIE [?]

OFris. also *aut*, *at*, *ōwet*

Before *w*, a transitional sound *u* could arise, hence *āwet* besides *āuwet* (van Helten 1890: 42).

Weakening in *aut*, *at*. Rounding of *ā* to *ō* before *w* in *ōwet*, cf. van Helten (1890: 24).

●PFRIS: *āwet

Compound of ā 3. 'in any case etc.' and -wet.

Also in: OS (*g*)eo-wiht, OE ā-wiht, auht, aht.

The second member -wet is cognate with Goth. *waihts* 'thing, matter', ON *vétrr*, *vættr*, *vítr* 'living being, matter', OE *wiht* 'being, matter, demon', OS *wiht* 'spirit, being, thing, demon', OHG *wiht* 'being, thing, wight', MHG *wiht*, MLG *wiht* 'thing, being, creature', MDu. *wicht* 'creature, being; subject (of a state); child, young animal'.

● No IE etymology.

-awinna str. vb. III 'gain from someone, take/rob something from someone' PIE

Only attested in compound *onawinna*

Compound of *on-*, *a-* 5 and *winna*, cf. s.vv.

B

balu- adj. 'bad, evil' Gmc.

Only attested in compound *balumon*, q.v.

As to variants cf. s.v. *balumon*

●PFRIS: *balu-

Goth. *balwa-wesci* 'wickedness', ON *ból* 'misfortune, damage, sin', also *bólva* 'curse (verb)', OE *bealu* 'evil, wickedness, misfortune (subst.); evil, bad (adj.)', OS *balu* 'wickedness, misfortune', OHG *balo* 'destruction', MHG *balheit* 'wickedness', *balhæric* 'not obedient', MLG *balstürich* 'rebellious, recalcitrant', MDu. *baldadich* 'bad [lit. doing]', *balsturich* 'rebellious, recalcitrant'.

●PGMC: *balu-

● No IE etymology.

OCS *bolъ* 'sick person', *bolěti* 'be sick' < *bol- is semantically difficult (cf. French *mal*, however). OCor. *bal* 'sickness, pestis', Welsh (*a*)*ballu* 'die' require a proto-stage *bal-, whereas PIE had no */a/.

The Celtic forms are more likely to belong to the PIE root *g^welH- 'vex, torment' (Pokorny 1959: 470-1; also OE *cwelan* 'die', OHG, OS *quelan* 'be in pain'): *g^wIII- > PCelt. *bal-. This is especially probable in the case of OIr. *at-baill* 'dies' < *ball- < *g^w]nH- where both the formation (nasal-present) and the ablaut (e-grade forms in the future tense) point to a PIE origin (Schrijver p.c.). Interestingly, the Celtic forms in their turn correspond semantically but not formally to the Slavic forms. Perhaps a north-European substratum word *balu-? 'evil?' may somehow (folk etymology) have interfered with the IE word.

balumon subst. m. 'unfaithful guardian' PIE

Compound of *balu-* 'bad, evil' and *-mon(d)* I. 'protector, guardian', cf. s.vv.

Ofris. also *balemund*, *balmund*, *balemunda*

The by-form *balemund* shows the frequent weakening of WGmc. *-u(-) to -e(-) in *balu-* > *bale-* as well as the original second member of the compound, i.e. *-mund* 'guardian'. Syncope affected *balmund*. On the variation in the second part of the compound cf. s.v. *mon(d)* 1.

●PFRIS: *balumund

von Richthofen (1840) s.v. quotes OHG *palemunt* [only found in Lex Salica with different semantics SJS], *balmunt*, MLG ° *balemundt*; cf. also MHG *balmunt*, MLG *balmunden* 'declare sb. a *balmund*'.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 25, 137-8

see also: *balu-*, *-mon(d)* 1.

bam subst. m. 'tree; stick, cudgel' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bām

OE *bēam*, OS *bōm*, OHG *boum*, MHG *boum*, *boun*, *bōm*, *bōn*, *bām*, MLG *bōm*, MDu. *boom*, *boem* 'tree' < *baum- beside Goth. *-bagms*, < *bagm ? 'tree' < *bagm- beside ON *baþmr* 'tree', formations disputed, cf. de Vries (1977: 22 s.v.).

●PGMC: [?]

● No certain IE etymology

cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *bagms* on the older attempts to reconstruct a Gmc. and a PIE proto-form. As to PIE, the word has been connected with the complex of *b^hHu- 'grow, be(come)', cf. Skt. *bhāvati* 'is, becomes, grows', Gr. *phúomai* 'become, grow', Lat. *fiū* 'have been' etc. (Pokorny 1959: 146-150; on reconstruction especially Schrijver 1991: 240 and passim), also Gr. *phūma* 'growth' < *b^huH-mj.

Also in OFris. *bim*, *bem*, *bin*, *ben* 'am'.

More probably a substratum word, containing a sequence that gave rise to different Gmc. dialect forms, e.g. *babma- (Kuiper 1995).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 306

see also: *-belda*, *bur*, *buwa*, *buwunge*

barna wk. vb. 1 'burn; burn down someone' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *berna*, *burna*

The pattern *e/a* (*berna/barna*) points to partial umlaut before *nn* (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX), cf. also van Helten (1890: 35 Anm 1). One expects *bærn- (r-metathesis) < *bræn- < *brannj- in the present (and infinitive) next to *barn- (r-metathesis) < *branni- in the preterite ('Rückumlaut'). The form *burna* may go back to a \emptyset -grade root form of the strong verb that coexisted and eventually conflated with the weak causative (see below).

●PFRIS: *bærna

We can distinguish between:

*brinnanaN (str. intransitive) 'burn': Goth. *brinnan*, ON *brinnan*, OE *biernan*, OHG, OS *brinnan*

*brannjanaN (weak causative) 'cause to burn, kindle': Goth. *ga|brannjan*, ON *brenna*, OE *bærnan*, OS *brennian*, OHG *brennen*, MHG *brennen*

Both verbs were already confused in OFris. and in:

MHG *burnen*, *bornen* (σ -grade root form from strong verb) in causative meaning, MHG *brinnen* (formally the intransitive str. form) in both meanings, MLG *bernen*, *barnen*, MDu. *bernen*, *barnen*, *berrenen*, *barrenen* in both meanings.

●PGMC: *brennanaN, *brannjanaN (causative)

● No certain IE etymology.

Pokorny (1959: 143 ff.) from PIE *b^hreu- 'move rapidly; hence bubble, cook', presumably to *bher* 2. (Pokorny 1959: 132), cf. Skt. *bhuráti* 'moves rapidly' etc. We would be dealing with a typically Gmc. nasal-present *b^hrenu- > *brenn-. This interpretation is problematic from a semantic point of view.

Schrijver (1991: 225-6) points to the possibility of a formation *bre/onH- > *bre/onn- (according to Lühr's rule *-nH- > *-nn-), but he doubts further connection with a root *b^her- 'boil' he discusses. NB cf. s.v. *brēda* for the formations *b^hreh₁-t- 'fry?' or better: 'steam, heat', *b^hrh₁-u- 'whirl, seethe', *b^hru- 'boil', and *bher-mn- 'barm' to $\sqrt{*b^hreh_1}$ and $\sqrt{*b^her}$ respectively (most probably cognate).

The word is also treated by Seebold (1967: 111-112; 1970: 137-8) whose theory that *g^{wh} yielded Gmc. *b-* would make possible a connection with *g^{wh}er- (Pokorny 1959: 493ff., e.g. Gr. *thermós*, OFris. *warm* [but also cf. * \check{u} er-, Pokorny 1959: 1166] etc.). Seebold's theory has not met with acceptance (especially cf. Polomé 1987: 307). Gmc. is not cognate with OIr. *brenn-* 'bubble (up)', cf. Seebold (1967: 112).

Lit: Schrijver 1991: 155-6

see also: *brond*

Bavenberg NL 'Bamberg' LW

be 1 cf. s.v. *bi 1*.

be- 2 cf. s.v. *bi-*, *be- 2*.

bebinda cf. s.v. **bibinda*

bed subst. n. 'bed' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bed

Goth. *badi* 'bed', ON *beþr* 'bolster, feather-bed' (also cf. OSwe. *bædhil* 'nest') OE *bedd*, OS *bed*, OHG *betti*, MHG *bet(te)*, MLG, MDu. *bedde* 'bed'

●PGMC: *badja-

● No certain IE etymology

Mostly connected with PIE root *b^hed^h- 'penetrate (in the earth), dig' (Pokorny 1959: 113-4), cf. Lat. *fodio* 'dig' < *b^hod^h-, Welsh *bedd* 'grave' etc. Pre-Gmc. *b^hod^h-jo- would thus point to a resting-place dug out in the ground. This is improbable, especially in view of the ON meaning, which is also found in Finnish *patja*, Estonian *padi*, Livonian *pad'a* < *padja, a loan from Gmc. (thus Feist 1939 s.v. *badi*). Moreover, there is little reason to assume that the Gmc. peoples (still) lived under such primitive circumstances that they dug out their place to sleep (de Vries 1992: s.v. *bed*). The latter suggests a connection with the words for 'bath', PGmc. *baða- > OFris. *beth* (q.v.), and proposes an original meaning 'warm place'.

An idiosyncratic but interesting view is Kern's 1881, who connects the word to the root *b^hed^h- 'press, urge', cf. Ved. *bádhatē* 'urges', *jñu-bádh-* 'performing a (religious) genuflection' (according to Kern, symbol of the aspect of urging), cf. s.v. *bede* (Pokorny 1959: 114); also cf. MDu. *cnie(n)g(h)ebede*, OS *kneobeda*, ON *knébeþja-fall* (*knébeþr* 'pillow for the knees for prayer') [also OE *cnēowgebed*, quoted by Lehmann 1986 s.v. *bida*] 'prayer while bending knees'. The original meaning of *badja- would be 'that what is pressed upon' = 'that on which one lies' which would have the advantage of being reconcilable with both meanings 'bed' and 'bolster'.

We may also be dealing with a substratum word that replaced an older word for 'bed' (cf. in this connection Hamp 1987 on the North European IE innovation *lostā 'bed' in OPruss. *lasto*, Toch. B *lesto*).

bede subst. f. 'demand, request, appeal' PIE

●PFRIS: *bedi

Goth. *bida*, OE *bedu*, OS, ODu. *beda*, OHG *beta*, MHG *bet(e)*, *bit*, MLG *bēde*, MDu. *bede* 'demand, prayer'

●PGMC: *bedō

●PIE: *b^hed^h-eh₂

POKORNY: 114

Probably belonging to the root *b^hed^h- 'press, urge, (hence) pray', cf. Ved. *bádhatē* 'urges', *jñu-bádh-* 'performing a (religious) genuflection' etc.; cf. also s.v. *bed*. For other, less likely etymologies s.v. *bidda*.

befalla cf. s.v. *bifalla*

befuchta cf. s.v. *bi-*, *befuchta*

befta prep. 'behind' PIE

Compound of *be-* 2. (prefix) and *efta* 'behind', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *bæftan*, MLG *b(e)achten*, *biächten*, MDu. *bachte(n)*.

behalda cf. s.v. *bihalda*

beil cf. s.v. *abēl* (and *-bēl*)

bek subst. m. 'back' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bek

ON *bak*, OE *bæc*, OS *bak*, OHG *bah* [in: *hinterbah* 1 attestation Sjs], MLG *bak* 'back', MDu. *over|bac* 'back' adv., Mod. Du. *bak|boord* 'port' (also ON *bakborþi*, OE *bæcbord* etc.)

●PGMC: *bakaz

● No certain IE etymology.

The word has been connected with Germanic words for 'side of bacon': OHG *bahho*, MHG *bache*, MLG *bake*, MDu. *bake*, *bæc* (also 'pig', both the animal and pork), HG (Dial.) *bachen* and with OHG *backo*, *bacho* 'cheek, jaw', MDu. *backe* 'cheek, lower jaw', HG *backe(n)*; also in OFris. *szin-baca* (R₂) and variants 'lower jaw', cf. OS *kinnibaco*, OHG *chinnipacho*, ODu. *kinnebako*, MDu. *kinnebacke*, Mod. Du. *kinnebak* (rather than to Gr. [Hes.] *phagónes* 'jaws [lit. eaters]') [Pokorny 1959: 107 with doubt].

I agree with Pokorny (1959: 114-5), that this complex is not related to Skt. *bhanákti*, OIr. *bongid* 'break', Lith. *bangà* 'wave' < PIE *b^heg- 'break' (thus de Vries 1992: 26, assuming an older meaning 'curved surface').

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

bekwardich adj. 'backwards' PIE

Compound of *bek* and *-wardich*, cf. s.vv.

-bel subst. m. '???' PIE [?]

only in *abēl* (q.v.)

OFris. also *-bcil*

This by-form can be understood in view of the frequent interchange <ei>/<e> for *ē*, cf. s.v. *abēl*.

●PFRIS: *bēl (< *būl-i-)

OE *bȳl(e)* 'sore, swelling', *būla* 'bump', OHG *pūlla*, *būlla* 'blister, pistle', *būlia*, 'bump', ODu. *būla* 'scar', MDu. *būlc* (f.), *buil* (m.) 'bump, swelling', MHG *biule* 'bump'; also MDu. *bu(i)len*, OFris. *būlen* 'swell'

●PGMC: *būl-

●PIE: *b^huH-l- [?]

POKORNY: 98ff.

Perhaps to be compared with Skt. *bhūri* 'much, many, great', Lith. *būrỹs* 'a lot of (houses, sheep, birds, rain)' etc.

We might also compare OSwe. *bulin*, *bolin*, Norw. Dial. *bolen* < *b^huHl- 'swollen' with the above Gmc. forms if we accept Dybo's Law of pretonic shortening before resonants in *būl-én- (Schrijver 1991: 353). Alternatively, we may be dealing with a formation containing $\sqrt{b^h}leb_1$ (Schrijver *ibid.*), cf. OS *blādara*, OHG *blāt(t)ara*, Mod. Du. *blaar* 'blister', zero-grade *b^hlh₁- > *bul- in OSwe. *bulde*, *bolde*, *byld*, and probably Mod. Du. *bult* (or shortening of *būl-t, cf. van Loey 1970: 29) 'bump'. Similarly, OIr. *bolach* 'rash' either comes from *b^huHl- (and thus cognate with OFris. *-bēl*; NB. also requires Dybo's Law) or from *b^holh₁-, i.e. cognate with OS *blādara* etc. (Schrijver 1991: 527-8).

Ablaut in OHG *paula* [1 attestation SJS] f. 'pock' < **baul-*, Goth. *ufbaulidai* 'inflated, haughty' (2T 3:4 mNp of ppp) of **ufbauljan*, ON *beyla* 'bump, outgrowth, hunch' < **baul-i-*; but *bóla* 'bump, blain; boss of a shield' rather from **buhl-* (cf. OHG *buhil* 'hill', Mod. Du. *bochel* 'hunch') than from **bōul-* (de Vries 1992: 94 s.v. *buil*).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 295

see also: abel

belda wk. vb. 1 'attribute part of the estate to a marrying child' Gmc.

Ofris. also **balda*

This by-form only occurs sporadically in E, where it is due to a writing error in 3p *-baldath* and due to analogy in instances as 3s *-balth*, ppp *-balt(h)*, cf. *lēda -lāt(h)* etc. (van Helten 1907a: 28, 313, especially also 1906: 196).

●PFRIS: **bēlda*

Denominative verb **bōdl-jan* > **bēdl-(j)a(n)* > *bēlda* with metathesis **dl* > *ld* (van Helten 1890: 82). Only in OE *byldan* (Lendinara 1990: 287).

The noun occurs in: OE *bōt(e)l*, OS *bōdal*, OFris. *bōdel*, MLG *bōdel*, *bōl*, MDu. *bo(e)del*, *boel*.

On the formula *bē and bōdel* cf. Sjölin 1970-75: 177-9 (discussion and references), who assumes a *hendiadys* denoting 'bewegliche Habe'.

●PGMC: **bōdl-*

● No IE etymology

If we wish to start from a formation containing **b^hHu-* 'grow, be(come)' (Pokorny 1959: 146-150; semantically improbable), cf. s.v. *bām*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 287

see also: bam, bur, buwa, buwunge

*-**belga** str. vb. III 'swell' PIE

Only attested in *ovirbulgena mōdc* 'in an angry state of mind, enraged' (XVII, 2).

●PFRIS: **belga*

ON *bolginn* 'swollen', OE, OS, MHG *belgan* 'become angry', OHG (*sih*) *belgan* 'swell, become angry', ODu. *belgan*, *-on*, MLG *belgen* 'become angry', MDu. *belghen* 'become angry, proud'.

●PGMC: **belganaN*

Also to be connected with Goth. *balgs* 'bag' and cognates (Lehmann 1986 s.v.), the original meaning 'swell' having developed in the direction of 'become angry'.

●PIE: **b^hel-ǵ^h-*

POKORNY: 125-6

Skt. *barhīṣ-* 'sacrificial straw', Av. *barəziš-* 'pillow', Latv. *pa-bālstis* 'pillow (for the head)', OIr. *bolgaim* 'swell', *bolg* 'bladder'.

beliva cf. s.v. *bi*, *belīva*

ben subst. n. 'bone, leg' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bēn

ON *bein*, OE *bān*, OS *bēn*, OHG, MHG *bein*, MLG *bē(i)n-*, MDu. *been*, *bein*

●PGMC: *bainaN

● No IE etymology.

Recent suggestions by Markey (1983) and Hamp (1985). Markey suggests a specific semantic shift of the type 'component item in a pattern' >> 'limits of a pattern', cf. also the 'key'-etymon: *key* and cognates originally denoted 'the key-hole' and was replaced by **slutila*, i.e. 'filler' in the non-Ingveonic dialects. Markey assumes that **h₃ost-* was replaced by a similarly contrasting word and compares the as yet unexplained Lat. *finis* 'border, delimitation'. The parallel with the development of the 'key-etymon' does not seem entirely clear, but originally *finis* was used in reference to trees or upright posts serving as territorial limits. In this connection a comparison with ON *beinn* 'upright, straight, even, favourable' becomes attractive as well (de Vries 1977: s.v. *beinn* 1, 2; de Vries 1992 s.v. *been* + reff. for older proposals).

Hamp (1985) starts from an original syntagm **b^hh₂inóm h₃ost-* 'cut off bone' (in reference to butchered animals) with later deletion of the head noun **h₃ost-*; **b^hh₂inóm* would be the neuter sing. form of a ppp to **b^heih₂-*, cf. Welsh *bid* 'hedge, bush (orig. cut off)' < **b^hiH-to-*, OIr. *benaid* 'strike' < **b^hi-n-H-* (also Schrijver 1991: 532).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292; de Vries 1992 s.v. *been*.

bende subst. n., f.? 'tie, chain, fetter, shackle' PIE

Ofris. also *bande*, *bend*

I interpret the (late, Wfris.) by-form *bande* as /bænd-/ , i.e. a form with partial i-umlaut (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX); *bend* represents a transition to the masc. i-stems (van Helten 1907a: 28, also also van Helten 1890: 137) It is unclear to which inflexional class the word belongs: either n. io-stem or f. ich₂-stem.

●PFRIS: *bendi

Goth. *bandi*, ON, OS, Mod. Du. *band*, OE *bend*, OHG, MHG *bant*, MLG, MDu. *bant*, *bent* 'bond'

●PGMC: *bandiH

cf. Beckes (1990), Boutkan (1995: 230ff.)

●PIE: *b^hond^hih₂

POKORNY: 127

Skt. *bandhá-* 'bond', Av. *baṇda-* 'bond, fetter'; to PIE **b^hend^h-*, cf. s.v. *binda*.

benen adj. 'of bone' Gmc.

In the kenning *bēnena burch* 'womb'.

●PFRIS: *benin

An *-īn-derivative (Goth. *-eins*) of *bēn*, q.v.

Also in MDu. *be(i)nen*, *be(i)nijn* 'bone'

benete subst. n. 'bones' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *beneþi

MHG *gebeinde*, *gebeinze*, MLG *bē(i)n(e)te*, *gebē(i)n(e)te*, MDu. *(ge)beente*, *(ge)biente*, *gebeent*, *geb(e)inte*

●PGMC: *gabainiþō

A collective formation (cf. van Loey 1970: 245) of *bēn*, q.v.

Beside OHG *gibeini*, MDu. *gebeine*, *gebeen*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292-3

benethe subst. f. '(accusation of) homicide' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *beneþi

OS *banēði* 'mourning after a murder, death'

An *-iþō-derivation (Goth. *-iþa*) to PGmc. *ban-.

●PGMC: *baniþō

On the PGmc. root *ban-, cf. also Goth. *banja*, ON *ben*, OE *bcnu*, OS *beni[wunda]* 'wound'; ON *bane* 'slayer', OE *bana*, OS, OHG *bano*, OFris. *bona* 'murderer', in OHG also *bana* 'death, destruction'

● No certain IE etymology.

Pokorny (1959: 126) connects Av. *ban̄ta-* 'sick', *banaiian* 'they make sick' and some dubious Celtic evidence, viz. Cornish *bony* 'axe', Middle-Irish *epit* 'chopping-knife' < *eks-b^hen-tī- and reconstructs an equally dubious root *b^hen- 'hit, wound'.

Also to be rejected is the connection (recently Seebold 1967: 113-4; older reff. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *banja*) with *g^{wh}en- 'kill' (Skt. *hānti* 'kill' etc. Pokorny 1959: 491) since *g^{wh}- did not yield Gmc. *b-* (also s.v. *barna*).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

benskredene subst. f. 'breaking of bone(s), chop off part of a leg' Gmc.

Compound of *bēn* and *skredene*, cf. s.vv.

ber- adj. 'bare' PIE

Occurs in *bērskinze* 'lit. bare-legged'

●PFRIS: *bēr

ON *berr*, OE *bær*, OS, OHG, MHG *bar*, MLG *bār*, MDu. *baer*, Mod. Du. *baar*, *bar*

●PGMC: *baza-

●PIE: *b^hosó-

POKORNY: 163

OCS *bośь*, Lith. *bāsas* 'barefooted', Arm. *bok* < *b^hoso-go- 'barefooted'.

bera 1 str. vb. IV 'bear, give birth; (passive) be born' PIE

●PFRIS: *bera

Goth. *bairan*, ON *bera* 'carry, bring, bear, endure, give birth', OE, OS, OHG *beran* 'carry, bring, give birth', MHG *bern*, MLG *(ge)bēren* 'carry (fruit) [= also *bāren*], bring forth, give birth', MDu. *beren* 'carry a child'

●PGMC: *beranaN

●PIE: *b^her-

POKORNY: 128-132

Skt. *bhárati*, Gr. *phérō*, Lat. *fero*, OIr. *biru* 'carry, bear', etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: bera 2., bern

-bera 2 subst. m. 'bearer' PIE

Occurs in Dp *waluberon* (III, 26, 88) to **walubera* 'pilgrim' (i.e. staff-bearer) next to Ap *walubora* (IV, 113), cf. also s.v. *walubera*.

The Gmc. evidence points to two different forms (Holthausen 1963: 21, 30, s.v. *bera*, *bora*, *bore*), i.e. *-ber-an- (OE *-bera*, OS *-bero*, OFris. *-bera*, cf. Lat. *-fer* with secondary e-grade ≪ PIE *-b^horos [Pokorny 1959: 128]) next to *-bur-an- (OE *bora* [fcm. *bore*], OS, OHG *-boro*).

PGmc. may have had both formations, i.e. *bur- and (secondary) *ber- respectively. Holthausen (1963) apparently starts from the e-grade form for OFris. Indeed, *-bora* only occurs (once) in R₁ (von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *bera*, *bora*, p. 624-5 and s.v. *walubera*, *walebera*, p. 1124). In that case, Ap *walubora* must have a deviant spelling of the (secondary stressed) vowel.

●PFRIS: *-bera

See above for Gmc. evidence.

An *-n-stem formation to PGmc. *ber-, cf. s.v. *bera 1*.

beravia cf. s.v. *bi-*, *beravia*

berch subst. m. 'mountain, mountainous area [Alps]' PIE

OFris. also *birg*,

This by-form is West-Fris. and shows the typical variation /e/ ~ /i/ before r+C (Steller 1928: 10). The spelling -g is phonological: it does not indicate the automatic final devoicing.

●PFRIS: *berg

(Goth. *bairg[-ah-cin* (L 1.39, 65) 'mountainous area') ON *bjarg*, *berg* 'mountain, rock', OE *beorg*, *beorh*, OS, OHG *berg*, MHG *berc*, MLG *ber(i)ch*, *barch*, MDu. *berch*, *berech*, *berich*

●PGMC: *bergaz

●PIE: *b^herg^ho-

POKORNY: 140-1

Av. *barazah-* 'high; mountain, height', Arm. *berj* (in compounds) 'height', Welsh *bera* 'heap' etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305

berd subst. m. 'beard' Gmc.

OFris. also *bird*, *ber*, *bred*

As in *birg*, we find /i/ for /e/ before r-clusters in West-Fris. *bird*. The forms *ber*, *bred* are probably writing errors (von Richthofen 1840 s.v.).

●PFRIS: *berd

ON *barþ* (rare; LW from MLG), OE *beard* 'beard', OS *un]bard[oh*t 'having no

beard', OHG, MHG *bart*, MLG *bārt*, ODu. *barda*, MDu. *baert* (probably also in ON *barþa*, OS *barda*, OHG *bartā*, MHG *barte*, MLG *bārde*, MDu. *barde*, *barde* 'axe', because the actual axe looks like a beard stuck to the wooden handle; also Du. *baard* of a key)

●PGMC: *bard-

● No IE etymology

Lat. *barba*, OCS *brada*, Lith. *barzdà* (and Baltic cognates, cf. further Pokorny 1959: 110) suggest a reconstruction Dial.-IE ('European') *b^hard^hā. There is no evidence for another vowel than -a-, which may point to a non-IE origin, i.e. a substratum word (Kuiper 1995: 66).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

berdfang subst. m. 'barbae raptus' PIE

Ofris. also *berdfeng*, *birdfang*

On *bird* rather than *berd* cf. s.v. *berd*; on *-feng* cf. s.v. *-fang*.

●PFRIS: *berdfang

Compound of *berd* and *-fang*, cf. s.vv.

bere 1 subst. f. 'stretcher, litter' PIE

●PFRIS: *bēri

OE *bær(c)*, OS, OHG *bāra*, MHG *bāre*, MLG *bāre*, *bōre*, *bōre*, MDu. *bare* 'stretcher, litter'.

●PGMC: *bē₁rō (P(W)Gmc.)

An ā-stem substantive to PIE *b^her- with secondary lengthened grade, cf. further s.v. *bera 1*.

-bere 2 adj. suffix PIE

Only attested in *aubere*, q.v.

Ofris. also *-bar*

This by-form goes back to *-ber and shows that the vowel was shortened (van Helten 1889: 233 fn. 3).

●PFRIS: *bēri

ON *-bærr*, OE *-bære*, OHG *bāri*, MHG *-bære*, MLG *-bār(e)*, MDu. *-baer*, *-ber*.

This suffix belongs to the Gmc. root *ber- 'carry'. One would reconstruct *bē₁rja-, but the formation may be of a relatively late date (Franck et al. 1976: 26 s.v. *-baar*). It may have arisen in High German as a 'learned' formation (originally only in compounds with preceding substantives) and spread later. Indeed, OHG *-āri* may have been borrowed from Lat. *-arius* (Braune and Eggers 1987: 189 + reff.).

see also: *bera 1*.

bern subst.n. 'child' PIE

Ofris. also *bern* (E 1x), *birn* (E 1x), *bren* (B 2x)

The first two variants, quoted from von Richthofen 1840 s.v., cannot be taken

as actual by-forms since both occur only once (no quotation in Holthausen and Hofmann 1985); *bren* may show r-metathesis or be a scribal error. The word is the original one for 'child' in OFris. and OS; later *kind- was borrowed from southern dialects (Meijering 1985: 16).

●PFRIS: *bern

Goth. *barn*, ON *barn*, OE *bearn*, OS, OHG, MHG *barn*

●PGMC: *barnaN

A *-no- derivative of PIE *b^her, cf. further s.v. *bera I*.

Also assumed for Lith. *bėrnas* 'youth, child, servant', but the acute accent points to a laryngeal: *b^herHno-, cf. also in Skt. *bharīman-* < *bherHmen-.

-berna cf. s.v. *barna*

Bernere subst. m. NP 'inhabitant of Verona' LW

berskinz(i)e adj. 'bare-legged' PIE

Compound of *ber-* and *-skinz(i)e*, cf. s.vv.

berthe subst. f. 'birth, offspring, foetus' PIE

OFris. also *berde*

This by-form shows the transition /p/ > d.

●PFRIS: *berþi

Goth. *gabaurþs* '(place of) birth, descent, race', ON *burþ(r)* 'birth, bearing', OE *gebyrd*, OS *giburd*, OHG *gi-*, *gaburt*, MHG *(ge)burt*, MLG *(ge)bōrt* 'birth', MDu. *geboort(e)*, *boort* and (many) orthographical variants (cf. Verwijs and Verdam 1882-1952 s.vv.) 'birth, offspring'.

●PGMC: *(ga)burþi-

A -ti-abstractum to the PIE root *b^her-, cf. s.v. *bera I*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

beseka cf. s.v. *bi-*, *beseka*

besla cf. s.v. *bi-*, *besla*

besluta cf. s.v. *bi-*, *besluta*

besma subst. m. 'rod, birch' WGmc.

●PFRIS: *besma

OE *besm*, *bes(e)ma*, OS *besmo*, OHG *pesamo*, *bes(e)mo* 'broom, besom', MHG *bes(e)me*, MLG *bessem(e)*, *besme*, *bessen* 'broom, rod, birch', MDu. *bes(s)em* 'broom'

●PGMC: *besm-an- (PWGmc.)

● No certain PIE etymology

Kluge (1989) s.v. *Besen* reconstructs *o^hes-, which '... in dieser Form nicht faßbar ist', but cf. Gr. *psáō* 'rub' [Pokorny 1959: 145-6].

Pfeifer (1989) s.v. *Besen* suggests PWGmc. *besman- < *bitsman to PIE

*b^hid^h- 'binden, flechten' [Pokorny 1959: 153], cf. Lat. *fiscus* 'basket' etc. He also leaves open the possibility of a non-IE substratum word, given the restricted attestation within Germanic (only WGmc.). This seems a preferable alternative, which would also account for the formal problems in Dutch dialects (de Vries 1992 s.v. *bezem*).

best adj. superl. 'best' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *best

Goth. *batists*, ON *baztr*, *beztr*, OE *betst*, OS *betst*, *best*, OHG *bezzist*, MHG *bezzist*, *beste*, MLG *beste*, MDu. *best(e)* 'best'

●PGMC: *batist-

● No IE etymology

cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *batiza*, de Vries 1992 s.v. *best*.

Perhaps to Skt. *bhādate* 'shines, is praised, fortunate' [Pokorny 1959: 126-7]: PIE *b^he(n)Hd-.

see also: beta, -bete, bettra, bote

beta wk. vb. 1 'pay a fine, atone; expiate, do penance; carry out' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bēta

Goth. *botjan* 'improv. aid', ON *bōta*, OE *bētan*, OS *bōtian*, OHG *buozzan*, *buoz(z)en*, MHG *büezen*, MLG *bōten*, *būten*, MDu. *boeten*, *boten*, *bueten* 'improve, do penance'.

●PGMC: *bōtjanaN

● No certain IE etymology.

Usually connected with *best* etc., q.v. (e.g. Lehmann 1986 s.v. **bota*, de Vries 1992 s.v. *boeten*).

The meaning 'improve' makes possible a connection with Skt. *bhand-* 'feel happy, rejoice' (Mayrhofer 1986: 244-5), cf. s.v. *best*.

see also: best, -bete, bettra, bote

-bete adj. suffix 'following a numeral denoting the amount of fine, e.g. *twibete*. 'with double fine', etc.' Fris.

OFris. also *-bōte*

The form *-bēte* is the expected reflex of an earlier io-stem adj. **-bōtja-* (van Helten 1890: 160). In *-bōte* (E_{2,3} van Helten 1890: 38), the unlauded vowel was replaced by *ō* after the *ā*-st. substantive *bōte*, q.v.

●PFRIS: **-bēti*

● No IE etymology

cf. s.v. *best*, *beta*, *bettra*, *bote*.

see also: *enbete*, *twibete*, *sexbete*

betena cf. s.v. **bitena*

beth subst. n. 'bath' PIE

OFris. also *beith*

This by-form from E₃ shows the spelling <ei> for <e> that is typical for that dialect (and for E₂), cf. Fokkema (1959: 18).

●PFRIS: *bēþ

ON *báþ*, OE *bæþ*, OS *bath*, OHG *bad*, MHG, MLG *bat*, MDu. *bat*, *bade* 'bath'

●PGMC: *badaN

●PIE: *b^hH-to-

POKORNY: 113

The formation is a *-to- neuter to a root *b^heh₃- 'heat, grill', the \acute{g} -extension of which is represented in Gr. *phṓgō*, ON *baka*, OE *bacan*, OHG *bahhan* 'bake': a bath is a 'warm place'. Furthermore cf. OHG *bāen*, *bājan* 'make warm (with the help of compresses)'.
The Germanic ablaut form must have been zero-grade in which the laryngeal was vocalized: *b^hHto- > *baþa- (full-grade form would have yielded a long vowel: *eH, oH > PGmc. *ē, ō).

The Germanic ablaut form must have been zero-grade in which the laryngeal was vocalized: *b^hHto- > *baþa- (full-grade form would have yielded a long vowel: *eH, oH > PGmc. *ē, ō).

bethe indef. num. 'both' PIE

Appears also in *betha...ande* 'both ...and' in which the first element is a neuter plural form.

Ofris. also *beithe*, *bēde*, *bīde*

The form *beithe* shows the typical reflex <ei> < *ē < *ai before dentals, cf. *beil* 'bump, swelling' etc. (e.g. Steller 1928: 14, pace van Helten 1890: 24-5); medial -th- developed into -d-, cf. *bōde*, *bīde*. The vocalism of the latter form (only Wfris., cf. von Richtofen 1840 s.v.) is unclear to me, but may represent a further raising of (*ai >) ē to ī which is sporadically attested (van Helten 1890: 24).

●PFRIS: *bēþi

Cf.

Goth. m.	<i>bai</i>	< *bai
n.	<i>ba</i>	< *bō
ON m.	<i>báþir</i>	< *baiþaiz
f.	<i>báþar</i>	< *baiþōz
n.	<i>bæþi</i>	< *baiþjō
OE m.	<i>bēgen</i>	< *bai + [-gen] cf. <i>twēgen</i> 'two'
f.	<i>bā</i>	< *bōz
n.	<i>bū</i>	< *bō
OS m.	<i>bethia</i> , -e	< *baiþjai
n.	<i>bethiu</i>	< *baiþjō;
OHG m.	<i>beide</i> , <i>bēde</i>	< *bai þai
f.	<i>beido</i> , <i>bēdo</i>	< *baiþōz
n.	<i>beidiu</i> , <i>bēdiu</i>	< *baiþjō

MHG *beide*, *bēde*, MLG *bē(i)de*, MDu. *beide*, *bede* 'both'.

Goth. and OE most clearly maintain the PGmc. system, viz. m. *bai, f. *bōz, n. *bō, i.e. a pronominal element *ba with plural inflection. Later the

masculine form was generalized and the inflexion was expressed by the added definite article.

●PGMC: *bai + *pa- (plural)

●PIE: *b^hoH(-u)

POKORNY: 34-5

The original dual rather than plural inflexion is still retained in other IE languages, cf. Skt. *ubhá-* 'both', Gr. *ám-phō*, Lat. *am-bō* 'both' (with unclear first elements). Jasanoff (1976) rejects the evidence of the Gr. and Lat. forms and derives them from *h₂(e)nt-, cf. Toch. A *āmpi*, Toch. B *āntpi*.

betimbria cf. s.v. *bitimbria*

bettra adj. comp. 'better' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bettra

Goth. *batiza*, ON *betri*, OE *bet(e)ra*, OS *betero*, *betaro*, OHG *bezziro*, *bezzir*, MHG *bezzir*, MLG *bēter*, ODu. *betera*, MDu. *beter* 'better'

●PGMC: *batiz-an-

● No IE etymology, cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *batiza*.

Perhaps to Skt. *bhāndate* 'shines, is praised, fortunate' (Pokorny 1959: 126-7): PIE *b^he(n)Hd-.

see also: best, beta, -bete, bote

bevia wk. vb. 2 'shake' PIE

Only in R₁ (XI, 36): *sa beuath alle thiū wraid*. 'then shakes the whole world.'

Ofris. *beva*

von Richtofen (1840) s.v. starts from an apparently weak I verb given the form of the infinitive he assumes: *beva rather than *bevia. I think that two arguments rather point to a weak II verb as is assumed by Buna (1961) s.v.:

(1) the 3s ending <-ath>, which is typically (though not exclusively) used after weak II verbs in R₁;

(2) the evidence of the other Gmc. dialects, which all show weak verbs, apparently arisen from another formation (see below)

●PFRIS: *bevia

ON *bifask*, OE *bi(o)fian*, OS *bibōn*, OHG *bibēn*, MHG *biben*, MLG *bēven* MDu. *beven* 'shake, tremble'

●PGMC: *bib-

The PGmc. verbal formation is unclear: ON shows weak II- and III-forms, OE, OS weak II-forms, and OHG weak III-forms. This variation as well as the lack of strong forms may point to yet another formation at an earlier stage (cf. sub PIE). As to the root vowel, the MLG MDu. form shows /ē/ as a result of lengthening of *i/e in open syllable. The rest of the dialects except OFris. point to *i. In R₁, no lengthening in open syllables had yet taken place, which suggests that e replaced earlier *i under influence of a following low vowel (van Helten 1890: 10).

●PIE: *b^heiH-

POKORNY: 161-2

Skt. *bháyate* 'is afraid', OCS *bojǫ, bojati* (refl.) 'be afraid', probably not Lat. *foedus* < *bhoiH-i-do- 'ugly, terrible, disgusting, outrageous' (cf. Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v.).

The Germanic forms have been compared with reduplicated pres. Skt. *bibhėti* 'be afraid' (e.g. de Vries 1992 s.v. *beven*), but this formation is secondary as compared with pres. med. *bháyate* (Wackernagel 1907: sub 1. Ahd. *bibēn*: ai. *bibhėti*). We must therefore start from a reduplicated perfect with present meaning *b^hi-b^hoiH- (Skt. *bibhāya*, later replaced by *bibhėti*) > PGmc. *bibai- (also Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *beven*, p.59). The monophthongization of PGmc. *bibai- > *bibē- resulted in a common-Gmc. present inflexion according to the third weak class (Kortlandt 1990). This is in accordance with the usual pattern that OS and OE show weak II forms for older weak III formations.

see also: -bivinge, irthbivinge

bewella cf. s.v. *bi-*, *bewella*

Beygeron NL 'Bavaria' LW

bi 1 prep., adv. 'by, at; during; consisting of; according to; at the cost of; because of' PIE

●PFRIS: *bi

Goth. *bi*, OE *bī*, *big* (=/*bī*/), *be*, OS *bī*, *be*, OHG *bi*, *bī*, MHG *bī*, MLG *bī*, *bi* (not in NGmc.)

The monosyllable could be lengthened in stressed monosyllable in NWGmc. or weakened to *be* (OFris. *be-*, cf. s.v. *bi-*, *be-* 2.) under weak stress.

●PGMC: *bi

●PIE: *h₃b^hi

POKORNY: 287

This form is an Ablaut variant of *h₃eb^hi > Skt. *abhī*, OCS *obъ*, Lat. *ob* (Beeke 1990: 264).

bi-, be- 2 PIE

Prefixal use of *bi 1*, q.v.

biada str. vb. II 'order, command; offer; threaten' PIE

OFris. also *bieda*

This *bi-* form shows the late OWFris. transition (possibly a loan substitution) of *ia* to *ie* (Steller 1928: 15).

●PFRIS: *biada

Goth. *ana-biudan* 'order, command', *faur-biudan* 'forbid', ON *bjóða*, OE *bēodan*, OS *biodan*, OHG *biotan*, MHG *biecten*, MLG *bēden*, ODu. *biedon*, MDu. *bieden* 'order, offer'

●PGMC: *beudanaN

●PIE: *b^heud^h-

POKORNY: 150-2

Original meaning 'awake, observe' underwent a shift in meaning; cf. Skt. *bódhati* 'wake, observe, understand', Gr. *peúthomai* 'examine, experience',

also *punthánomai* 'id.', etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *bod, boda, bodthing*

***bibinda** str. vb. III 'bind, wrap (up)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2. verbal pref. and *binda*, cf. s.vv.

bicumbria cf. s.v. *bikumbria*

bidda str. vb. V 'ask, request; command' PIE

●PFRIS: *bidda

Goth. *bidjan*, ON *bijja*, OE *biddan*, OS *biddian*, OHG *bitten*, MHG *bit(t)en*, MLG, MDu. *bidden* 'request'

●PGMC: *bedjanaN

●PIE: *b^hed^h-

POKORNY: 114

On this root cf. s.vv. *bede* and *bed*. Other etymologies are in my view correctly criticised in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *bidjan*, viz.

(1) *b^hid^h- as an analogical (cf. *ligjan-, *sitjan-) ø-grade to *b^heid^h-, cf. Goth. *beidan*, OE *bīdan* etc. 'wait', Gr. *peithomai* 'be persuaded', Lat. *fido* 'trust' (Pokorny 1959: 117); the etymological connection of the Gmc. forms with this root as well as analogical ø-grade form in the root present complications.

(2) Seebold (1967: 112-3), who believes that *g^{wh}- yielded Gmc. *b-*, suggests a connection with *g^{wh}ed^h- 'ask, want, desire' (Pokorny 1959: 488, e.g. Gr. *théssasthai* 'beg' < *g^{wh}ed^h-s-, OIr. *guidid* 'ask' etc.); cf. s.v. *barna* as to the improbability of Seebold's theory.

Seebold (loc. cit.) presents a nice discussion of the problem with ample ref.

see also: *bede, bed*

biefta adv. 'remote, less cognate' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *efta* 'behind', cf. s.vv.

biervia wk. vb. 2 'donate land, property' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-ervia* 'leave (an inheritance)', cf. s.vv.

see also: *erva, erve, -ervia*

bifa str. vb. VII 'cover' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *fā* 'catch; take prisoner, arrest', cf. s.vv.

bi-, befalla str. vb. VII 'fail' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *falla* 1. 'fall etc.', cf. s.vv.

bifara 1 str. vb. VI 'come across, catch' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *fara* 1. 'go etc.', cf. s.vv.

bifara 2 adv. 'before' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *fara* 3. 'before', cf. s.vv.

bifela str. vb. IV 'order' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-fela* 2. 'order', cf. s.vv.

bi-, befuchta str. vb. III 'fight against, attack, harm somebody' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *fiuchta* 'fight etc.', cf. s.vv.

bifolgia wk. vb. 2 'follow, track down; proceed against somebody' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *folgia*, *folia* 'follow etc.', cf. s.vv.

bigerdel subst. m. 'bag attached to a girdle, purse' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-gerdel* 'girdle', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *bigyrdel*, *bigerdel*, OHG *pigurtel*, MHG *bīgürtel*, MLG *bīgōrdel*, MDu. *bigordel(e)* 'id'.

bigunga str. vb. VII 'go around, go across, touch, hit; find; arrest' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *gunga* 'go etc.', cf. s.vv.

bi-, behalda str. vb. VII 'hold, possess, keep, protect, save' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *halda* 'protect, keep etc.', cf. s.vv.

bihalva prep. 'except' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *halve* 'side', cf. s.vv.

OFris. also *bihala*, *behalva*

The prefix could also appear in its weakened form: *behalva*; *bihala* shows loss of *-v-*, cf. van Helten (1890: 89).

●PFRIS: **be-*, *bihalva*

Syntagm within limited area: also in MLG *behalven*, *-er*, *bihalven* and in late-MDu. (Dial. of Holland) *behalven*.

bihelpa str. vb. III 'help, procure, get sth. for sb.' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *helpa* 'help', cf. s.vv.

bihropa str. vb. VII 'to indicate the culprit by screaming' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *hrōpa* 'call', cf. s.vv.

-bijen subst. m. 'beginning' Gmc.

In: Ds *on bi enene* 'first beginning, start' for **on bi enne* (Buma 1961 XI, 22; van Helten 1890: 122).

OFris. also *bigin*, *begin*

The prefix could appear in its weakened form, hence *be-* next to *bi-*; the palatal fricative could be written <g> or <j>. I take the form *bijen* as a deverbative formation, cf. *-bijenna*.

●PFRIS: **be-*, *bigin*

Also in: OHG *bigin*, MHG *begin*, MLG *begin(nc)*, MDu. *begin*, *begen*, which probably represent independently arisen formations rather than inherited deverbative because the OHG form only sporadically occurs after 800 AD

(thus Pfeifer 1989 s.v. *beginnen*).

Deverbative to *-bijenna*, q.v.

-bijenna str. vb. III 'begin' Gmc.

In: *on bi gonste* 'first began' (XII, 2) (van Helten 1907a: 257).

Bremer (1893: 306) states that the verb was originally weak (pace van Helten 1890: 207), since strong forms occur only later.

OFris. also *biginna*, *beginna*

On <-g-> in these by-forms cf. s.v. *-bijen*.

●PFRIS: *be-, *bigenna* / *be-, *biginna*

Goth. *duginnan*, OE *beginnan*, OS, OHG *biginnan*, MHG, MLG *beginnen*, ODu. *beginnan*, MDu. *beginnen*, *begennu* 'begin' (no ON cognate)

●PGMC: *bigannanaN (OFris., MDu. by-forms) next to *bigannanaN

The verb occurs with various prefixes, e.g. Goth. *guginnan* 'begin, attempt', OE *onginnan*, *onaginnan*, OHG *inginnan*; also cf. ODu. ppp *hagunnan*.

In contradiction to the often found statement (e.g. Kluge 1989, de Vries 1992 s.v. *beginnen*) that the verb only occurs in compounds, we once find the simplex: *gundt-* in H₂ (XIV, 67).

● IE etymology disputed

Suggestions in de Vries 1992 s.v., Seebold (1970: 224-5). Most promising seems connection with *g^hend- in Gr. *khundánō* (< *g^hend-n-h₂-ō, analogical formation with a laryngeal, Beekes p.c.), Lat. *prachendō* 'seize', but this yields formal problems as the Gmc. evidence suggests PGmc. *-gann-/*-genn- which cannot directly be derived from PIE *g^houd-/g^hend-.

The various present and preterite formations, the unclear geminate *-nn-*, and perhaps also the variation in prefixes (attached to a hardly attested simplex) may on the other hand point to a non-IE adstratum (Pfeifer 1989, de Vries loc. cit.).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 224-5

bikanna wk. vb. I 'recognize; acknowledge, pay (compensation)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-kanna* 'know', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 40-1

bikera wk. vb. I 'convert (to christianity)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *kera* 'turn etc.', cf. s.vv.

bikumbria wk. vb. 2 'charge, levy a distress upon somebody' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-kumbria* 'levy a distress upon somebody's goods', cf. s.vv.

bilesa wk. vb. I 'take away (from sb.)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *lěsa* 'buy off, take away (from sb.)', cf. s.vv.

biliaga str. vb. II 'tell lies (about sb.)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-liaga* 'lie', cf. s.vv.

bi-, beliva str. vb. I 'stay' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-liva* 'stay', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Markey 1969: 47ff.; Vries 1990: 490ff.

biluka str. vb. II 'close (off), contract' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-lūka* 'close (off), contract', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 41 [obsolete]; Sjölin 1970-75: 180 [on *-lūka* as the second member; correcting Van Helten loc. cit.]

binda str. vb. III 'bind' PIE

●PFRIS: *binda

Goth. *bindan*, ON *binda*, OE, OS *bindan*, OHG *bintan*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *binden*

●PGMC: *bindanaN

●PIE: *b^hend^h-

Skt. *bandhnāti*, Av. *bandaiiati* 'bind', Lat. *offendix* 'chin strap' etc. (e.g. Seebold 1970: 102-4). Note that the derivation of often quoted Gr. *peisma* 'rope, cord' from *pent^h-sma (cf. Frisk 1960-1972, Chantraine 1968 s.v. + ref.) yields formal problems (Lejeune 1972: 139).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

see also: bende

binetha prep. 'below; less than' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-netha* 'below', cf. s.vv.

binna prep. adv. 'inside, in, beneath, during, less than' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *inna* 'inside, in etc.', cf. s.vv.

bi-, beravia wk. vb. 2 'rob, deprive sb. of sth.' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-rāvia* 'rob etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

birethia wk. vb. 2 'find guilty of' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-rethia* 'speak etc.', cf. s.vv.

biropa cf. s.v. *bihrōpa*

biscop subst. m. 'bishop' LW

●PFRIS: *biscop

(ON *biskup*, *byskup* [= OE loan, cf. de Vries 1977: 38]), OE *bisc(e)op*, OS *biskop*, OHG *bischof*, MHG *bischof*, MLG *bischof*, ODu. *biscop*, MDu. *bis(s)cop*, *biscob*.

From Rom. *piscopu < Lat. *episcopus* < Gr. *epískopos* 'lit. supervisor', cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *bisschop*.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *biscop*; Wollmann 1990: 511, 521

bi-, beseka str. vb. VI 'deny, dispute' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *sēka* 2. 'dispute etc.', cf. s.vv.

Sjölin (1970-75: 180) points out the arguments in favour of **sökja-* 'seek' (OE *sēcan*) rather than **saka-* 'fight' (Goth. *sakan*, OE *sacan*) as the second member.

bisia str. vb. V 'see, perceive, detect' PIE

Compound of *bi-* 2., *be-* pref. and *siā* 'see', cf. s.vv.

bisitta str. vb. V 'possess, keep in possession (e.g. stolen things)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *sitta* 'sit etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 47

biskia str. vb. V 'happen, occur' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be* 2., pref. and *skiā* 'happen, occur', cf. s.vv.

biskirma wk. vb. I 'protect, defend' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-skirma* 'protect, defend', cf. s.vv.

bi-, besla str. vb. VI 'close down (a service in church)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *slā* 'hit etc.', cf. s.vv.

bi-, besluta str. vb. II 'close, lock up; bury; enclose, contain' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-slūta* 'close', cf. s.vv.

biswera str. vb. VI 'swear, swear an oath of office, confirm under oath' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *swera* 'swear etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 318

bita str. vb. I 'cut, pierce, penetrate' PIE

The original meaning *'bite' is not attested in R₁ where the verb designates penetrations of weapons into the body (also cf. MLG, e.g. VI, 57 ... *heth hit inur ebitin forth inur thene maga...* '... has it further penetrated until into the stomach...' etc.

●PFRIS: **bīta*

Goth. *beitan*, ON *bīta*, OE, OS *bītan*, OHG *bīzan*, MHG *bīzen* 'bite', MLG *bīten* 'bite, cut, chop or split in two (by a weapon), MDu. *bīten* 'bite (with force), cut, chop; have breakfast'.

●PGMC: **beitanaN*

●PIE: **b^heid-*

POKORNY: 116

Skt. *bhinādmī* 'split, chop, break', Gr. *phēidomai* 'spare' (< 'separate oneself from', cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *beitan* following Chantraine), Lat. *findo* 'chop', etc. (also Seebold 1970: 96-9). So, the original meaning 'split' underwent a semantical shift in Germanic.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303

see also: *biti*

bitegia wk. vb. 2 'accuse (of), prosecute' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-tegia* 'accuse etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 52

see also: bitigia

biteknia wk. vb. 2 'mean, signify' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-teknia* 'signify etc.', cf. s.vv.

bitella wk. vb. 1 'calculate, compute; charge' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *tella* 'count etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 49

***bitena** wk. vb. 1 'barricade, block with the help of banks of osier and sand' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-tēna* 'place a blockade of banks of osier and sand', cf. s.vv.

bithanka wk. vb. 1 'take care of oneself, help oneself, look after oneself' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-thanka* 'think', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 50

bithingia wk. vb. 2 'settle in court; summon by law' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *thingia* 'do justice etc.', cf. s.vv.

bithiu prep. adv. 'therefore' PIE

Syntagm of *bi* 1. 'by, at etc.' and *thi* 2. dem. pron./def. art. (Isn *thiu*), cf. s.vv.

biti subst. m. 'bite (subst.); cut, penetration of a weapon' PIE

In: *benes biti* (VI, 45) 'cut in a bone', (VI, 105) 'cut in a leg'.

OFris. also *bit*

This apocopated form appears to represent a later, OWFrís. development (cf. on the evidence von Richthofen 1840 s.v.); in E₃ (I, 134) I assume haplological omission of the ending: *tuskes bit en mete vnd* for **.bite_u en*.

●PFRIS: **biti*

ON (n.) *bit* 'bite; later: meadow for grazing cattle', OE *bite*, OS *biti*, OHG, MHG *biz*, MLG *bēte*, *bēt*, *bette*, *bētcu*, *bettcu*, MDu. *bete* 'bite, bit'

●PGMC: **bitiz*

On the unexpected OHG endingless form cf. Boutkan (1995: 64-65 and especially 242-3 + ref.); pacc Antonsen (1969-1970).

●PIE: **b^hid-is*

An i-stem formation to the root **b^heid-*, cf. s.v. *bīta*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303; van Helten 1907a: 49

bitigia wk. vb. 2 'accuse (of), prosecute' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-tigia* 'accuse etc.', cf. s.vv.

see also: bitegia

bitimbria wk. vb. 2 'campshed, close off with timber' PIE
Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-timbria* 'carpenter, build', cf. s.vv.

-bivinge subst. f. 'tremor' PIE
Appears in *irth biuinge* (XI, 21) 'earthquake'.

●PFRIS: *bivingi

A strong feminine *-ung-formation to PGmc. *bib-, cf. s.v. *bevia*.
Also in: OE *-beofung*, *-bifung*, OS *-biþunga*, OHG *-bibunga*, ODu. *bivonga*, MHG *bibunge*, MLG *bēvinge*, MDu. *bevinge* '(the act of) trembling'.
see also: *bevia*, *irthbivinge*

bi-, bewella str. vb. III 'contaminate, stain (figurative)' PIE
In: *vmbe wllen* (III, 45) 'uncontaminated', *bi wllen* (XIX, 1) 'contaminated'
Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *-wella* 'stain', cf. s.vv.

biwend subst. m. 'change (arbitrary)' PIE
Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *wend* 'return, case, etc.', cf. s.vv.

biwrogia wk. vb. 2 'punish, fine' PIE
Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *wrōgia* 'bring a matter before a court, accuse sb. etc.', cf. s.vv.

Blackeson NL LW

blat adj. 'poor' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *blāt

ON *blautr* 'soft; wet through', OE *blēat* 'miserable, poor', OHG *blōz* 'proud', MHG *blōz*, MLG *blōt*, MDu. *bloot*, *bloet* 'poor, naked'

●PGMC: *blautaz

● IE etymology unclear due to semantic problems.

Probably not to be compared with Gr. *phludarós* 'weak(ened) as a result of wetness', cf. the ON meaning (de Vries 1992 s.v. *bloot*; Pokorny 1959: 158-9).
Lchmann 1986 s.v. **blauþjan* rejects a PIE origin as well.

blendinge subst. f. 'blinding, the act of making blind' PIE
OFris. also *blendenge*,
This by-form shows weakening of the medial vowel. Pace von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *blendene*, *blindene*
They are not variants of this etymon, but f. i-stems (Goth. type *-eins*; van Helten 1890: 144).

●PFRIS: *blendingi

Feminine *-ing-derivation of the verbal root *blend- < *bland-ja-, cf. OFris. *blenda*, OE *blendan*, OHG *plenten*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *blenden* 'make blind' (next to OFris. *blindia*, OE *blindan* 'id.'): cf. also the strong formation Goth. *blandan*, ON *blanda*, OE, OS *blandan*, OHG *blantan* 'mix, blend'.

Lit: van Helten 1890: 77

see also: blind 1., -blind 2.

bli ? adj. 'good'

In: ... *alsa bli*, *sa* ... (XV, 19) which Buma s.v. interprets as '... of the same value as...; ... in the same state as...'

The interpretation of this form has been disputed. van Helten (1907a: 55-6) corrects *bli* to *bi like god* after the MLG parallel passage that reads *bi lyke guedt*. von Richthofen (1840) s.v. refers to *blide* 'happy' (Goth. *bleiþs*, OE *blīþe*, MLG *blīde*, MDu. *blide* etc.); This is etymologically correct, but the assumption that *blī* is a by-form of this word would be incorrect from a formal (we would not expect loss of *-d*) as well as a semantical point of view. I think that we are dealing with an adjective **bliwa* next to the substantive OFris. *blī* (von Richthofen 1840 quotes a by-form **blic* 'colour', which does not exist, cf. van Helten 1907a: 56), cf. OE *blō(h)*, *blīo(h)* 'colour, form, appearance', OS, ODu. *blī*, MDu. *blie*, *blye* 'colour'. On the adjective cf. OS *so bli* 'ita coloratus' (von Richthofen 1840: 653 s.v. *bli*). This is usually compared with Goth. *bleiþs* etc. (see above) and with 'lead, *plumbum*' in ON *blý*, OHG *blō*, OS, MHG *blī* (also 'colour'), MLG, MDu. *blī* to a putative root PIE **b^hleiH-* 'shine', cf. Lith. *blývas* 'lilac'[obscure word, possibly a loanword Sjs], but there are no cognates outside Germanic and Balto-Slavic (Pokorny 1959: 155, also 156 s.v. *bhlēig-*, *blīg-*, 157 s.v. *bleiq-*).

blika str. vb. I 'appear, be visible' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: **blika*

ON *blíkja* (also weak *blika*) 'shine (of shields)', OE *blīcan* 'shine, become visible', OS *blīkan* 'shine', OHG *plīhhan* 'become pale', MHG *blīchen*, 'shine', MLG *blīken*, MDu. *blīken* 'shine, become visible, appear'

●PGMC: **bleikanaN*

●PIE: **b^hleiH-ǵ-* [?]

POKORNY: 156

Extension of **b^hleiH-* 'shine', cf. s.v. *blī*. As in the case of **b^hleiH-*, we find BS. cognates only: Lith. *blizgù* 'shine', OCS *bliskъ* < **b^hleiHǵ-sko-* 'shine'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 118-120

blind 1 adj. 'blind' PIE

●PFRIS: **blind*

Goth. *blinds*, ON *blindr*, OE, OS *blind*, OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu. *blint* 'blind'

●PGMC: **blindaz*

Ablaut forms in Goth. *blandan* etc. (cf. s.v. *blendinge*) and in ON *blunda* 'close the eyes', *blundr* 'sleep'.

●PIE: **b^hlend^h-*

POKORNY: 157-8

Lith. *blaudis* 'unclear' etc.; perhaps also to Skt. *bradhnā-* < **b^hlond^h-no-* 'reddish, greyish, sallow', but doubts in Mayrhofer (1986: 235).

see also: *blendinge*

-blind 2 subst. n. 'blindness' PIE
= substantivized adjective *blind 1*.

blod subst. n. 'blood' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *blōd

Goth. *bloþ*, ON *blóþ*, OE, OS *blōd*, OHG, MHG *bluot*, MLG *blōt*, ODu. *bluod*, MDu. *bloet*.

●PGMC: *blōþaŋ

● No certain IE etymology

The word has been connected (e.g. de Vries 1992 s.v. *bloed*, Lehmann 1986 s.v. *bloþ* + reff.) with PIE *b^hleH- 'swell, blow up, bubble' (Pokorny 1959: 120-2); perhaps *b^hloH-to-m > *blō-to-m > PGmc. *blōþaŋ. I rather assume a non-IE word.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

blodelsa, blodilsa subst. m. 'bloody wound, bleeding' Gmc.

The first form shows a weakened medial vowel *-i-.

●PFRIS: *blōdilsa

MLG *blōdelse, blōdelse*

●PGMC: *blōdilsa

An *-ilsan-derivation of *blōd*, q.v. (Kluge 1899: 65; Ahlsson 1960: 138).

Lit: van Helten 1890: 150; example not in Ahlsson

blodgia wk. vb. 2 'wound sb. until bleeding' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *blōdgia

Denominative verb of *blōdich*, q.v.

Also in: OE *geblōdgian*; similarly ON *blóþga* 'make bloody' to *blóþugr*, OHG *bluotagōn* (with *-ag-), cf. de Vries (1977: 44-5 s.v. *blóð*).

blodich adj. 'bloody' Gmc.

OFris. also *blōdech*

This by-form shows weakening of *i to /ə/ <e>.

●PFRIS: *blōdih

An adjectival *-ig-derivation of *blōd*, q.v.

blodilsa cf. s.v. *blōdelsa, blodilsa*

blodrisne subst. f. 'bleeding wound, haematoma' Gmc.

Compound of *blōd* 'blood' and *-risne* 'flood', cf. s.vv.

blodrunnande adj. 'bleeding' PIE

OFris. also *blōdrinnande, -rennande*

These by-forms belong to the ablaut variants *rinnan, *rannjan (Goth. *rinnan, ur-rannjan*), whereas *runnande* belongs to the aorist-present *runnan (van Helten 1890: 209 Anm. 2). Similar variation s.v. *barna*.

Compound of *blōd* 'blood' and present participle of *runna* 'stream, flow', cf. s.vv.

bod subst. n. 'commandment' PIE

●PFRIS: *bod

Substantival o-stem neuter to the PIE root *b^heuð^h-, cf. s.v. *biada*.

Also in: OE *bod*, etc.

●PGMC: *budan

see also: *biada*, *boda*, *bodthing*

boda subst. m. 'messenger, ambassador' PIE

●PFRIS: *boda

Substantival n-stem masculine to PIE *b^heuð^h-, cf. s.v. *biada*.

Also in: Runic Frisian *boda* (Arum; recently Quak 1990: 360), OE *boda*, etc.

see also: *biada*, *bod*, *bodthing*

bodthing subst. n. 'obligatory public lawsuit (every 4 years)' PIE

Compound of *bod* 'commandment' and *thing* 'lawsuit etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: reff. in Bremmer 1992: 156

bok subst. n. 'book' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *bōk

Goth. *boka*, ON *bók*, OS *bōk*, OE *bōc*, OHG *buoh*, MHG *buoch*, MLG *bōk*, *buk*, MDu. *boc*, *booc*, *bouc*, *bucc* 'book'

●PGMC: *bōk(ō)

●PIE: *b^heh₂ǵo-

POKORNY: 107-8

The word has, in my view correctly, been connected with the IE word *b^heh₂ǵo- 'name of a tree', cf. Lat. *fāgus*, ON *bók*, OE *bōc*, *bēcc*, OS *bōk*, *bōkia*, OHG *buocha* 'becch', Gr. *phēgōs* 'oak'; discussion and reff. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *boka*. Recently also Griepentrog (1995: 59-77, especially 74ff.).

boklund subst. n. 'land from an inheritance that was left to the church' PIE

Compound of *bōk* 'book' and *lund* 'land etc.', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *bōclund* 'id.'

Lit: reff. in Bremmer 1992: 156

bon 1 subst. m. 'order, commandment; jurisdiction; penalty (money); (religious) eternal doom; excommunication' PIE

OFris. also *ban*

This by-form is orthographical: similarly to OE, there was no opposition between /o/ and /a/ before /u/.

●PFRIS: *bon

ON *bann* 'prohibition, excommunication, curse', OE *gebann* 'proclamation', OE, OS *bann* 'commandment, prohibition', OHG, MHG *ban* 'commandment, prohibition', MLG *ban* 'power, punishment, ban', MDu. *ban* 'order, commandment; jurisdiction; excommunication'

●PGMC: *bannaz

●PIE: *b^heh₂-/*b^hen-

POKORNY: 105-6

Interpretation of IE evidence not entirely clear. Skt. *bhánati* < *b^hen- (or *b^hh₂-en-?), Gr. *phēmí*, Lat. *fāri* 'say, speak' < *b^heh₂-. The root originally meant 'speak, say' and underwent a semantic specialisation in Gmc. The Gmc. geminate may originate from the development *b^hh₂- > *bann-, or, perhaps better, from a nasal present *b^hen^h- > -nn-.

Lit: reff. in Bremmer 1992: 156; Lendinara 1990: 292

see also: bon 2., bonna, bonnere

bon 2 subst. m. 'usher, servant in court' PIE

Substantival o-stem masculine to PIE *b^heh₂-, cf. s.v. *bon 1*.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. for reff. as to semantics

see also: bon 1., bonna, bonnere

bon- 3 subst. m. 'murderer' Gmc.

A substantive to PGmc. *ban- occurring in compounds.

see also: benethe

bona- subst. m. 'murderer' Gmc.

Occurs in *bonahond* 'murderer's hand' = metonymy for 'murderer'.

An n-stem to PGmc. *ban-.

see also: benethe

bonahond subst. f. 'murderer' Gmc.

= 'murderer's hand' = *pars pro toto* for 'murderer'.

Compound of *bona-* and *hond*, cf. s.vv.

bondedoch adj. (substantivised) 'murderous; murderer' PIE

Compound of *bon- 3*. and *-dēdoch*, cf. s.vv.

bonna str. vb. VII 'order, command, proclaim, confirm with a commandment' PIE

OFris. also *banna*

This by-form is orthographical: similar to OE, there was no opposition between /o/ and /a/ before /n/.

●PFRIS: *bonna

Strong verbal formation to PIE *b^heh₂-, cf. s.v. *bon 1*.

Also in: ON *banna* 'forbid, prohibit', OE, OS, OHG *bannan*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *bannen* 'order, command, proclaim, confirm with a commandment'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300; Seebold 1970: 88-90

see also: bon 1., bon 2., bonnere

bonnere subst. m. 'usher, servant in court' PIE

OFris. also *bannere*

This by-form is orthographical: similar to OE, there was no opposition between

/o/ and /a/ before /n/.

●PFRIS: *bonniri

Substantival -ere-formation (also MLG *banre*, cf. von Richthofen 1840 s.v.) to *bann- cf. s.v. *bon 1*.

-**borā** cf. s.v. -*bera 2*.

bord subst. n. (m.?) 'side of a ship' PIE

●PFRIS: *bord

Goth. *foṭu|baurd* 'footboard', ON *borþ* 'side (of a ship), plank, board (also as part of a table)', OE *bord* 'side of a ship, plank, board, shield', OS *bord* 'side of a ship, shield', OHG, MHG *bort* 'side (of a ship)', MLG *bōrt*, MDu. *bort*, *boort*, *boert* 'side (of a ship), plank, board'

●PGMC: *burdaN

cf. also weak masc.: ON *borþi* 'piece of cloth with embroidery', OE *borda*, OHG *borṭo* '(ornamental) edge (of clothes)', MLG *bōrde* 'edge (of clothes)';

o-grade in: ON *barþ* 'edge'.

●PIE: *b^her-d^h-

POKORNY: 138

Not to Gr. *pérthō* 'destroy' see Frisk 1960-1972 s.v.; Wurzelerweiterung to *b^her- 3. [Pokorny 1959: 133] 'cut, pierce, etc.', cf. also *b^her-H- in Gr. *pharóōsi* 'they plough', Lat. *forāre* 'perforate' (OHG *borōn* 'id.').

Lit: Lehmann 1986 s.v. *foṭubaurd*; Lendinara 1990: 302; Schrijver 1991: 216

borgia wk. vb. 2 'borrow, take up money' Gmc.

OFris. also *burgia*

This variant has no a-Umlaut. In *borgia*, the a-Umlaut may have arisen after the noun *borg* 'guaranty, pawn', cf. OE *borg* 'id.', OS *borg*, MDu. *borch* 'pawn'; also weak OFris. *borga* (also *burga*), cf. OE *byrga*, OS *burgio*, OHG *bur(i)go*, MHG *borge* (also *bürge*), MLG *borge*, *börge*, MDu. *borge*, *boorge* 'guaranty'.

●PFRIS: *burgia

ON *borga* 'be a guarantee for sb.', OE *borgian* 'borrow', OHG *borgēn* 'preserve, save (money)', MHG *bürgen*, MLG *borgen*, *börgen* 'be a guarantee for sb.', MDu. *borgen* 'preserve, be a guarantee, take up money, borrow'.

Cf. also ablauting Goth. *bairgan* 'keep', ON *bjarga* 'save, help', OE *beorgan*, OS *gijbergan*, OHG *bergan* 'keep, preserve'

●PGMC: *burg-

● No certain IE etymology

Only BS. evidence, cf. Lith. *birginti* 'be parsimonious', OCS *bręgo* 'care for' etc.; probably a substratum word (de Vries 1992 s.v. *bergen*).

Lit: Lehmann 1986 s.v. *bairgan*

bos(e)m subst. m. 'bosom, breast' Gmc.

Only in Ds *bosme* (VII, 13; VIII, 39)

●PFRIS: *bōsm

OE *bōsm*, OS *bōsom*, OHG *buosam*, -*um*, MHG *buosem*, -*en*, MLG *bōsem(e)*, (*ge*)*bōsme*, MDu. *bosem*, *boesem* 'bosom'

●PGMC: **bōsmaz*

● No certain IE etymology.

The word has been derived from PIE **b^hōs-mo-* (Pokorny 1959: 146), cf. Skt. *bābhasti* 'chew (not: 'blow!)', Gr. *psúkho* 'blow', which is doubtful for semantical reasons. The current derivation from **b^huH-s-mon* (Pokorny 1959: 98ff., especially 101, de Vries 1992 s.v. *boezem*; cf. also s.v. *-bēl*) must be given up for formal reasons: the stem vowel *ō* < **-ōuH-?* or **-ū-?* as well as the actual strong formation PWGmc. **-m* < **-maz* rather than weak **-mo* (Pfeifer 1989 s.v. *Busen* suggests **-s-ma-*, i.e. a PIE **mo-*derivation). Another IE etymology (cf. Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *boezem*) is the derivation from a putative PIE root **b^hes-*. If this is correct, we must start from a meaning 'swollen part of the body [female breasts?, cf. s.v. *brust-*]. However, there is no further evidence for the root nor is a lengthened grade to be expected in a *-mo-*derivation.

Note that the word occurs in WGmc. only, which might point to a substratum word; in this respect cf. Holthausen (1963: 31 s.v. *bōsm*) 'Unbek. Herk.'

bote subst. f. 'fine, penalty, penance, compensation' Gmc.

Ofris. also *būte*

On the sporadic spelling <u> denoting (phonetically closed) /*ō*/ cf. van Helten (1890: 20).

●PFRIS: **bōti*

Goth. *bota* 'usefulness, profit', ON *bót* 'cure, compensation, patch', OE *bōt* 'improvement, substitute', OS *bōta*, OHG *buoz(a)*, MHG *buoze*, MLG *bōt(e)*, MDu. *bote*, *buete*, *boete* 'improvement, penance'.

● No IE etymology

cf. s.v. *beta*

see also: *enbete*, *twibete*, *sexbete*

bova prep. 'above' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *ova* 'on, over etc.', cf. s.vv.

branga wk. vb. 1 'bring; attest, declare, assure' Gmc.

Ofris. also *brenza* (and orthogr. variant *brendza*, *brenza*, *brensa*, *brenzia*), *bren(h)a* On the partial umlaut before /ng/ cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX). The assibilation (palatalisation) **g* > <*sz*> represents the expected development, whereas /*g*/ must be analogical (van Helten 1890: 111).

●PFRIS: **brenǵa*/**brangǵa*

OE *brengan*, OS *brengian*, MLG, MDu. *brengen* 'id.'

next to **e*-vocalism in Goth. *briggan*, OE, OS, OHG *bringan*, ODu. *bringon*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *bringen* 'id.'

●PGMC: **brangjanaN*

●PIE: *b^hrenk-

Welsh *he-brwng* 'bring' < *-bronk, etc. Probably not to Tocharian *prānk*- with unclear meaning (Lubotsky p.c.). We are probably dealing with a Germanic/Celtic substratum word (thus de Vries 1992 s.v. *brenge*). Less probable, a nasal present of the root *b^her- (cf. s.v. *bera* 1.) enlarged with a velar Wurzelerweiterung *b^hr-en-g^h- (Lehmann 1986 s.v. *briggan*). The current view that we are dealing with a combination of the roots *bh(e)r- + *enek- (Pokorny 1959: 316; idea [originally Brugmann's] accepted on 168) cannot be maintained as the latter must be reinterpreted as *Hnek according to our knowledge of PIE root structure; *bh(e)r- + *Hnek- could not yield PGmc. *brenge-.

Lit: Lehmann 1986 s.v. *briggan* for further ref. and older views; Seebold 1970: 136-7

bre- subst. n. 'eyebrow' PIE

In *brēskredene* (V, 13) 'cutting of the eyebrows'.

●PFRIS: *brē

ON *brá* 'eyelash' < *b^hrēuH-, *brún* 'eyebrow' < *b^hruH-, OE *bræw*, *brū*, but also *bræg*, OS, OHG *brāwa*, but also OS *brāha*, MHG *brā(we)*, MLG *brā*, MDu. *bra(u)we* 'eyebrow'

●PGMC: *brē₁wj-/brē₁gĭ-

As to the problematic variation *-w-/-g-(-h-), I feel sympathetic towards Hammerich's idea that OE *bræg*, OS, OHG *brāha* attest to a development *-uHi- > *-uūi-, after which *-uūi- (next to *-uūi-) > *-ugĭ- (Hammerich 1955: 183); cf. also:

'gnat': ON *mý* < *mūj- < *muHj- next to OE *mycg*, OS *muggia* etc. < *mugj- (/mugi) < *muūi- < *muHi- (Gr. *muā*, Lat. *musca*);

'bridge': ON *brú* < *brōū- next to *bryggja*, OE *brycg* etc. < *brugj- (/brugi) < *bruūi- < *bruHi-.

This latter word may be the same etymon as 'eyebrow' (see further s.v. *bregge*). Alternatively, one may assign the forms containing *g/h to PGmc. *brek- (see *brida*).

●PIE: *h₃b^hr(ē)uH-

POKORNY: 172-3

Cf. Skt. *bhrū-*, Gr. *ophrūs*, OCS *brъvъ*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: (*bregge*), *breskredene*, *brida*

brēda str. vb. VII 'roast [burn alive]' PIE

●PFRIS: *brēda

ON *bráþna*, *bræþa* '(intr.) melt', OE *brædan*, OS *brādan*, OHG *brātan*, MHG *brāten*, MLG *brāden*, MDu. *braden* 'roast' [On problematic Crimean Goth. *brēn* 'id.', cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v.], cf. also

*brē₁þ-: ON *bráþ* 'pitch', *bráþr* 'sudden, hot-tempered', also OE *bræþ* 'vapour, breath', OHG *brādan* 'heath, vapour, breath', MHG *brādem* 'vapour'; in view of these forms rather an original meaning 'steam, heat', also cf.

*bröd-: OE *brōd*, MHG *bruot*, MLG *brōt* 'brood' (also MLG *brōien*, *brōgen* 'boil'),

etc.

●PGMC: *brē₁d-

●PIE: *b^hreh₁-t-

POKORNY: 133

Skt. *bhurāti* < *b^hrh₁-é-ti 'moves rapidly, quivers', Av. *barənti* 'when it is stormy'.

Not parallel to Lat. *fretus*, *fretum* 'strait, channel, surging of the sea' which must reflect *b^hr-eto- without laryngeal, because *b^hrH-eto- would have yielded **faritum (Schrijver 1991: 255). Schrijver (1991: 252-6) discusses the different root forms and extensions. Here is an overview of the cognate Gmc. formations:

A. √*b^hr(e)h₁

(1) *b^hreh₁-t- 'fry?' (under discussion here)

– OFris. *brēda* and cognates;

– PGmc. *brē₁þ-, ON *bráþ*, etc.;

– PGmc. *bröd- < *b^hroh₁-t-, etc.

(2) *b^hrh₁-u- 'whirl, seethe'

– 'source': Goth. *brunna*, ON *brunnr*, OS, OHG *brunno*, OE *brunna*, *burna*, OFris. *burna* < *brun- < *b^hrūn- < *b^hruh₁n- < *b^hrh₁-u-n-

– OHG *wintes prūt* 'storm' < *b^hruh₁-to- < *b^hrh₁-u-to- (metathesis)

– MHG *brūsen*, MDu. *brusen* 'bubble' < *b^hruh₁-s- < *b^hrh₁-u-s- (metathesis)

– brew': OE *brēowan*, OS *breuwan*, OHG *briuwan*, OWFris. *briouwa* (ON part. *brugginn*) < *breww- < *b^hreuh₁- (secondary e-grade of a form with metathesis; with verschärfung of *-uh₁-), cf. also

◊ 'bread': ON *brauþ*, OS *brōd*, OHG *brōt* < *b^hrouh₁-tom

B. √*b^her-

(3) *b^hr-u- 'boil'

– 'broth': ON, OE *broþ*, OHG *prod* < *b^hru-to-

(4) *b^her-mn- 'barm'

– 'barm': OE *beorma* (cf. Lat. *fermentum*?).

Unclear is the assignment of Goth. *brinnan* etc. 'burn', cf. s.v. *barna*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304; Seebold 1970: 128-9

-**brede** subst. f. 'width, latitude, level, membrane' Gmc.

Only in *hēlibrede* 'cerebral membrane'

●PFRIS: *brēde

OHG *breiti*, MHG *breite*, MLG *brē(i)de*, MDu. *bre(e)de*, *breide* 'breadth'

●PGMC: *braidi-

An i-stem abstractum to *braidaz 'broad', cf. Goth. *braiþs*, ON *breiþr*, OE *brād*, OS, OFris. *brēd*, OHG *breit*.

● No IE etymology.

see also: *helde* 2., *heli-*, *helibrede*, *helrn*, *hille*

brēf subst. n. 'letter concerning a ban, an excommunication' LW

●PFRIS: *brēf

ON *brēf*, OS, MLG *brēf*, OHG *brīaf*, *brīef*, MHG, MDu. *brief* 'letter, written piece' common-Gmc. *brē₂f-

From Lat. *brevis* 'short' with Romance lengthening of the vowel and pronunciation of /u/ as a bilabial fricative.

Lit: absent from Holthausen 1921; Wollmann 1990: 525, 529

bregge subst. f. 'bridge' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *brigge*

This by-form represents a later reflex of delabialized *ü (Steller 1928: 12).

●PFRIS: *bregge

ON *bryggja* 'landing-stage, quay', also *brú*, cf. Swedish *bro* 'bridge', OE *brycg*, OS *-bruggja*, OHG *brucka*, MHG *brucke*, *brügge*, MLG *brügge*, MDu. *brugge*, *brogge*, *brigge*, *bregge* 'bridge'

●PGMC: *brugjō/brū-

●PIE: *b^hruH-i- [?]

POKORNY: 173

OCS *brъvъno* 'beam'; difficult reconstruction of Proto Slavic given such n-less forms as ORuss. *berъvъ* 'stream', SCr. *břv* 'beam, bridge'. Perhaps also to be connected with Gaul. *brīva* < *b^hrēu- < *b^hrēh₁u-? The Gmc. semantic specialisation towards 'bridge' must have been preceded by an earlier stage in which the word meant 'wooden construction', cf. HG (Bavarian) *bruck* 'bank made out of planks near the fireplace', Swiss German *brugi* 'wooden floor' (Pfeifer 1989 s.v. *Brücke*). This stage can be linked up with OCS.

The velar element has been unclear. On a possible explanation see *brē-*. Ref. on the connection with the word 'eyebrow' in de Vries (1992) s.v. *brug*. Perhaps, however, a velar suffix: *b^hr-u-k- (e.g. Kluge 1989 s.v. *Brücke*).

breka str. vb. IV 'break (open), tear down, destroy, violate, commit a crime, be in debt through guilt' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *breka

Goth. *brikan*, (ON *braka* 'creak'), OE, ODu. *brecan*, OS *brekan*, OHG *brehhan*, MHG *brechn*, MLG *brēken*, MDu. *breken* 'break'

●PGMC: *brekanaN

●PIE: *b^hreǵ- [?]

POKORNY: 165

Lat. *frango* 'break', OIr. *braigid* 'fart'; Probably Skt. *giri-bhráj-* 'being stiff as mountains' (Darms 1978: 298) is not cognate. Thus, we are dealing with an Italic-Celtic-Germanic word which may have a substratum origin; Seebold (1970: 132-135) accepts the IE etymology, however.

see also: *breke*

breke subst. m. 'burst, crack; demolition (of a house), crime' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *bre(s)ze*, *breszie*

These forms show the expected assibilation (palatalisation) of *-k- before *i;

the R-form must have introduced the *-k-* analogically.

●PFRIS: *breći

OE *bryce*, OS *bruki*, OHG *bruh*, MHG *bruch*, MLG *brök(e)*, *gebröke*, MDu. *broke*, *brue(c)ke*, *broe(c)ke*, *bruke*; also delabialized *breke* (however f.) in the meaning 'crime'?

●PGMC: *brukiz [P(W)Gmc.]

Substantial *-i-formation to the root *brek- < PIE *b^hreg-, see *breka*.

Brema NL LW

breskredene subst. f. 'cutting off the eyebrow(s)' PIE

OFris. also *brieskerdene* (1x H), *breinskerdene* (1x E1), *bresskedene* (1x F)

On these compounds and their separate members cf. (van Helten 1907a: 67-8); <bie->, <brein-> are scribal errors for <bro->; <bres-> is either a scribal error or the Gs of *brē-*. On *-skerdene* next to current *-skredene* unclear (van Helten 1907a loc. cit.); *-skredene* writing error for either form.

●PFRIS: *brēskrēdeni, *brēskerdeni

Compound of *brē-* 'eyebrow' and *skredene* 'cutting (off)', cf. s.vv.

brida str. vb. III 'twitch (eye), to appropriate, rob (in ur-)' PIE [?]

OFris. also (regular) *breida*

Riustring dialect shows *ī* < *ei (cf. Boutkan 1996).

●PFRIS: *breida

ON *bregþa* 'move quickly, change', OE *bregdan*, *brēdan* 'move quickly', OS *bregdan* 'braid', OHG *brettan*, MHG *brehen* 'pull, tug'

●PGMC: *bregdanaN

also Goth. *bralva augins* 'in the twinkling of an eye' < *brah-wa-, ON *augna-bragþ* 'twinkling of an eye', OE *breahm* 'glance'

The words for 'eyebrow' have been compared here as well (c.g. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *brah*; cf. *brē-*), which may be tempting from a semantic point of view, but problematic from a formal point of view.

Perhaps the problematic forms containing *g/h (OE *bræg*, OS, OHG *brāha*) actually belong here, but the other forms point to *-w- and have a clear IE etymology.

●PIE: *b^hrek- [?]

POKORNY: 141-2

Skt. *bhrāsate* 'shines, glitters', not attested; Gr. *phorkón* 'white, grey' (Hes.); both cognates doubtful.

Seebold (1970: 129-132) tentatively compares Skt. *bhurāti* 'moves quickly', Lith. *bruzdūs* 'fast', OCS *brъzo* 'quick', Mir. *bras* 'hasty, fast, impetuous'. The Skt. form is left out in Pokorny (1959: 143), who, on the other hand, adds Welsh *brys* 'fast, impetuous', MBret. *bresic*, *brezec* 'hurried', Latin *festinō* 'hurry', SCr. *břz*, Russ. *borzój* 'quick' (reconstruction *bheres-).

The evidence in Pokorny (1959) was recently discussed by Schrijver (1990). Mir. *bras* means 'forward, boastful, defiant; great, forceful, violent' and has

no meaning 'hasty'. The form must be compared with Welsh *bras* 'great, big'. The British forms point to *b^hris-ti-. This reconstruction is corroborated by Lat. *festinare* < *b^hris-ti-. The BS. forms are not cognate. The -z- cannot reflect *-s-; the BS. form must be reconstructed *b_z- < *b(h)rǵh- and cannot be connected with the Celtic and Lat. forms that reflect a root *b^hris- 'hurry' (cf. also *b^hri-H- in Skt. *bhrīṇáti* 'wound'?).

Seebold's comparison of Skt. *bhuráti* yields problems as this form points to **b^hrH-, which can be identified as the root of *b^hr_{h1}-u- 'whirl, seethe' (cf. s.v. *brēda*).

Lit: Schrijver 1990

see also: bre-

brin- subst. n. 'brains' Gmc.

In *brīnponne*, q.v.

OFris. also (regular) *brein*

This form represents an older stage, whereas Riustring *brīn-* attests to the development *ei > ī (cf. also s.v. *brīda*).

●PFRIS: *brein

OE *bræg(e)n*, *bragen*, *brain*, *brcin*, MLG *brāgen*, *brēgen*, MDu. *bragen* (only North-East), *brein*

●PGMC: *bragnaN

The word is only retained in Ingveonic.

● No IE etymology

It has been suggested that we should start from PIE *mréǵ^h-mo- [Pokorny 1959: 750]. This reconstruction has been proposed on the basis of the comparison of the Ingveonic forms with Gr. *brekhmós*, *brékhma* (*brégna*) 'forehead'. The vocalism differs, however. Moreover, the assumption of the required development *mr- > br- is *ad hoc*.

Lit: de Vries 1992 s.v. *brein* on Dutch dialectal retentions.

brinponne subst. f. 'brain-pan, cranium' PIE

Compound of *brīn-* 'brains' and *-ponne* 'pan', cf. s.vv.

brond subst. m. 'fire, incendiarism, burning' PIE

OFris. also *brānd*

The spelling variation <a, o> denotes neutralization of *a ~ *o/_n; note the common-OFris. lengthening of a, o before *-nd*.

●PFRIS: *brānd

ON *brandr*, OE *brand*, *brond*, OS *brand*, OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu. *brant* 'fire, blaze'.

●PGMC: *brandaz

An o-stem noun to PGmc. *brennanaN, *brannjanaN, cf. s.v. *barna*.

see also: *barna* (-berna, burna)

brother subst. m. 'brother' PIE

Ofris. also *bröder*, *brōr*

The form *bröder* (E, OWFris.) shows the later transition *þ > d; *brōr* (OWFris.) shows (scarce) d-syncope (van Helten 1890: 105; Mod. Fris. *broer*, *broar*) as does contemporary Dutch.

●PFRIS: *brōther

Goth. *broþar*, ON *bróþir*, OE *brōþor*, OS *brōðar*, OHG, MHG *bruoder*, MLG *brōder*, ODu. *bruother*, MDu. *bro(e)der*, *bru(e)der* 'brother'

●PGMC: *brōþēr

●PIE: *b^hreh₂t-er-

POKORNY: 163-4

Skt. *bhrátar-*, Gr. *phrátēr*, Lat. *frater*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

bruka str. vb. II 'use, practice' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *brūka

Goth. *brūkjan* 'use', OE (*ge*)*brūcan*, OS *brūkan*, OHG (*ga*)*brūhhan*, MHG *brūchen*, MLG *brūken*, MDu. (*ghe*)*bru(i)ken* 'use, enjoy'

●PGMC: *brūkjanaN

cf. also Goth. *brūks*, OE *brýce*, OHG *brūhi* 'useful'; typically OFris. derivatives *brūkinge*, *brūkma* 'use, usage'

●PIE: *b^hruHǵ- [?]

POKORNY: 141-2

Only cognates in Lat., cf. *fruor* 'enjoy'. Loss of *-g- in this form unclear, cf. Schrijver (1991: 233), perhaps < *frūyōr- < *frūiōr- < *frūgjōr < *b^hruHǵjōr. Also cf. *frux* 'fruit'. Perhaps to PIE *b^hruH- 'cut off'? Seebold (1970: 140-1) prefers to assume an extension of *b^her- 'carry'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 309; Schrijver 1991: 232-3

brun adj. 'brown' PIE

●PFRIS: *brūn

ON *brún*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *brūn*, MDu. *bru(u)n* 'brown'

●PGMC: *brūn-

●PIE: *b^hruHno-

POKORNY: 136-7

Gr. *phrúnē* 'toad (viz. brown animal)'; to √*b^her- 'shiny, brown' (Pokorny 1959: loc. cit.), often used to denote (brown) animals, e.g. PIE *b^he-b^hr, Gs *b^hi-b^hr-ós 'beaver' in Skt. *babhrú-*, Lat. *fiber*, PGmc. *bebru- in ON *bjórr*, OE *bebr*, OHG *bibar*; refl. to Gmc. *brūn 'shiny' in Bremmer (1992: 157).

Bruneswik NL LW

brust- subst. f. 'breast' PIE

Ofris. also *burst*, *borst*, *briast*, *brast*

The OFris. evidence attests to all three Gmc. formations:

*brust-: OFris. *brust*, Goth. *brusts*, OHG *brust*;

*burst-: (WGmc. r-metathesis) OFris. *burst*, *borst* MHG *burst*, MLG *borst*,

brust(e), MDu. *borst*, *burst*, *barst*;

*breost-: (unclear ablaut) OFris. *briast*, *brast*, ON *brjóst*, OE *brēost*.

On attempts toward an explanation of the ablaut cf. the reff. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *brusts*. OFris. *briast* > *brast* attests to the 'rising' character of the diphthong (Steller 1928: 15). On *u* ~ *o*, cf. Sjölin (1969: 23).

●PFRIS: *brust-/*burst-/*briast-

●PGMC: *brust-/*breust-

cf. also MHG *briustern* 'swell', OS *brustian* 'bud forth'

●PIE: *b^hreus-

POKORNY: 170-1

OIr. *brū*, Gs. *bronn* 'belly, breast', *bruinne* 'breast, bosom', ORuss. *brjúcho* 'belly'.

brustwunde subst. f. 'wound in the breast' PIE

Compound of *brust-* 'breast' and *wunde* 'wound', cf. s.vv.

buk- subst. m. 'belly' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *būk

ON *búkr* 'trunk, body', OE *būc*, OS *būk*, OHG *būh*, MHG *būch*, MLG *būk* 'trunk, belly', ODu. *būk* 'uterus', MDu. *bu(u)c*, *buke*, *buyc* 'trunk, belly'

●PGMC: *būkaz

● No certain IE etymology.

Perhaps to be compared with Latv. *baugas* 'intestines' (Holthausen apud de Vries 1992 s.v. *būik* who rejects this connection).

bukwunde subst. f. 'wound in the belly' PIE

Compound of *būk-* 'belly' and *wunde* 'wound', cf. s.vv.

bur subst. m. 'neighbour' PIE

●PFRIS: *būr

OE *gebūr* 'occupier, countryman, farmer', OS *gibūr* 'neighbour', OHG *gibūr(o)* 'occupier, countryman, farmer', MHG *(ge)būr*, *būre*, MLG *(ge)būr*, MDu. *ghebuur*, *buer*, *buur*, *buier* 'countryman, neighbour'

●PGMC: *(ga)būraz

cf. also *būra 'house' in ON *búr* 'storehouse, room', OE *būr* 'room', OS, OHG *būr* 'house, room', MDu. *buur* 'house, barn'

To the root PGmc. *bū- (also *būwa* 'build'), cf. s.v. *bām*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 287

see also: *bam*, *-helda*, *buwa*, *buwunge*

-burgh subst. f. 'city' LW [?]/Gmc. [?]/PIE [?]

OFris. also *burich*

This by-form shows a parasite vowel (Steller 1928: 18).

●PFRIS: *burh

Goth. *baurgs* 'city, tower', ON *borg* 'city, castle, height, wall, fortified place', OE *burg*, *burh*, OS *burg*, OHG *bur(u)g*, MHG *burc*, MLG *borch*, MDu.

bor(e)ch, burch, boorch, borcht 'fortified place, castle, city', ODu. *burg* 'civitas'

●PGMC: *burgs

● No certain IE etymology.

Usually considered a contamination of a Gmc. word related to *berch* (q.v.; *burg- < *b^hṛǵ^h-) and a Latin loan *burgus*, itself borrowed from Gr. *púrgos* 'fortification' of unknown origin (cf. Hittite *parka-* 'high'?). The possibility remains that *burgs directly represents a substratum word in Gmc., related to Gr. *púrgos*, however.

Griepentrog (1995: 91-116, with abundant ref., especially p. 112) reconstructs *b^herǵ^h- ~ *b^hṛǵ^h- as paradigmatic ablaut forms of a PIE root noun, the latter form of which was generalized in Gmc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: berch

burna cf. s.v. *barna*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304

buta adv. prep. conj. 'outside; out, without, except, minus; but, however, except (when)' PIE

Compound of *bi-*, *be-* 2., pref. and *uta* 'to outside etc.', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *būta(n)* prep., conj., adv., OS *bi-ūtan*, *būtan* conj., OHG *bi-ūzan* prep., MHG *būzen* adv. prep., MLG *būten*, MDu. *buten* prep. adv.

buwa wk. vb. 1 'build, found' PIE

OFris. also *bōwa*

This form represents a dialectal development *ūw > ow (van Helten 1890: 20).

●PFRIS: *būwa

●PGMC: *bū(H)anaN

Goth. *bauan* 'build, live, inhabit, ON *búa* 'dwell, prepare', OE *būan*, *būw(i)an*, OS *būan* 'dwell', OHG *bū(w)an*, MHG *būwen*, *biuwen*, *bouwen*, MLG *būwen*, *bouwen*, MDu. *buwen*, *bauwen*, *bouwen* 'dwell, cultivate'

●PIE: *b^hh₂u-

POKORNY: 146-50

cf. s.v. *bām*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 287

see also: bam, -belda, bur, buwunge

buwunge subst. f. '(the act of) building' PIE

●PFRIS: *būwungī

An *-ung-derivation to the root *bū-

Also in MHG *būwunge*, MLG *būwinge*, *bouwinge* 'id.'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 287

see also: bam, -belda, bur, buwa

C

cetera subst. n. (plural) 'cetera' LW

In: *et cetera* 'and so on' — directly borrowed from Lat.

credo subst. m.? f.? 'credo, creed, confession of faith' LW

Directly borrowed from Lat.; called after the first word *credo* 'I believe' in the Apostolic confession in Christian liturgy.

D

dad adj. 'dead' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *dāth*, *thāth* (1x E)

These forms show the merger of /-d/ and /-þ/, which are still kept apart in the archaic language of R₁ (Buma 1961: 47)

●PFRIS: *dād

Goth. *daups*, OR Ds *-dAude*, *-duds*, ON *daupr*, OE *dēad*, OS *dōd*, OHG, MHG *tōt*, MLG *dōt*, MDu. *doot*, *doct*, *doodt* 'dead'

●PGMC: *daudaz

A ppp based on an o-grade stem form *dau-, cf. ON *deyja*, OS *dōjan*, OHG *touwen* etc. 'die' (in OFris. replaced by *sterva*, cf. s.v.); ON *deyþa*, OE *dýdan*, OHG *tōten* etc. 'kill' have OFris. cognates *dādia*, *dēia* 'kill' (Lendinara 1990: 294); cf. also s.v. *dāth*.

● No certain IE etymology

Sometimes considered a verbal noun in -to- attached to the o-grade form of a root √d^heu- [Pokorny 1959: 260-1] cf. also Goth. *diwans* 'mortal' < *deuonos, OIr. *duine* < *d^hu-njō- 'man (< mortal)', Welsh *dyn* 'man', Lat. *fūnus* 'funeral'. The Celtic words belong with Lat. *homo* etc. to PIE *d^hǵ^hem- [Pokorny 1959: 414-6, especially 415], cf. Gaul. *tevo-xtionon* < *gdonjō-, and the etymology of the Lat. form has seriously been doubted (Ernout and Meillet 1985, Walde and Hofmann 1938-1955 s.v.). This would render the Gmc. complex isolated.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

see also: *dath*, *daddolch*/*dathdolch*

daddolch, **dathdolch** subst. n. 'deadly wound, homicide; fine for homicide' PIE

Compound of *dad* 'dead' and *-dolch* 'wound', cf. s.vv.

dath subst. m. 'death' Gmc.

Ofris. also *dād*, *dāt*

These forms indicate the merger of /-þ/ and /-d/ (/ -t/), which are still kept apart in the archaic language of R₁ (Buma 1961: 47).

●PFRIS: *dāþ

Goth. *daupus*, ON *daupi*, OE *dēap*, OS *dōth*, OHG, MHG *tōd*, MLG *dōt*, ODu. *dōt*, MDu. *doot*, *doet*, *dood* 'death'

●PGMC: **daupuz*

A *-pu- derivation of **dau-*, cf. s.v. *dād*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

see also: *dad*, *daddolch*/*dathdolch*

davia wk. vb. 2 'become deaf' PIE

von Richthofen (1840) starts from **dāva*, but the OE, OS and OHG evidence point to a weak 2 verb, albeit with different vocalism.

●PFRIS: **dāvia*

OE *dofian*, OS *dobon*, OHG *tobōn*, *-ēn*, MHG *toben* 'rage', MLG *dōven* [, also *dāven*?] 'furere, insanire', MDu. *doven* 'be insane, be outrageous'

●PGMC: **dubōjanaN*

Apparently, in OFris. the stem vowel ***o* (cf. still *dof* 'powerless, invalid', ON *dofinn* 'without feeling') was replaced by *ā* after *dāf* 'deaf' (Goth. *daufs* 'deaf, stubborn', ON *daufr* 'dcaf, lazy', OE *dēaf*, OHG *toub* 'deaf, unfeeling, senseless' etc.).

●PIE: **d^heu-b^h*-

POKORNY: 263-4

Gr. *tūphos* 'smoke; conceit, stupidity', *tuphlós* 'blind, unable to perceive', OIr. *dub* < **d^hub^hu-* 'black'. Wurzelerweiterung of 4. *dheu(H)-* (Pokorny 1959: 261-7). Pokorny (1959) gives as a meaning 'stieben, rauchen; neblig, verdunkelt, auch vom Geist und den Sinnen.'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 295

daw subst. m. 'dew' PIE

●PFRIS: **dāw*

ON f. *dogg*, OE *dēaw*, OS *dau*, OHG *tou*, MHG *tau(we)*, MLG *dau*, *dow*, *douwe*, MDu. *dau*, *dou*, *dauw(e)*, *douwe*

●PGMC: **daw-wa-* (ON **daw-wō*)

●PIE: **d^heu-* [?]

POKORNY: 259-60

Frisk (1960-1972: 669) doubts the traditional connection with Skt. *dhávate* 'streams', Gr. *théō* 'walk', *thóos* 'fast'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

dede subst. f. 'crime, criminal deed; wound(ing)' PIE

●PFRIS: **dēde*

Goth. *gadeþs* 'deed', ON *dáp*, OE *dæd*, OS *dād*, OHG, MHG *tāt*, MLG *dāt*, MDu. *daet* 'deed'.

●PGMC: **dē₁þi-*

A *-ti-abstractum to the root **dē₁-*

●PIE: **d^heh₁-*

POKORNY: 235-9

Skt. *-dhiti-* 'the act of putting, placing' (*dádhdāti* 'put'), Gr. *thésis* 'ordering' (*túthēmi* 'place, put') < **d^hh₁-ti-*

see also: *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*, *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., *-dom* 4., *domesdi*, *domia*, *domliacht*

dedeth subst. m. 'oath confirming criminal deeds' PIE

OFris. also *dedēd*

This by-form shows the merger of /p/ and /d/.

●PFRIS: **dēdēp*

Compound of *dēde* 'deed etc.' and *eth* 'oath etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 77; Sjölin 1970-75: 183-4 on (previous discussion as to) semantics
see also: *dede*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*, *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., *-dom* 4., *domesdi*, *domia*, *domliacht*

-dedoch adj. suffix PIE

In: *bondēdoch* 'murderous; murderer', *mysdēdoch* 'criminal', cf. s.vv.

OFris. also *-dēdich*

This by-form shows the usual vocalism as against typical Riustring u-vocalism.

●PFRIS: **-dēdih*, **-dēduh*

Derivation from PIE **d^heh₁*, cf. s.v. *dēde*

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*; *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., *-dom* 4., *domesdi*, *domia*, *domliacht*

degma subst. m. '(lit.) tenth; = a tenth part of the production to be donated to the church' LW

OFris. also *dekema* *dekma*

These by-forms retain the original velar of the Latin word.

From Lat. *decimus* 'tenth', cf. also OS *degmo*, OHG *tehamo*.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *dek(e)ma*; van Helten 1907a: 77; not in Wollmann

del subst. m. n. 'part; juridical district' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **dēl*

Goth. *dails*, ON *deild*, OE *dāil*, *dāl*, OS *dēl*, OHG, MHG *teil*, MLG *dē(i)l*, ODu. *deil*, MDu. *deel* 'part, portion'

●PGMC: **dailaŋ*

● No PIE etymology

The word has been connected with OCS *dělъ* 'part' (cf. *děliti* 'divide'), but the exact status of this connection remains unclear (borrowing from Gmc.?). However, perhaps *dělъ* < **dēl*- rather than **d^hoil*- (de Vries 1992 s.v. *deel* + *reff.*). Most probably, we are dealing with a substratum word in Gmc.

see also: *dela*

dela wk. vb. 1 'divide, distribute, pass (a judgement), provide, state, attribute, decree' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **dēla*

Goth. *dailjan*, ON *deila*, OE *dēlan*, OS *dēlian*, OHG, MHG *teilen*, MLG *dē(i)len*, ODu. *deilon*, MDu. *delen*, *deilen*, *deelen*, *dielen* 'divide, deal'

- PGMC: *dailjanaN
- No PIE etymology

see also: del

dele adv. 'downwards' Gmc.

Adverbially used form of *del 'dale' in: ... *heth hit dele bitin to tha midrede*. . . '... has it pierced to below into the spine...' (VI, 55).

- PFRIS: *deli

Adverbial phrase: Goth. *dalaþ*, OE *-dele*, OS *te dale*, MHG *ze tal*, MLG *gedāl(e)*, *dāl(e)*, MDu. *te dale*, *te dael*, *tale*, *dale*, *dael* 'to below';

Substantive: Goth. *dals* m. (or *dal* n.?) 'ravine, valley, pit', ON *dalr* 'valley; bow', OE *dæl*, OS *dal*, OHG, MHG *tal*, MLG *dāl*, ODu., MDu. *dal* 'valley, dale'

- PGMC: *dalaz

cf. also ON *dæl*, OHG *tuolla* 'small valley' < *dōl-jō etc. (other cognate forms in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *dals)

- No certain IE etymology

POKORNY: 245-6

Presupposed Greek cognates *thálamos*, *-thélumnos*, *thólos* 'round chamber' are rejected by Chantraine (1968: 419-20, 427, 438) and Frisk (1960-1972: 648). Perhaps OCS *dolě* 'below', *dolъnъ* 'being below' are Gmc. loans (reff. Lehmann 1986: 88). Thus, the only certain cognates remain Welsh *dol* 'meadow, valley'. It seems obvious to assume a substratum word.

dema wk. vb. 1 'judge' PIE

- PFRIS: *dēma

Goth. *domjan*, ON *dǫma*, OE *dēman*, OS *adōmian*, OHG *tuomen*, MLG *dōmen*, MDu. *do(m)men*, *docmen*, *duemen* 'deem, judge'

- PGMC: *dōmjanaN

derivative of *dōm* 3., q.v.

see also: -demnese, dom 1., 3., -dom 4., domesdi, domia, domliacht

-demnese subst. f. 'judgement' PIE

In: *urdēmnese*, q.v.

- PFRIS: *dēmnese

Feminine *-inassus-derivation to PGmc. *dōmjanaN > *dēma*.

Also in MDu. *doem(e)nesse*, *-isse*.

see also: dema, dom 1., 3., -dom 4., domesdi, domia, domliacht

-den part.; adj. suff. 'having a certain shape; (lit.) done' PIE

In: *alsādēn*, *sādēn* 'thus, like that'

ppp of *dwa* (q.v.), used as an adj. suffix (cf. also OHG *sō]gitān*, MLG *sō]ge)dān*, MDu. *sō]gedaen*)

see also: dede, dedeth, dwa; dema, -demnese, dom 1., 3., -dom 4., domesdi, domia, domliacht

-denoch adj. suffix 'having a certain shape; (lit.) *done*' PIE

In: *underdēnoch*

OFris. also *-dēnich*

This is the usual form of the suffix which appears as *-dēnoch* in R₁.

●PFRIS: **-dēnih*

A secondary **-ig*-formation based on *-dēn*, q.v.

Also in MDu. *sō|danich* next to older *sō|ghedaen*, cf. Franck et al. (1976: 826 s.v. *zoodanig*).

see also: dede, dedeth, -den, dwa; dema, -demnese, dom 1., 3., -dom 4., domesdi, domia, domliacht

depa wk. vb. 1 'baptize' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: **dēpa*

Goth. *daupjan* 'baptize', ON *dępa* 'dip in', OE *dępan* 'dip in, baptize', OS *dōpian*, OHG *toufen*, MHG *toufen*, MLG *dōpen*, MDu. *do(o)pen*, *doepen* 'baptize'

●PGMC: **daupejanaN*

Causative formation to PGmc. **deup-* 'deep', cf. Goth. *diups*, OE *dēop*, OFris. *diap* etc.

●PIE: **d^heu-b-* [?]

POKORNY: 267-8

Lith. *dubùs* 'deep, hollow', OCS *dъbrъ* 'ravine, valley', Gaul. *dumno-* OIr. *domun* 'world', Welsh *dwfū* 'deep'. Limited distribution within IE as well as formal problems (evidence for **d^heu-p* as well) may suggest a European rather than PIE etymon.

notes: 1) Only thrice in Old Norwegian Christian Law where it may represent a loan formation given the MLG influence (Andrea De Leeuw van Weenen p.c.).

see also: *-depenc*

-depene subst. f. 'submersion' PIE [?]

In: *wapuldepenc* 'submersion in water'

●PFRIS: **dēpini*

A feminine **-īni*-derivation (Goth. type *-cins*, van Helten 1890: 144) to the root **dēp-*, cf. s.v. *dēpa*.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 13

see also: *depa*

-der adv; conj. 'there' PIE

In: *alder*, *alder.eter*

●PFRIS: **der*

Enclitic form of *ther* 1. (also MDu. *der*), q.v.

Lit: Buma (1961: 47) on *d* for *th*

di subst. m. 'day' PIE

OFris. also *dei*, *dach*

The latter variant is OWFris. and can be attributed to MDu. influence. The current OFris. form *dei* represents earlier *dag with fronting of *a and palatalisation of *-g. The resulting diphthong *ei* was monophthongized to *ī* in the dialect of R₁.

●PFRIS: *dei

Goth. *dags*, NP *Dagestheus*, ON *dagr*, OE *dæg*, OS *dag*, OHG, MHG *tac*, MLG, MDu. *dach* 'day'; long vowel in Goth. *fidur/dogs*, OE *dōgor*; also ON *dægr*, OE *dæg* < *dōgiz 'half a day (12 hours)'; with this meaning also ON *dægn*

●PGMC: *dages-/dōges-

On the discussion on the formation see Lehmann 1986 s.v. *dags*, de Vries 1992 s.v. *dag* + ref.; cf. Darms (1978: 177-191) on *dag- ~ *dōg-

Likely to be a former s-stem, cf. Goth. *Dages-*, ON *dægr*, OE *dæg*, OE *dōgor* < *-er- (Boutkan 1992). Earlier r/n-stem? Pokorny 1959: 7 starts from a comparison with Skt. *áhar*, *áhn-as* (cf. ON *dæg-n*) with secondary *d* after a semantically related representative of the root $\sqrt{*d^h eg^{wh-}}$.

●PIE: *d^hog^{wh-}-os or *Hōg^{h-}r/n-

POKORNY: 240-1; 7

$\sqrt{*d^h eg^{wh-}}$ means 'to burn', cf. Skt. *dāháyati* 'burn', Lat. *foveō* < *d^hog^{wh-}-ei-, Lith. *dāgas* 'heat', OPruss. *dagis* 'summer', Mlr. *daig* < *deg- (Gs *dega*) 'fire'

*He^g-r/n only in Skt. *áhar*, *áhn-as*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

diakon subst. m. 'deacon' LW

●PFRIS: *diakon

Goth. *diakaunus*, OE *diakon* (borrowed in ON *djákn*), MHG, MLG *diaken*, MDu. *diaken*, *dyaken*, *diaec* 'deacon'

Latin loanword *diaconus*, in its turn from Gr. *diákonos* 'servant'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *diāken*, -on; Wollmann 1990: 527

dik subst. m. 'dike' PIE

●PFRIS: *dik

OE *dic* 'dam, dike, ditch, canal', OS *dīk*, MHG *tīch* 'dike, pond' (OHG *tīch* 'gorges'), MLG *dīk*, MDu. *dijc* 'dike, puddle'; also ON *dīki* 'dike, ditch'

●PGMC: *dikaz

●PIE: *d^heig^{w-}

Lat. *fivō* 'attach to, fasten; put in, poke' < *fiv- (on Umbr. *fiktu* to this root or to *d^heig^{h-} 'to form', Lat. *finco*, OIr. *dingid* 'presses, thrusts down', *conutaing* 'builds' [= *kom-uds- etc.], cf. Meiser 1986: 82), Lith. *dýgstu*, *dýgti*, 'germinate', *dyglýs* 'thorn, prickle' and other cognate formations; we must start from a meaning 'stick in' > 'dig'; when digging, one gets a hole ('pond, canal' etc.) and a heap of sand (dike, dam).

see also: *dika*

dika wk. vb. 1 'to restore the dike' PIE

Ofris. also *dīts(i)a*

This by-form shows the expected assibilation (palatalisation) of *-k-.

•PFRIS: *dića

Verbal formation (*dikjan) to the root *dik-, cf. s.v. *dik* (also MLG *diken*, MDu. *di(j)ken*).

see also: *dik*

dikaldirmon subst. m. 'aldirmon watching the dikes' PIE

Compound of *dik* 'dike' and *aldirmon* 'olderman etc.', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. for refl. as to semantics

dikfretho subst. m. 'protection and safety during work on the dikes' PIE

Compound of *dik* 'dike' and *fretho* 'peace etc.', cf. s.vv.

dikstathul subst. m. 'foundation of a dike' PIE

Compound of *dik* 'dike' and *-stathul* 'foundation', cf. s.vv.

diore adj. adv. 'expensive, costing a fine; (adv.) expensive, costly' Gmc.

Ofris. also *diure*

The reflex *io* represents a dialectal feature of R and OWfris.

•PFRIS: *diuri

ON *dýrr* 'expensive, costly', OE *diere* 'dear, expensive, costly', OS *diuri*, OHG *tiuri* 'precious, dear, expensive', MHG *tiur(e)* 'precious, expensive, scarce, dear, important', MLG *dīr(e)* 'expensive', MDu. *dier(e)*, *dure*, *duer(e)*, *duyere* 'precious, expensive, scarce, dear, important'

•PGMC: *deurja-

Borrowed from NGmc. into Finnish *tiuris*, *tyyris*

• No PIE etymology

diovel subst. m. 'devil' LW

Ofris. also *divel*, *diovl*

These by-forms remain unclear. Perhaps we are dealing with haplography (<dioul> for *<diouul>, <divel> for *<divvel>) or simple scribal errors; perhaps *divel* (West, E) is to be read *dīvel* with a development of the diphthong as in MDu.

•PFRIS: *diovel

← Latin *diabulus*, in its turn from Gr. *diábolos* 'slanderer'. The diphthong of Goth. *diabaulus* was probably borrowed as *iu in HG (through Arian, i.e. Gothic mission) and spread from there.

Also in: Goth. *diabaulus*, ON *diqfull* (borrowed from MLG), OE *dēofol*, OS *diubal*, OHG *tiuval*, MHG *tiuvel*, *tievel*, MLG *dūvel*, MDu. *dievel*, *duvel*, *divel* 'devil'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *diövel*, *dīvel*; Wollmann 1990: 511

[to allera] **dist(h)ik** adv. phrase 'daily' PIE

Only in R₁.

●PFRIS: *tō allera dīscīk

The interpretation of *dist(h)ik* has been unclear. The spelling *st(h)* most probably represents /č/ < *k/_i. Perhaps *dī (< Gp *dega) + *ečí (< Is *ekki) with added -k as in *allera degana hwelik* etc.

Lit: van Helten 1889: 236-7; van Helten 1907a: 81

see also: dī

dithing subst. n. 'legal term, juridical period' PIE

Compound of *dī* 'day' and *thing* 'court etc.', cf. s.vv.

dochter subst. f. 'daughter' PIE

●PFRIS: *dohter

Goth. *dauhtar*, OR pl. *dohtriz*, ON *dóttir*, OE *dohtor*, OS *dohtar*, OHG *tochter*, MHG *tochter*, *dachter*, MLG, MDu. *dochter*

●PGMC: *duhtēr

●PIE: *d^hugh₂ter-

POKORNY: 277

Skt. *duhitār-*, Gr. *thugatēr*, Lith. *duktė*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

-dok subst. m. 'cloth' PIE [?]

In: *hals dōk* 'shawl'.

●PFRIS: *dōk

OS *dōk*, OHG *tuoh*, MHG *tuoch*, MLG *dōk*, MDu. *doec*, *douc*, *ducc*, *doeke* (ON *dūkr* borrowed from MLG or OFris.)

●PGMC: *dōkaz

● No certain IE etymology

Perhaps to be connected with Skt. *dhvajá-* 'banner' (Mayrhofer 1956-82: 800-1).

dol- adj. 'reckless' PIE

In: *dolstrīd* 'recklessness'

●PFRIS: *dol

OE, OS *dol*, OHG *tol*, *tulisc*, MHG *dol*, *tol* 'foolish, dull', MLG *dul*, *dol* 'foolish, reckless', MDu. *dol*, *dul* 'stupid, foolish, crazy'

Also Goth. *dwals*, MHG *dwal* 'foolish'

●PGMC: *dulaz/*dwalaz (ablaut)

●PIE: *d^hu(o)-l-

POKORNY: 265-6

Gr. *tholós* 'mud, dirt' *tholóō* 'make turbid, make cloudy', OIr. *dall* 'blind'.

see also: *dolstrīd*, -dusinge

dolch subst. n. 'wound' PIE [?]

OFris. also *dolech*, *dulg*, *dulich*

On the shift *o* > *u* before /l/ cf. van Helten (1890: 14-15). A parasite vowel <i,

e> could arise between /l/ and /x/. In *dulg* the archiphoneme /-G/ is spelled /-g/.

●PFRIS: *dolh

ON *dolg* 'enmity' (also *dylgja*; cf. also *dolgr* 'enemy'), OE *dolg*, OHG *dolg*, *tolc*, MLG *dolge(n)*, *dolginge*, *dollinge*, *dolk*, MDu. *dolch*, *dolk* 'wound'

●PGMC: *dulgaN

cf. also OFris. *delga* (*dolgia*) 'wound, injure', MHG *talgen* 'knead', Mod. HG *daljen*, *dalgen* 'slash, hew, fight' to PGmc. *dalg-; most likely not to be connected with Goth. *dulgs* 'debt', cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. and de Vries 1977 s.v. *dolg* for *reff*.

●PIE: *d^helg^h- [?]

POKORNY: 247

Only connection with Toch. A *talke*, Toch. B *telki* 'sacrifice' < *d^holgh^h- seems feasible; Gr. *thélgo* 'bewitch, cast a spell on sb.' might semantically be connected but yields formal problems (< *d^helg-); Lat. *falx* 'sickle, reaping-hook' (grouped here by de Vries 1992) might belong to a root *d^helg- (Pokorny 1959: 247), but is probably a substratum word given the problematic a (Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v., Schrijver 1991: 207).

dolstrid subst. n. 'recklessness' PIE

Compound of *dol-* 'reckless' and *strīd* 'struggle etc.', cf. s.vv.

see also: *dol-*, *-dusinge*

dom 1 subst. m. 'nostril, septum' PIE [?]

Actually a name for any partition in the body, cf. Sjölin (1970-75: s.v. *dom 1*).

OFris. also *damm*, *domm*

The form shows a geminate in the inflected forms, cf. Gp *domma* (V, 59), which could be levelled to the Ns, hence *damm*, *domm*; the variation a/o is due to the well-known neutralization of the opposition /a/ ~ /o/ before nasals.

●PFRIS: *dām

ON *dammr* (late; LW?), MHG *tam(m)*, MLG *dam*, MDu. *dam(m)* 'dam, dike' Also Goth. *faurdammjan* 'fence in, hinder', OE *demman*, OFris. *demma*, *damma* 'fence in'

●PGMC: *dammaz

● No certain IE etymology

Suggestions in de Vries 1992 s.v. *dam 1*:

(1) [after Van Wijk; also Franck et al. 1976] cognate with Gr. *tháptō* 'bury' etc., Arm. *damban* 'grave, hole'; as to semantics cf. s.v. *dīk* (according to de Vries 1992, we sometimes find the meaning 'puddle' etc.). Still, we are probably dealing with a non-IE Gr./Arm. word (Pokorny 1959: 248-9)

(2) [after Wood 1913-14] connection with Gr. *thámnos* 'close to each other', *thōmós* 'heap'; unlikely

(3) [after Güntert (Watkins 1974)] connection with Gr. *thémethla* 'foundations' etc. to √d^heh₁-, cf. sub *dēde* etc.; no explanation of the PGmc. geminate.

Pokorny (1959: 239) (with caution) groups the word with OCS *debelъ* 'fat' and

reconstructs a root *d^heb- ‘fat, thick’ which is improbable.

We may be dealing with a word of non-IE origin. In this respect note the PGmc. geminate *-mm-* (also Lehmann 1986 s.v. *faurdamijan* with abundant references on the discussion).

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*; *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 3., 4., *domesdi*, *domia*, *domliacht*

dom 2 subst. m. ‘cathedral’ LW

●PFRIS: *dōm

OHG, MHG *tuom*, MLG *dōm*, ODu. *duom*, MDu. *dome*, *doem(e)*, *doemkerc* ‘cathedral’ (ON *dómkirkja* borrowed from WGmc.) Romance loanword *dôme* < Lat. *domus* ‘house’ (or from Gr. *dōma*).

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *dōm*; not in Wollmann

dom 3 subst. m. ‘judgment’ PIE

●PFRIS: *dōm

Goth. *doms* ‘discernment, distinction’, ON *dómr*, OE, OS *dōm*, OHG, MHG *tuom*, MLG *dōm*, ODu. *duom*, MDu. *do(e)m* ‘judgment’

●PGMC: *dōmaz

●PIE: *d^hoh₁-mo-

Gr. *thōmós* ‘heap’, Lat. *abdōmen* ‘abdomen’ etc.; m-formation to √*d^heh₁-, cf. s.v. *dēde*. The derivation seems quite far-fetched and too abstract from a semantical point of view, but Peter Schrijver (p.c.) points me to a similar case in OIr., where *breth*, which has the specific meaning ‘profit’, represents *b^hṛ-tā-, which is to be derived from the root *b^her- ‘to carry’.

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*; *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., *-dom* 4., *domesdi*, *domia*, *domliacht*

-dom 4 adj. suffix

= originally *dōm* 3. in a meaning ‘state’ (de Vries 1992 s.v. *-dom*, van Loey 1970: 201).

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 222-3

domesdi subst.m. ‘judgement day’ PIE

OFris. also *dōmesdei*

On the variation *dei/dī*, cf. s.v. *dī*

●PFRIS: *dōmes dei

Compound of *dōm* 3. ‘judgment’ and *dī* ‘day’, cf. s.vv. (also MDu. *domesdach*, *doemsdach* etc.)

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*; *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., *-dom* 4., *domia*, *domliacht*

domia wk. vb. 2 ‘judge, deem; sentence (to)’ PIE

●PFRIS: *dōmōn

Goth. *domjan*, ON *dæma*, OE *dēman*, OS *a|dōmian*, OHG *tuomen*, MLG

dōmen, ODu. *duomen*, MDu. *do(e)men*, *dommen*, *duemen* 'judge, deem'

●PGMC: *dōmōnaN

Denominative formation to *dōm* 3. (to $\sqrt{*d^heh_1}$), q.v.

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*; *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., *-dom* 4., *domesdi*, *domliacht*

domliacht adj. 'in broad daylight' PIE

Compound of *dōm* 3. 'judgment' and *-liacht* 'light', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Sjölin 1970-75: 184 (after Grimm, Van Helten, contra Siebs) as to the identification of *dom-*

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch*, *dwa*; *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., *-dom* 4., *domesdi*, *domia*

dore subst. fp. 'door' PIE

Appears next to by-form fp. *dure* (without a-UL).

●PFRIS: *dur-

In Gmc., we find singular and plural formations:

singular: Goth. *daur*, OE *dor*, OS *dur*, *dor*, OHG *tor* all o-st. 'door', OE also f. *dur(u)*; furthermore f. MHG *tür(e)*, MLG *dör(e)*, MDu. *do(e)re*, *dure*, *door*, *doer* 'door'.

plural-formations: ON root Np *dyrr*, OS, ODu. *duri*, OHG *turi* < PGmc. *dures 'opening of door'; OE, OS *duru* < Accp *-uns?, hence possibly transition to u-stems: OE *dura* < nNp *durewes (on this ending Bazell 1937: 4); OS *dura*, OHG *tura* secondary feminine plural formations; here belong also OFris. *dure*, *dore* (with a-UL).

●PGMC: *dures (pl.)

●PIE: *dhur-

POKORNY: 278-9

Skt. *dhurāḥ*, *dūrah* [Accp], *d*-secondary; Gr. *thúrá* (ā-st.); i-st. Lat. *foris* (next to [pl.] *forēs*), Lith. *dūrys* (pl.) 'door' etc.

Lit: Griepentrog 1995: 117-152

-drachta subst. m. 'the act of carrying' PIE [?]

Only in *helichdrachta* 'the (path used for) carrying of the statues of the saints (in a procession around the church)'

OFris. also *-drechte*

The variation *a/c* is also found in other WGmc. dialects reflecting earlier variation within the paradigm (i-UL in feminine i-stem, cf. MHG f. Ns *traht*, Gs *trehte*).

●PFRIS: *-dra/echta

Nominal derivation to *drega*, q.v.

Also in: OHG, MHG *traht*, MLG *dracht*, MDu. *dracht(e)*, *drecht* 'id.'

see also: *drega*, *helichdrachta*

drega str. vb. VI 'carry' PIE [?]

OFris. also *draga*

The variation *a/e* can be explained from spread of *e* arisen due to i-UL (original in e.g. 2/3sind.pres. *dragis, dragip; also in subst. *drachtī-, see above s.v. -drachta). It is also found in MDu. *dragen*, *dregen* where it is also explained from i-UL (cf. van Loey 1970: 159).

Similarly MLG *drēgen*, MHG *tregen*.

●PFRIS: *draga (/ *dr[e]ga)

Goth. *dragan* 'carry, accumulate, take on', ON *draga*, OE *dragan* 'draw, drag, pull', OS *dragan* 'carry', OHG *tragan* 'carry, bring, lead', MHG *tragen*, *tregen* 'carry, bear, be pregnant, have, possess, lead', MLG *dragen*, *dregen* 'carry', MDu. *dragen*, *dregen* 'carry, bring, throw'

NB: ON *draga*, OE *dragan* show a shift in meaning, but are generally taken as belonging here.

●PGMC: *draganaN

●PIE: *d^hreh₂g^h- [?]

POKORNY: 257

Lat. *traho* 'pull', OCS *draga* 'valley', Russ. *doróga* 'way'.

The derivation of the Latin word is problematic (*d^hrh₂g^h- > *trag- by dissimilation of aspirates??). A recent discussion and overview of the problems + ref. in Schrijver (1991: 188ff. and passim). The derivation of *traho* from a root *tr(e)h₁g^h- is possible (OIr. *tráig* 'ebb', Goth. *þragjan*, OE *þrægan* 'run'), but this reconstruction violates the rules for PIE root structure. If true, however, it would render the reconstruction of a PIE root *d^hreh₂g^h- uncertain.

Seebold (1970: 160-2) mentions other, even less probable IE etymologies; perhaps we are dealing with a non-IE word.

see also: -drachta, helichdrachta

dreppelsa subst. m. 'threshold' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *dreppilsa

Origin unclear (cf. especially van Helten 1900: 485) as well as the relation to the following formations:

— OFris., MDu. *dreppel*, MLG *drüppel*, Mod. HG Dial. *drüppel*.

— OWFris. *drempe*, *drumpel*, *drompel*, MDu. *drempe*, *drumpel*, Mod. Du. *drempe*, (cf. MLG *drampen* 'trample, stamp'?).

— ODu. *durpilo*, *duropullo*, MLG *dörpel*, MDu. *dorpe*, *durpe*, Mod. HG Dial. *dürpel*, *durpfel*, *derpe*, Mod. Du. *dorpe*.

We are probably dealing with a substratum word.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 138 (this etymon not mentioned as an example of an *-elsan-derivation); de Vries 1992 s.v. *dorpe*, *drempe*; Boutkan 1998a

driva str. vb. I 'lead, impel, drive (away)' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *drīva

Goth. *dreiban*, ON *drifa*, OE *drīfan*, OS *drīban*, OHG *trīban*, MHG *trīben*, MLG *drīven*, MDu. *driven* 'drive'

●PGMC: *dreibanaN

● No IE etymology

The connection with Gr. *thrips*, *thripós* 'wood-borer' cannot be maintained (Chantraine 1968 s.v.). The word has been connected with Lith. *dribti* 'drip slowly, fall down in flakes' (Pokorny 1959: 274), cf. perhaps ON *drifa*, *drift* 'driving snow' and the expression *drifr snær* 'the snow drifts'. On this possibility see Lehmann 1986 s.v. *dreiban* for reff. and Seebold (1970: 162-3). The current reconstruction *d^hr-ei-b^h, containing the root *d^herH- 'hold' (Pokorny 1959: 252) is a mere theoretical possibility. Most probably Gmc.

drochten subst. m. 'lord (used for God)' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *drohten

It has been suggested that the OFris. form is actually a loan from Old Saxon (van Helten 1895: 187).

ON *dróttin*, OE *dryhten*, OS *drohtin*, OHG *truhtin*, MHG *truhtin*, *trohtin*, *trehten*, (MLG NP *sünste drochten*), MDu. *drohtijn*, *drochte(n)*, *drechtijn* 'lord' Also Goth. *ga]drauhts* 'soldier'; also *drauhti-witoþ*, *drauhtinassus* 'campaign', etc.

●PGMC: *druhtīnaz

Peter Schrijver (p.c.) draws my attention to the use of the suffix *-in- in semantically cognate words outside Gmc., cf. Franco-Latin *hendinus* < *kent- 'the first' (Welsh *cyntaf*), Welsh *brenhin* 'king' < *brigant-inos, Lat. *regīna* 'queen'.

●PIE: *d^hreug^h- [?]

POKORNY: 254-5

OCS *družina* 'troop', *drugъ* 'friend', Lith. *draūgas* 'friend', OIr. *drong* 'troop'. The word seems to have a limited dialectal distribution. It cannot be excluded that it represents a European innovation on the basis of substratum material.

drop subst. m. 'blow, beat' Gmc.

von Richthofen (1840) interprets the form as a weak masculine *dropa*, which possibility cannot be excluded on the basis of N/Gp *dropa* in R₁.

●PFRIS: *drop (*dropa)

No exactly matching Gmc. cognates, but cf. (Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *treffen*, Holthausen 1963 s.v. *drepan*):

— ON *dráp* 'manslaughter' < *drēp-;

— verb ON *drepa*, OE *drepan* 'hit, kill', OS *ōbar-drepan* 'surpass', OHG *trefan*, MLG *drēpen* 'hit, concern', MDu. *drepen* 'hit' < *drepanaN;

— ODu. *drapen* 'catch', MLG, Mod. LG Dial. *drāpen* 'hit';

— OE, MDu. *drepe* 'blow' < *drapi-.

If not a scribal error, Goth. *ga-draban* 'hewn out' rather points to *drab- < *d^hreb^h- (cf. further Lehmann 1986 s.v.).

●PGMC: *drupa(n)- [?]

POKORNY: 272-3

Pokorny (1959) cites no outer-Gmc. cognates.

dure subst. fp. 'door' PIE

By-form of *dore*, q.v.

-dusinge subst. f. 'vertigo, dizziness' PIE

In: *haveddusinge* 'vertigo capitis'

OFris. also *dusenga*

In this by-form, medial /e/ and /i/ have merged and we find another feminine ending.

●PFRIS: **-dusingi*

A feminine substantival *-ing-derivation to **du-s* < $\sqrt{d^h}u$ - (Ahlsson 1960: 33-6), cf. s.v. *dol*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304

see also: *dol*-, *dolstrid*

dust- subst. m.? f.? 'blow' PIE [?]

In: *dūstlek* 'blow causing a bruise', q.v.

OFris. also *düsslek*

This by-form shows assimilation of *-sts- to -ss-; length of the vowel attested in OWFris. *duist*-, *duust*-

●PFRIS: **düst*-

The interpretation of this word has been subject to an ongoing debate; cf. most recently Sjölin (1970-75: 185-6), who mentions the following possibilities:

(1) [von Wicht, Hellquist, recently Lendinara (1990: 304)]: to **d^heu*-, cf. *dol*-, *-dusinge*: a blow that causes dizziness;

(2) [De Geer, van Helten (1890: 44), Bacsecke]: to MLG *dōnen* 'swell';

(3) [Grimm, von Richtofen s.v. et al.]: = '*dust*': a 'dry' blow = a blow that does not cause a bleeding;

(4) [van Helten 1907a: 88]: cf. OE *dynt* 'blow': a blow that only hits (and causes a bruise but no bleeding).

It appears from the contexts that the first explanation is least probable; *dōnen* goes back to **p*- rather than **d*-; the second and third explanation are not very probable from a semantical point of view. This leaves the fourth possibility as most promising. Formally we must start from a *-sta* or *-stu* formation to **dun*- (van Helten 1896: 14): **dun-st*- > **düst*-; note the various formations in Gmc. (Sjölin 1970-75: 186, van Helten 1896 loc. cit.).

●PIE: **d^hen*- [?]

POKORNY: 249-50

Only well-represented in Gmc., cf. ON *dynt* 'blow', OE *dynt* 'blow'; d-Erweiterung in ON *detta* 'fall down', cf. Mod. Fris. *dintje* 'tremble slightly' etc.; perhaps g-Erweiterung in ON **danga* (only *dangandi*) 'fight (obscene connotations)'. Only presupposed cognates Alb. *g-dhent* 'plane or cut wood; fight', Alb. *dhend*, *dhënn* 'cut, hew'.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. for older ref.

see also: *dustslek*

dustslek subst. m. 'blow causing a bruise' PIE
Compound of *dūst-* 'blow' and *-slek* 'blow', cf. s.vv.

see also: dust-

dwa anom. vb. 'do, perform, fulfil, obey, make (a statement etc.), give, take care of, lodge (a complaint), advance (arguments, proof), inflict, hit, wound' PIE

●PFRIS: **dwa*

OE *dōn*, OS *dūan*, *dōn*, OHG, MHG *tuon*, MLG *dōn*, ODu. *duon*, MDu. *doon*, *doen*, *duen* 'do'

●PGMC: **dōanaN*

Athematic verbal (o-grade) formation to $\sqrt{d^hch_1-}$, cf. s.v. *dēde*

see also: *dede*, *dedeth*, *-dedoch*, *-den*, *-denoch* *dema*, *-demnese*, *dom* 1., 3., 4. *domesdi*, *domia*, *domliacht*

E

e- 1 pref. 'privans' PIE

In: *efrethe*, *elive*, cf. s.vv.

●PFRIS: **ē-*

OE *ǣ*, OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu. *ā-*

●PGMC: **ē₁-*

●PIE: **ē-*

POKORNY: 280-1

Skt. *ā-*, etc. Original meaning 'close to, together with', in Gmc. developed to 'below, away from etc.' and hence it acquired abstract privative meaning, e.g. OE *ǣwāde* 'undressed' etc.

As an alternative, one might perhaps assume a proclitic by-form of *un-*, q.v.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 88, 90

e- 2 pref. '[perfective] prefix' PIE

OFris. also *ge-*, *je-*, *i-*

These forms all attest more or less weakened proclitic forms of:

●PFRIS: **ge-*

Goth. *ga-*, ON (obsolete) *g-* (*gnógr* 'enough'), OE *ge-*, *gi-*, OS *gi-*, *ge-*, OHG *ga-*, *gi-*, MHG, MLG *ge-*, ODu. *gi-*, *ge-*, MDu. *ghe-*

●PGMC: **ga-*

The Ingeveonic dialects show palatalisation before fronted *a; further weakening yielded a vowel *i*.

●PIE: **kom-*

POKORNY: 612-13

Gr. *koinós* < **kom-ios* 'common', Lat. *cum(-)* 'with etc.', OIr. *con-*, Gaul. *com-* 'with' etc.

Although this derivation has been doubted, a transition *k > Gmc. *g under weak stress is unproblematic.

Ref. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *ga-*.

Lit: Steller 1928: 18-19

see also: -i- 2.

-e 3 enclitic by-form of def. article. Nsm *thī* 2, q.v.

-e 4 enclitic by-form of pers. pron. 3s Nsm *hī*, q.v.

-e 5 enclitic by-form of the adverb *thā*, q.v.

edila subst. m. '(great-)grandfather' Gmc.

OFris. also *edela*, *ethla*

The former variant (H, E₁, F) shows neutralisation of */-e-/ ~ /-i-/. The latter variant (F; also Gs *ethelis*) shows neutralisation of */-d-/ ~ /-þ-/.

●PFRIS: *edila

The dental must be reconstructed as *-d- as it is attested in R₁ and B, where no merger of *d and *þ had yet taken place. This makes the older interpretation of the word as a substantivized adjective *ethele* untenable (original idea of Kern; counter-argumentation from van Helten 1889: 238-9).

The medial vowel -i- of R₁ attests to a preceding short vowel (Kock 1904: 183). Therefore, Van Helten was forced to withdraw his earlier connection (1889: 239) of the word with OHG *uota*, MHG *uote* 'proavia' < *ōd-, and replace it (van Helten 1906: 279; also van Helten 1907a: 89) by the connection with OCS *отѣць* 'father'. This is also improbable given the deviant construction; only *ot- > PGmc. *aþ- > *ad- (Verner's Law) might correspond (rejected by Buma 1961: 50). Van Helten's earlier etymology is apparently still favoured by Holthausen and Hofmann (1985) s.v. and Lendinara (1990: 298), who quote *ēdila* (sic) and mention OHG *uota* as its cognate.

Most probable seems to me a connection with the etymological complex PGmc. *ad-, *ōd- + l-suffixes, which most probably is of non-IE origin (pace Pokorny 1959: 71):

*adal-: ON *aþal* 'disposition, nature', np OE *æþelu*, OS *athali* 'noble descent, property', OHG *adal* 'family, descent, race'; also OE Dp *fæderæþelum* (Beowulf 911) 'paternal rank';

*adil-ja-: (adj.) OS *ethili* 'noble', cf. s.vv. *ethele* 1., 2.;

*adal-ja-: OE *æþele*, OHG *edili* 'noble';

*ōdal-: ON *óþal* OHG *uodal* 'inheritance, ancestral property', also OHG *fateruodal* 'patrimonium';

*ōdal-ja-: Goth. *haimoþli* 'property, homestead';

*ōdil-: OS *ōthil*, OE *ēþel* (next to *ōþel*), OFris. *ēthel* (cf. s.v. *etheldōm*), OHG *uodil* 'inheritance, ancestral property'; also OHG *fateruodil*, OS *faderōdil*, OE *fædercþel* 'paternal home, patrimonium', OHG *heimōdil* 'home'.

This complex is probably not to be connected with the parental Lallwort *att- [cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *haimoþli*, de Vries 1977: 11] as in Goth. *atta*, OHG *atto*, Lat. *atta*, here probably also OCS *отѣць* (or < *at- ?) 'father' etc.

●PGMC: *aþ-Vl-/ōþ-(V)- [see also Pokorny 1959: 71]

Unclear relation to Toch. A *ātāl* 'man' (Darms 1978: 205 + reff.). An attempt towards an IE etymology is found in Szemerényi (1952), who starts from a compound *at ('away, over') + al- ('feed, grow'), cf. Lat. *proles* 'descendant' (i.e. < *pro- + al-), etc. This is not convincing from a semantical point of view.

Lit: Darms 1978: 192-207; Lehmann 1986 s.v. *haimopli* for reff.; Lendinara 1990: 298; de Vries 1977: 1-2 for reff. to obsolete views

see also: *ethele* 1., 2., *etheldom*, *etheling*

efrethe adj. 'without a fine for breach of the peace' PIE

Compound of *e-* 1. = *e-* *privans* and *fretho* 'peace etc.', cf. s.vv.

eft adv. 'later, afterwards; also, as well' PIE

●PFRIS: *cft

Goth. *afta* 'behind, past', ON prep. *eft* (*e-* for ***a-* after *eftir*) 'after', OE *æft*, *eft*, OS *cft*, *eht*, MLG *echt*, MDu. *acht*, (*h*)*echt* 'later, afterwards; also, as well'; secondary formations MLG *echter*, MDu. *echter*, *efter* adv. 'later, again'

●PGMC: *af-tō

●PIE: *h₂(e)po

POKORNY: 53

●PIE: deriv. of PIE *h₂(e)po.

Skt. *ápa* 'away from', Gr. *ápo*, Lat. *ab* 'away from'; \emptyset -grade *h₂pó in Lat. *pōno* < *po-sin-ō.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 90

see also: *befta*, *efta*, *efter*, *eftrost*

efta prep., adv. 'behind' PIE

●PFRIS: *efta

Goth. *aftana* 'from behind', ON *aftan* 'afterwards, again', OE *æftan*, (OS *at aftan* 'eventually'), OHG *aftan*, MHG *aften*, MLG *achten(e)*, MDu. *achte(n)* '(from) behind'

●PGMC: *af-ta-na(/-ne/-nō)

Probably ultimately a derivation of *af- < PIE *h₂(e)po, cf. s.v. *eft*, although comparison with Gr. *óp-i-(s)thē(n)* 'from behind', Hitt. *appa* 'later', *appan* 'behind' cannot be excluded. The further analysis has been disputed. The clement *-ta- has been compared with the final syllable of Gr. *me-tá*, *ka-tá*, Lat. *i-ta* 'so' (Lehmann 1986 s.v.). The Gmc. dialects point to final PGmc. *-ne/*-na/*-nō, cf. e.g. Lat. *super-ne* < *-ne 'from above', not < *-nē as in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *aftana*, a variant in *-nē may however account for Goth. *aftana*, cf. also OHG *objana*. On *-no cf. Boutkan (1995: 55).

see also: *befta*, *eft*, *efter*, *eftrost*

efter prep., adv. 'after, according to, over; after, consequently' PIE

●PFRIS: *efter

Goth. *aftarō* (with analogical -o due to ablative meaning) 'from behind', OR

after (Tune), Afatz (Istaby), ON *eftir*, OE *æftær*, -er, OS *afar*, -er, OHG *afar*, MHG *after*, MLG *achter*, ODu. *after*, -ir, MDu. *after*, *achter* 'after'

●PGMC: *af-ter-a-

A 'comparative' (*-tero-) derivation of *af- < PIE *h₂(e)po, cf. s.v. *eft*, although comparison with Gr. *op-* in *ópi(s)then* 'later' etc. remains possible (cf. s.v. *efta*).

Lit: Boutkan 1995: 86-7 on the Gmc. evidence and its formal complications
see also: befta, eft, efta, eftrost

eftrost adj. superl. 'most behind' PIE

Ofris. also *efterst*, *afterst*

These by-forms show syncope of the vowel of the superlative suffix -est, cf. van Helten (1890: 65). On a- for **e-, I think that we must assume MDu. influence, as we would expect regular fronting. This is in accordance with the fact that *afterst* is an OWfris. form (von Richthofen 1840: 473 fn. 8). The superlative suffix appears as -ost in R1.

●PFRIS: *cfterest/afterest/efterost

Superlative formation to *efter*, q.v.

Also in: ON *aftastr*, OE *æftresta*, OHG *aftrōsto*, MLG, MDu. *achterste* 'id.'.
see also: befta, eft, efta, efter

egge subst. f. 'edge, pars pro toto: sword' PIE

Ofris. also *egg*, *ig*

The OFris. iā-stem *egg* (cf. also OE type *sibb*) could adopt the usual (original As) ending -e of the strong feminines (van Helten 1890: 137). On the variation *eg(-)/ig* cf. Sjölin (1969: 23), Steller (1928: 10).

●PFRIS: *egg

ON *egg* 'point, edge', OE *ecg* 'edge, angle', OS *eggia* 'edge, sword', OHG *ecka* '(sharp) point, side', MHG *ecke*, *egge*, MLG *egge*, MDu. (*h*)*egge*, *ecke* 'edge, angle'

●PGMC: *agjō

●PIE: *h₂ek-i-

Gr. *akís* 'point', Lat. *aciēs* 'edge'

POKORNY: 19

egiptaliode, egyptaliode subst. pl. 'egyptians' LW

Compound of *egipta*, *egypta* NP and *liode* 'people', cf. s.vv.

eidir, eyder pron. indef. 'each (of two, three)' PIE

Ofris. also *aider*,

This by-form occurs dialectally, viz. in R₂, E₂, 3, OWfris., W, as a variant of *-ēi- < *-ēgi- Steller (1928: 33 par. 44 Anm. 2). It is also possible that the doublet represents the unclear two-fold split *ai > ē/ā in *ē(u)/ā(u) [= a- 3., q.v.] + *gi-hwedat.

●PFRIS: *eidir/*aidir

Compound of *a-* 3. + **gi* [= *e-* 2.] and **hwedar-* as in *ahwedder*

Also in: OE *æghwæþer*, *ægþer* (= PDE *either*); cf. also OS *gaihweþar*, OHG *eogiwedar* < **aiw-gi-hwe/adera* 'each of two'; OFris. also has *iāweder* < **gi* + **āhwedar* (van Helten 1890: 199), cf. s.vv.

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *hu*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasa*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

ein, eyn adj. 'own' PIE

OFris. also *ain*, *egen* (, *eigen*)

The by-form *ain* shows the same distribution as the variant *aider* of *eider*, cf. s.v. *eider*, *eyder*; we are dealing with *ai-/ei-* < **ēgi-* < **aigi-* (Steller 1928: 33 par. 44 Anm. 2.). The by-forms *egen* (H) and *eigen* quoted for R₁ by von Richthofen (1840) are actually forms of *enig* (III, 112). H *ēgen* must have restored *-g-* after the verb *aih*, pl. *āgon* etc. or represent MLG influence.

●PFRIS: **ein/āin*

(Goth. *aigin* 'property'), ON *eiginn*, OE *āgen*, *āegen*, OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan*, MHG *eigen*, MLG *ē(i)en*, MDu. *eigen*, *cigijū*, *egen*, *egijū*, *eigin* 'own'

●PGMC: **aiganaz*

ppp of preterite-present **aih*, cf. s.v. *āga*.

ek pron. indef. 'each, every' PIE

OFris. also *hek*, *ik*, *elk*, *ellik*

The starting point may be *elk* < **aina-galik-*; *ellik* may show a parasite vowel, cf. also Mod. Du. Dial. *elək*, or *-ik* after *hwelik* (van Helten 1890: 196); on the other hand, (further) enclitisation yielded *ek*, *ik*.

Analogical *h-* in *hek* after c.g. *hok* (< *hwelik*).

●PFRIS: **elk*

OE *ælc*, MLG *elk*, *ellik*, ODu. *cinuulikīm*, MDu. *elc*, *ellic*, *elec*, *eelc*, *il(li)c* 'each'

The distribution of this word remains restricted to Ingv. WGmc.; the ODu. form still attests to the underlying compound (de Vries 1992 s.v. *elk*).

●PGMC: **aina-galik-* [P-Ingv.]

Compound of **aina-* = *ēn* and **galik-* = *e-* 2. + *-lik* 2., cf. s.vv.

see also: *-ik* 2.

ekker subst. m. 'field' PIE

●PFRIS: **ekker*

Goth. *akrs*, ON *akr*, OE *æcre*, OS *akkar*, OHG *ackar*, *achar*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *acker* 'field'

●PGMC: **akraz*

●PIE: **h₂eǵros*

POKORNY: 6

Skt. *ájra-* 'plain', Gr. *agrós*, Lat. *ager* 'field'.

Lit: Lehmann 1986 s.v. *akrs* on possible further connections; Lendinara 1990: 307, 308

ekkor adv. comparative 'apart from that, moreover' PIE

Ofris. also *elker(s)*, *ecker*, *ielkers*, *ielkars*, *ielki(r)s*

On these by-forms cf. van Helten (1890: 183) and von Richthofen 1840. s.v. *ekkor*. The comparative formans *-or* is typical for R₁ as against *-er* in the other dialects. Final *-s* is analogical after the adverb *elkes* (van Helten 1890: loc. cit.). On *lk > ll* cf. also s.v. *ek*. On the post-classical reflex *ie < e/_IC* cf. Sjölin (1969: 24).

●PFRIS: *elkur

Goth. *aljaleiko*, ON *elliga(r)*, *ella(r)*, OE *cl(li)cor*, OS *clcor* 'otherwise', OHG *ellichōr* 'further'

●PGMC: *aljalīka-

Compound of *alja- = jod-formation to *al- = *al*, *alle* 1. (cf. Goth. *aljīs*, Lat. *alius*) and *lika- = *-lik* 2., cf. s.vv.

elive adj. 'dead' PIE

Compound of *e-* 1. 'privans', and *-live* 'alive', cf. s.vv.

see also: *oalive*

elle adv. 'wholly, completely' PIE

●PFRIS: *elle

Adverbial derivation in * \bar{i} (= orig. *Is*) to *al*, *alle* 1., q.v.

Lit: van Helten 1906: 183; also van Helten 1896 on OWfris. *elmētha* 'qualified to vote'

see also: *ellemachtich*

ellemachtich adj. 'almighty' PIE

Ofris. also *elmechtich*

This by-form shows regular syncope. On the younger vowel *e* for a in *-mechtich* cf. van Helten (1890: 31).

●PFRIS: *ellegahtih

Compound of *elle* 'wholly, completely' and *-machtich* 'powerful', cf. s.vv.

Also in: ON *almáttigr*, OE *ælmhtig*, *chmhtig*, OS *alomahtig*, *al(a)mahtig*, OHG *alamahtig*, MHG *almehtec*, MLG *almechtich*, *ahnachtich*, *allemechtich*, MDu. *almachtig*, *almachte* 'almighty'.

em subst. m. 'uncle, mother's brother' PIE

●PFRIS: *ēm

OE *ēam*, OHG *ōheim*, MHG *ōheim(e)*, *alheim(e)* 'mother's brother, uncle, son of a sister, cousin, relative', MLG *ōm*, *ōmc*, *ōhē(i)m*, *ōhem* 'mother's brother, uncle, son of a sister, cousin, relative', MDu. (cast) *ohem*, also *oom*, *(o)ome* 'uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law'

●PGMC: *awun-haima-

Compound of *aw-an- = kinship term and *haima- 'home' or 'dear' (see below). On the former element cf. also Goth. *awo* 'grandmother', ON *afi* 'grandfather', *ái* 'great-grandfather'.

●PIE: *h₂eu_h₂-en-

POKORNY: 89

Lat. *avunculus*; root also in Hitt. *huhhas* 'grandfather', Lat. *avus*, *avia* 'grandfather, -mother'. The root probably denoted members of the family of the mother. Pokorny (1959) suggests the possibility of a NW-IE word, which is perhaps confirmed by the different formation Gr. *métrōs* 'mother's brother' < *meh₂trōus. On the other hand, apparently also Hittite fell within the isogloss.

The origin of the second element has been disputed. Most probably we are dealing with PGmc. *haima- = hēm- 'home', q.v. (so: 'he who lives in [or: belongs to?] the house of mother's father'; Osthoff's idea); alternatively, Welsh *tad cu* < *tatos koimos 'grandfather' has been compared (Much's idea) in which the second element means 'dear', cf. also the affective use of the diminutive in Lat. *avunculus* and MDu. *bestevaer* 'best-father = grandfather'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298; refl. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *awo*, de Vries 1992 s.v. *oom*

emessunu subst. m. 'cousin, son of a brother of the mother' PIE

Compound of *ēm* 'uncle, mother's brother' and *sumu* 'son', cf. s.vv.

en num.; indef. art. 'one; a' PIE

Ofris. also *ān*, *ain*, *on*, *ein*

The doublet *ān/ein* represents the unclear two-fold split *ai > *ē/ā*; the other by-forms (*one* [F XI, 439], *ein* [R₁ IV, 33]) represent *hapax legomena* and may be writing errors; *ain*, quoted by von Richthofen (1840: s.v. not 306 but 307, line 29) is emended to *amme* by Sjölin (1970-75: 328 = F XI, 725-6).

●PFRIS: *an/en

Goth. *ains*, ON *einn*, OE *ān*, OS *ēn*, OHG, MHG *ein*, MLG *ē(i)n*, ODu. *ein*, MDu. *een*

●PGMC: *ainaz

Originally the numeral 'one', which later came to serve as indefinite article.

●PIE: *Hoi(H)nos

POKORNY: 286

Gr. *oīnē* 'one (on dice)', OLat. *oinos* > *ūnus*, OPruss. *ains*

Lit: Beekes 1990: 254 on IE details

en and twintegosta ord. num. 'twenty-first' PIE

Compound of *ēn* and *twintegosta*, cf. s.vv.

In composite ordinals, both elements are connected by *and* and only the second element is a real ordinal (van Helten 1890: 187); sim. *acht and twintegosta*, q.v.

en and twintich card. num. 'twenty-one' PIE

Compound (originally syntagm with co-ordinative *and*) of *ēn* and *twintich*, cf. s.vv.

enbete adj. 'requiring a single fine' Fris.

Compound of *en* 'one' and *-bete* adj. suffix, cf. s.vv.

ende subst. m. 'end, part, piece; end, death' PIE

Ofris. also *enda*, *eind(e)*, *ein*

In *enda*, we see a transition into another inflexional type. The by-forms *eind(e)*, *ein* show <ei> for *ē [i.e. *e lengthened before *nd*] (Steller 1928: 14). The ending could undergo apocope. On the loss of *d after *n* in *ein* cf. van Helten (1890: 94).

●PFRIS: *endi

Goth. *andeis*, ON *endir*, *endi*, OE *ende*, OS *endi*, OHG *enti*, *anti*, MHG *ende*, MLG *ēnde*, MDu. *ende*, *einde*, *hende*, *eende*, *inde*, *ent*, *int* 'end'

●PGMC: *andiaz

●PIE: *h₂ent-io-

POKORNY: 50

A nominal formation to the adverb *h₂enti- cf. s.v. *and I*.

ene encl. pers. pron. 'him' PIE

●PFRIS: *eni

Enclitic form of PGmc. (*iz,) *en-, cf. Goth. *ina*, MLG *ēne*, *enne*, MDu. *-(e)ne* etc.

cf. s.v. *hī*.

enfald adj. 'singular, single' PIE

Compound of *ēn* 'one' and *-fald* adj. suff., cf. s.vv.

also in MLG *ein(t)valt*, *-volt*; other formation OFris. *ēnfaldech*, cf. MHG *cinvaldec*, MLG *ē(i)nvöldich*, *ē(i)nt-*, *-weldich*, *-vāldich*, MDu. *ceenvoudich*, *-vuldich*, *-veldich*, *-voldich*.

enich indef. pron. 'only, a (certain)' PIE

Ofris. also *ēn(i)g*, *āng*, *ien(i)g*

Reduction of the final syllable yielded *-g*; the vocalism of *ēn-* as against *ān-* matches the difference between *ēn* and *ān*, cf. s.v. *ēn*; *ien(i)g* shows OWfris. vocalism, which is in accordance with the distribution of the form.

●PFRIS: *ēnih/ānih

An *-ih- derivation of *ēn*, q.v.

Also in: ON *einigr*, OE *āenig*, OS *ēnig*, OHG *einīg*, MHG *einic*, MLG *ē(i)ich*, *ienich*, *en(n)ich*, MDu. *enich*, *-ech*, *eenich*, *ennich*, *yenich* 'id.'

enoch indef. num. 'enough' PIE

Ofris. also *anōg*, *noch*, *anoegh*

The form also appears without proclitic element: *nōch* (length attested in *anoegh*, cf. also the etymology). The prefixes are *e-* = *e-* 2. and *a-* = 4 (or 6?) (at any rate, not a variant of *e-*).

●PFRIS: *(e,ā-)nōh

Goth. *ganohs*, ON *gnógr*, OE *genōg*, OS *ginōg(i)*, OHG *ginuoc*, MHG *ginuoc*, scarce *nuoc*, MLG *(ge)nōch*, *(ge)nūch*, *ennōch*, MDu. *g(e)noech*, *g(e)noch*, *genouch*, *genuech*, *noech*

●PGMC: *ganōg/h-

It remains open to doubt whether the forms without prefix are old.

The late attestation (OFris., MHG, MLG, MDu.) rather suggests an innovation.

●PIE: *h₂nek-

POKORNY: 316-8

Skt. *ásnóti* 'to reach', Lat. *nancīre* 'to get, obtain', OIr. *-ánaic* 'came'; not to *h₁nek- in Gr. *éneḡkon* 'to bring, carry'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Schrijver 1991: 491

enze subst. f. 'ounce' LW

●PFRIS: *enzi

From Lat. *uncia* 'ounce', also attested as OFris. *ense*, *einse* in which forms the *z /ć/* was further shifted to *s /s/* (also in MLG MDu., see below); the latter by-form attests to length of the (umlauted) vowel.

Also in: OE *yntse*, *ynce*, OHG *unza*, MHG *unza*, MLG *un(t)ze*, MDu. *onse*, *once* (borrowed from French?), *unse*, *unx*.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *enze*; Wollmann 1990: 513-4

epen adj. 'open, opened' PIE

OFris. also *open*, *opin*

These variants reflect another formation, viz. *upana-, see below. (<i> for /ə/).

●PFRIS: *epin/*cpan

(1) OFris. *open*: ON *opiun*, OE *open*, OHG *offan*, MHG *offen*, MLG *open*, *ōpen*, *oppen*, MDu. (*h*)*open*, *oppen*, *apen* (east) < *upana- (c.g. *upanaN);

(2) OFris. *epen*, OSwe. *ypin* < *upina- (must be a formation in a long vowel given the retention of the final nasal, e.g. *upinō).

●PGMC: *upana-/*upina-

An *-ono-/*-ino- derivation of *up, cf. s.v. *up-*

Part of the formal problems are treated by Szemerényi (1985). It has been suggested that we are dealing with a ppp-formation to a non-attested PGmc. verb. This is problematic because only Hitt. has an athematic *-mi-* verb *up-zi* 'rise (of the sun)', whereas no trace of such a verb is found elsewhere. Alternatively, Szemerényi assumes an adjective based on an adverb *upa-nē < *upo-nē (cf. also such Goth. adv. formations as *aftana* 'from behind', *innana* 'from behind' etc.

This leaves OFris. *epen*, OSwe. *ypin* unexplained, however, whereas these forms are in accordance with the ppp-formations known from these dialects.

The retention of *p as such in Germanic (no fricativization under Grimm's Law) also presents a problem. Perhaps PIE *up > *ub > PGmc. *up (Szemerényi 1985: 471).

Lit: Szemerényi 1985

see also: *opa*

er 1 adv. conj. prep. 'before, earlier, previously; earlier (... than)' PIE

●PFRIS: *ēr

Goth. *airis*, OE *ǣr*, OS, OHG, ODu. *ēr*, MHG *ē(r)*, MLG *ēr*, *ei(e)r*, MDu. *eer(e)* 'before, earlier, previously'

●PGMC: *airiz

Adv. comparative to *air 'early, morning', cf. Goth. *air*, ON *ár* etc.

●PIE: *h₂ei-er-i

POKORNY: 12

This would be a Ls of an r/n-stem meaning 'day'; *h₂ei-er-i > *a(j)ir > *air; cf. Gr. *áriston* 'breakfast' < *h₂eieri-h₁d-tom (recently Leukart 1994: 61 + refl.), also Av. *aiiarə* 'day' < *h₂eīr.

Note that Gr. *ērios* 'early, in the morning', *ēri* 'early' do not belong here but probably go back to *auseri (Peters 1980: 32).

Perhaps to the 'year'-etymon *(H)ieh₁r- (Noreen 1894: 89), cf. Lith. *jėras* 'lamb' (< 'yearling'), OFris. *jēr* (q.v.). Starting from this etymology, Lubotsky (p.c.) suggests to me: *Heih₁-r 'day' beside *Hieh₁-r 'year' < 'spring' < 'early time'.

see also: *erost* 1., 2., *erseke*, *jer*

-er 2 encl. pers. pron. 'he' PIE

●PFRIS: *er

Enclitic form of PGmc. *ez, cf. Goth. *is*, MLG *er* etc.

cf. s.v. *hī*.

-er 3 encl. adv. 'there' PIE

●PFRIS: *er

Enclitic form of *ther* 1., q.v., also MLG *er*, MDu. *er*, *-re* etc.

cf. s.v. *ther* 1.

erch adj. 'angry, evil; wrong, bad, disgraceful; severe (wounds)' PIE

OFris. also *erg*, *arch*

The by-form *erg* shows the spelling <-g> for the consonant that had become voiceless due to final devoicing, which process caused the neutralization of the opposition between /-g/ and /-h/.

ON *argr* (*ragr* with metathesis [as a result of taboo? de Vries 1992 s.v. *erg*; not in de Vries 1977: s.v. *argr*]) 'cowardly, bad, perverse', OE *earg* 'cowardly, slow, indolent', OS *arug*, OHG *ar(a)g* 'greedy, cowardly, worthless', MHG *arc*, MLG *ar(i)ch*, *arig*, MDu. *e(e)rch*, *ar(e)ch*, *acrch* 'angry, evil'

●PGMC: *arh-

Dutch and OFris. point to a stage *er-* which is not likely to represent the oldest stage given the (older) attestations of *ar-* in the other dialects. We may assume a rule *a > *e/_r+labial or velar (e.g. van Loon 1986: 91).

●PIE: *h₃orǵ^h- (or: *h₁orǵ^h-)

POKORNY: 339

Gr. *orkhéomai* 'jump, dance', Lith. *aržùs* 'voluptuous'. It has been suggested that, starting from a meaning 'shake, jump', the semantical development runs

towards 'voluptuous, perverse' with later specialization as 'unmanly, cowardly' towards 'evil' (Christian influence?), cf. de Vries (1992) s.v. *erg* + reff. and less likely alternatives.

Gr. *órkhis* 'testicle' < *h₃rǵʰ- [Pokorny 1959: 782] would point to *h₃; as to the *ø*-grade cf. also Av. *ərəzi-* 'testicles' < dual *(H)rǵʰ-ih₁.

However, Watkins (1975) has argued that a PIE root *h₁erǵʰ- originally meant 'serve, have sexual intercourse (animals)', which meaning was retained in Hitt. *arg-*. The Gr. verb also has sexual connotations. Skt. *rǵhāyāti* has been connected with the forms quoted here despite its problematic velar. The prime meaning of this verb must be: 'be aroused sexually' (Watkins 1975: 16). At least for ON *argr*, a specific meaning '(acting as a [passive]) male homosexual', which was used as an insult, must be assumed (Watkins 1975: 14-5).

ere 1 subst. f. 'honour, reverence' PIE

●PFRIS: *əri

ON *eir* 'peace, clemency' (also *Eir* NP of a goddess), OE *ār*, OS *ēra* 'honour, help, protection, mercy', OHG *ēra*, MHG, MLG *ēre*, MDu. *c(c)re*, *cer*, *he(c)re* 'honour'

●PGMC: *aizō

●PIE: *h₂eis-eh₂

POKORNY: 16

The above forms represent an *ā*-stem noun to PGmc. *aiz- < *h₂cis-.

Furthermore, the root is only attested with a dental-enlargement, cf. Skt. *īḍé* 'honour, worship' (*ø*-grade *izd- > *īḍ-), Gr. *aídomai*, *aidéomai* 'worship, fear', Goth. *aistan* 'fear, respect'.

see also: eria

-ere 2 encl. def. art. PIE

●PFRIS: *-eri

Enclitic form of Dsf *there* of the definite article, cf. s.v. *thī 2*.

erge adv. 'wrong' PIE

In: *erge dwa* 'do wrong' (X, 1)

●PFRIS: *ergi

Adverbial form to *erch*, q.v.

ergeria wk. vb. 2 'make worse, deteriorate' PIE

A weak 2 verbal formation to *erch*, q.v.

Also in: OE *eargian*, OHG *argerōn*, MLG *arger(e)n*, *erger(e)n*, MDu. *ergren*, *a(e)rgren* 'deteriorate'

eria wk. vb. 2 'honour' PIE

OFris. also *āria*

This form shows the alternative monophthongization product of *ai.

●PFRIS: *eria/āria

A verbal derivation of *ēr I.*, q.v.

Also in: ON *eira* 'to spare, have mercy', OE *ārian*, OS *ēron*, OHG *ērōn*, *ērēn*, MHG, MLG *ēren*, MDu. *eren* 'honour'

see also: *er* 1.

erm 1 subst. m. 'arm' PIE

Ofris. also *arm*

The evidence attests to the variation *e/a* < fronted **a* before *rm* (Steller 1928: 8).

●PFRIS: *erm

Goth. *arms*, ON *armr*, OE *earm*, OS *arm*, OHG *ar(a)m*, MHG *arm*, *arn*, MLG *ārm*, ODu. *arm*, MDu. *ar(e)m*, *aerm*, *erm* 'arm'.

●PGMC: *armaz

●PIE: *h₂orHmos

POKORNY: 58

Full grade perhaps in Av. *arəma-* 'arm' (or \emptyset -grade?); \emptyset -grade *HrHmo- in Skt. *īrmā-*, OPruss. *irmo* 'arm', Lat. *armus* 'arm, shoulder'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291; Schrijver 1991: 313-4 + reff.

erm 2 adj. 'poor' Gmc.

Ofris. also *arm*

This form attests to the variation *e/a* < fronted **a* before *rm* (Steller 1928: 8).

●PFRIS: *erm

Goth. *arms* 'poor, miserable, pitiable', ON *armr* 'miserable', OE *earm*, OS *arm*, OHG *ar(a)m*, MHG *arm*, *arn*, MLG *ārm*, ODu. *arm*, MDu. *ar(e)m*, *aerm*, *arme*, *erm* 'poor'.

●PGMC: *arma-

●IE etymology disputed

Perhaps cf. Gr. *erēmos* 'lonely' < *h₁reh₁mo- (Pokorny 1959: 332-3; Schrijver (1991: 17-8); requires *Schwebe-Ablaut*, however), also in view of the older meaning 'pitiable'. Alternatively, one may compare Skt. *ārma-* (*armakā-*) 'solitary place, isolated place' < *Hor(H)mo-, Av. *arua-* < *HorHmo-/HrHmo- 'a place apart' (Humbach 1985), with PGmc. *arma- < *Hor(H)mo- 'isolated > poor'. Reff. to less probable etymologies (comparison with Lat. *orbis* 'deprived', Gr. *orphanós* 'orphan' etc. or Skt. *arbhā-* 'little, unimportant' etc.) in Lehmann (1986) s.v. *arms* and de Vries (1992) s.v. *arm*.

erost 1 ord. num. 'first' PIE

Ofris. also *ērist*, *ērest*, *ērst*, *ār(i)st*

On *ār-* next to *ēr-*, cf. s.v. *ēr* 1.; *ērist* (weakened *ērest*, syncopated *ērst*) represents the current superlative formation (*-ist-) beside R₁ -ost (< *-ōst-)

●PFRIS: *ērust/*ērist

Superlative formation to *ēr* 1. used as an ordinal number.

Also in: OE *ærest*, OS, OHG *ērist*, MHG *ērst*, MLG *ērst*, *irst*, MDu. *eerst(e)*, *crst*, *irst*, *ierst*

see also: *er* 1., *erost* 2., *erseke*

erost 2 adv. superlative 'at first' PIE

= *ērost 1*. used adverbially.

see also: *er 1.*, *erost 1.*, *erseke*

erseke subst. f. 'earlier case, old feud' PIE

Compound of *er 1*. 'earlier etc.' and *seke* 'case etc.', cf. s.vv. translated into MLG as *ohrsake*, cf. von Richthofen (1840) s.v.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 100, 289

see also: *er 1.*, *erost 1.*, 2., *seke*

ertichta subst. m. 'earlier charge' PIE

Compound of *er 1*. 'earlier etc.' and *tichta* 'charge, accusation', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 333

erva subst. m. 'heir' PIE

●PFRIS: **er*va

Goth. *arbja*, OR *arbijano* (Gp), ON *arfi*, OE *ierfa*, OHG *erb(c)o*, MHG *erbe*, MLG *erve*, *arve*, MDu. *erve* 'heir'

●PGMC: **ar*bjan-

A -ion-stem formation to:

●PIE: **h*₃*erb*^h-

POKORNY: 781-2

Lat. *orbus* 'deprived of, orphan', Arm. *orb* < **h*₃*orb*^h-o-, Gr. *orphanós* < **h*₃(o)*rb*^h- 'orphan'; also Skt. *arbhā-* 'little, unimportant'. With semantic shift of 'orphan(age)' towards 'inheritance' (= that which is left to the orphan), cf. s.v. *erve* (io-st.) and 'heir'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299; Schrijver 1991: 52

see also: *erve*, -*ervia*, *biervia*

erve subst. n. 'inheritance, inherited land, landed property' PIE

●PFRIS: **er*vi

A -io-stem formation to PIE **h*₃*erb*^h-, cf. s.v. *erva*.

Also in: Goth. *arbi*, OR *arbija-* 'inheritance', ON *erfi* 'drink at a funeral', OE *ierfe*, OS *erbi*, OHG *arbi*, *erbi*, MHG *erbe*, MLG *erve*, *arve*, ODu. *cruī*, MDu. *erf*, *a(c)rvē*, *herve* 'inheritance'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

see also: *erva*, -*ervia*, *biervia*

-ervia wk. vb. 2 'leave behind (an inheritance)' PIE

In: *biervia*, q.v.

●PFRIS: **er*via

A weak 2 verbal formation to PIE **h*₃*erb*^h-, cf. s.v. *erva*.

Also in: ON -*erfa* 'have a funerary feast', OE -*ierfan*, OHG, MHG -*erbcn*, MLG *erven*, MDu. *e(c)rvēn*, *a(e)rvēn*, *areven*, *he(e)rvēn* 'leave behind (an inheritance)'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

see also: *erva, erve, biervia*

erze- prefix 'arch-' LW

●PFRIS: *erzi-

From Lat. *archi-* < Gr. *arkhi-* 'first, highest', also attested as OFris. *arse-*.

Also in: Goth. *ark[aggilus]*, ON *erki-*, OE *ærce-, arce-, erce-*, OHG *erzi-*, MHG *erz(e)-*, MLG *erse-*, MDu. *erts-, a(e)rts-* 'id.'

erzebiscop subst. m. 'archbishop' LW

Compound of *erze-* 'arch-' and *biscop* 'bishop', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Buma 1969: s.v. *aerts-*; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *erzebiskop*; Wollmann 1990: 533

-es encl. def. art. PIE

●PFRIS: *-es

Enclitic form of Gsmn *thes* of the definite article, cf. s.v. *thī 2*.

espen adj. 'aspen' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *espin

An adjectival *in-*formation to a non-attested noun ***esp* 'asp', cf.

ON *ǫsp*, OE *ǣsp(e)*, *ǣps*, OHG *aspa*, MHG *aspe*, MLG, MDu. *espe* 'id.'

●PGMC: *aspō, adj. *aspīn-*

●PIE: *h₂eps-eh₂ [?]

POKORNY: 55

Latv. *apsa*, OPruss. *abse*, Russ. *osína* < **opsína* 'id.' Apart from this obvious Gmc.-BS. parallel, other IE evidence remains unclear. Are we dealing with a Gmc.-BS. substratum word?

An Armenian loan has been assumed for Osmanian *apsak* 'poplar'. However, Uwe Bläsing informs me that we are dealing with a cultural term that is well-attested in the Turkic languages; cf. also Munkácsi (1904) contra the idea of old Armenian loans in Turkic.

Cf. Gr. *apellón* (Hes.) with **ap-* < *h₂ep-.

et 1 prep., adv. 'at, in, on, over, from' PIE

OFris. also *it*

On OWFris. *i* for *e* < **a* cf. Steller (1928: 10).

●PFRIS: *et

Goth., ON, OS *at*, OE *æt*, OHG *az* 'at, to'

●PGMC: *at

●PIE: *h₂ed

POKORNY: 3

Lat. *ad* 'to, at'; preverbs OIr. *ad-*, Phrygian *ad-*.

et- 2 pref. PIE

In: *ctmel*.

OFris. also *eth-*

This by-form shows the hypercorrect spelling <th> for <t> that was caused

by the loss of the phoneme /p/ <th> (Sjölin 1969: 29; cf. also van Helten 1890: 97).

●PFRIS: *et-

Goth. pref. *id-* (also *iī* 'but'), ON *ip*, OE, OS, ODu., MDu. *ed-*, OHG *et(a)-*, *it(a)-*, MHG *it(e)-*, MLG *et-*

●PGMC: *edi-/*eda- (or /*edē)

The MDu., MLG, OHG absence of the raising of *e- to *i- as well as the HG by-forms showing -a- suggest a doublet *edi-/*eda- (or *edē-)

●PIE: *h₁eti

POKORNY: 344

Gr. *éti* 'moreover, as well', Lat. *et* 'and, also'

Lit: van Helten 1890: 12, 97

-et 3 encl. def. art. 'it' PIE

●PFRIS: *et

Enclitic form of Dsf *thet 1* of the def. art., cf. s.v. *thet 1*.

eta prep. + encl. def. art. 'at the' PIE

Syntagm containing *et 1*. and Dpf *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

et cetera conj. + subst. 'etcetera' LW

In XX, 70, used as an abbreviation for a standard formulation; refers to XIII, 1-4.

From Lat. *et cetera* 'etcetera'.

eta prep. + encl. def. art. 'at the' PIE

Syntagm containing *et 1*. and Dsf *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

eth subst. m. 'oath; office, function (in court)' Gmc./Celt.

OFris. also *ēd*

This by-form shows the late-OFris. transition *th > d*

●PFRIS: *ēþ

Goth. *aīþs*, ON *eipr*, OE *āþ*, OS *ēð*, OHG *cid*, MHG *eit*, *cid*, MLG *e't*, MDu. *ced*, *eet*, *eit*, *eyd* 'oath'

●PGMC: *aīþaz

● No certain IE etymology

The only certain cognates are found in Celtic, cf. OIr. *óeth* 'oath'; we may perhaps assume a common non-IE heritage, i.e. a Gmc. loan from Celtic (cf. especially Marstrand 1911: 205).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298; de Vries 1992 and Lehmann 1986 s.v. for improbable IE etymologies

see also: *aththa*, *-ethoch*

-etha subst. m. '[lit.] (a) sworn; civil servant in the court' Gmc.

By-form of *āththa*, occurring in *ivenētha*, cf. s.vv.

Lit: refl. Buma 1961 s.v.

Ethela NL 'Attila' LW**etheldom** subst. m. 'free citizenship' PIE

On semantics and legal meaning reff. in Buma (1961) s.v.

OFris. also *ēdeldōm*This by-form shows the late-OFris. transition *th* > *d*.●PFRIS: **ēpeldōm*Compound of *ēthel* < PGmc. **ōdil-* (not in R₁) and suffix *-dōm* 4. (denoting a state), cf. s.vv. *edila* and *-dōm* 4.We can also assume *ethele* 1. as the first member of this compound. Note in Holthausen and Hofmann (1985) long initial vowel (in accordance with the former derivation) on p. 22 and short vowel (in accordance with the second interpretation) on p. 155 (=Hofmann's Ergänzungsliste). At any rate, the suffix *-dom* can be preceded by both substantives and adjectives (van Loey 1970: 201).see also: *edila*, *ethele* 1., 2., *etheling***ethele 1** adj. 'having free citizenship' Gmc.OFris. also *edele*This by-form shows the late-OFris. transition *th* > *d*.A io-stem formation **adil-ja-* to PGmc. **ad/þ-*, cf. s.v. *edila*Also in: OE *æþele*, OS *ethili*, OHG *edili* 'noble'see also: *edila*, *ethele* 2., *etheldom*, *etheling***-ethele 2** subst. n. 'property' Gmc.I tend to interpret this word as the substantivized io-stem adjective *ethele* 1., as the PGmc. subst. **ōdil-* shows no io-stem formation, cf. OS *ōthil*, *-ōðil*, OE (-)*ēþel* (next to *ōþel*), OHG (-)*uodil* 'inheritance, ancestral property'; OFris. *ēthel* (not in R₁, but cf. s.v. *ētheldōm*) directly corresponds to this formation. Goth. *haim-ōþli* 'property, homestead' would represent **ōdal-ja-* (cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. and s.v. *edila*), which formation would not yield an unlauded stem vowel.see also: *edila*, *ethele* 1., *etheldom*, *etheling***etheling** subst. m. 'free citizen' Gmc.An *-inga-formation to PGmc. **ad/þ-*, cf. s.v. *edila*.Also in: ON *þþlingr*, *ēþlingr*, OE *æþeling*, OHG *adaling*, *adalung*, *ediling*, MDu. *edelinc*, *cdcling*, *celinc*, *edeling* 'nobleman'see also: *edila*, *ethele* 1., 2., *etheldom***ethma** subst. m. 'breath' PIEOFris. also *ādema* (, *omma*, *om*)The latter two by-forms represent another formation, viz. **an-ma*, cf. s.v. *andern*. In *adema* we find a dialectal reflex *ā* < PGmc. **ē*₁; note also the parasite vowel *-e-* in this form.

●PFRIS: *ēþma

OE *æþm*, OS *āthum* (<*āþ-), OHG *ātum*, MHG *ātem*, *āten*, MLG *ādem*, *ādam*, *ātem* (<*ādne), MDu. *adem*, *adaem*, *adom*, (*n)aem(e)*, (cast) *odem* 'breath'

●PGMC: *ēd/þmaz; *ēþm-an-

The HG forms point to Grammatischer Wechsel. The PIE n-stem (see below) was retained in OFris.

●PIE: *h₁eh₁tnen-

Skt. *ātman-* 'breath, soul'.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *azem*

-ethoch adj. suffix 'having sworn an oath' Gmc.

In: *hēmethoga*, q.v.

OFris. also *-ēthech*, *-ēdich*

The non-Riustring suffix form is *-ich* > *-ech*; *-ēdich* shows the transition of *-th* to *-d*.

●PFRIS: *-ēþih, -ēþoh

An *-och*-adjective (non-Riustring *-ich*) to *ēth*, q.v.

Lit: Buma 1961: 50

see also: *eth*, *hemethoga*

etmel subst. n. '(period of) 24 hours' PIE

Compound of *et-* 2. pref. and *-mel* 'time', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *edmælc*, OHG *itumālī* 'festivity', MLG *etmāl*, *atmāl* 'cyclic period', MDu. *ad-*, *at-*, *cd-*, *act-*, *cet-mael* '24 hours'.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. for reff.

ewich adj. 'eternal' PIE

OFris. also *ēwig*, *iowich*

The former variant shows the spelling <-g> for the neutralised final velar fricative. The latter variant shows the post-classical reflex *io* for *ē/_v*, *w* (Sjölin 1969: 24).

von Richthofen (1840). further postulates a form *ewch*, but this is the syncope stem form extended to the Ns (cf. R₁ Dsnf *cuga*).

●PFRIS: *ēwih

OS, OHG *ēwig*, MHG *ēwic*, MLG *ēwich*, MDu. (*e*)*ewich*, *ewech* 'eternal'

●PGMC: *aiwih- (PWGmc.)

An adjectival *-ich*-derivation of OFris. *ēwe* 'eternity' (not in R₁), cf. s.v. *ā- 3*.

●PIE: *h₂oi-u-

POKORNY: 17-18

Lat. *aevum* 'time of life, eternity' <*h₂eiu-o-, Skt. *āyu-*, Av. *āiui-* 'life (force), etc.' <*h₂oiu-, Goth. *aiws* <*h₂oiu-is, etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294; Oosterhout 1969

see also: *a- 3.*, *ahwedder*, *a(u)wet*

eyder cf. s.v. *eider*, *eyder*.

eyn cf. s.v. *ein*, *eyn*.

F

fa str. vb. VII 'capture, seize, catch; arrest' PIE

●PFRIS: *fā

Goth. *fāhan*, ON *fá*, OE *fōn*, OS *fāhan*, *fangan*, OHG *fāhan*, MHG *vān*, *vāhen*, MLG *vān*, *vangen*, MDu. *vanghen*, *vaen* 'capture'

●PGMC: *fahanaN/*fang-

The forms pointing to *fang- (Grammatischer Wechsel) represent innovations of the representatives of *fāh- < *fanh-.

The Germanic forms quoted represent a nasal present *fa-n-h- < *ph₂-n-k-; non-nasal presents are OE *fēgan*, OS *fōgian*, OHG *fuogan* etc., cf. OFris. *fōgia* 'join' (not in R₁ [not *fōga* pace Lehmann 1986 s.v. *fahan*]) < *fōg- < *peh₂k-. These forms point to a root:

●PIE: *peh₂k-

POKORNY: 787-8

Lat. *pācīscor* 'make a treaty', *pāx* 'treaty, peace'; connection with Lat. *pango* ppp *pāctus* 'fix', Gr. *pégnūmi* 'fasten, fix' < *peh₂g- is probable (most recently Schrijver 1991: 97 + ref.; also Seebold 1970: 185-6).

Gysseling (1987: 51) explains problematic Du. *pakken* by assuming an unshifted substratum form *pak- 'take' from a lost IE language (that apparently maintained *pHk- as *pak-). This seems certainly possible to me. The hypothesis requires that *pakken* is disconnected from Du. *pak* 'luggage, pack' (pace de Vries 1992 s.v. *pakken*). This actually seems obvious to me for semantic reasons as well as the coexistence of such forms as ON *baggi* 'pack', Middle English *bagge* 'bag', PDE*bag*, etc. < *bag-. These forms seem to reflect a non-IE consonantal variation, which is often found in European substratum words (cf. e.g. s.v. *have*). Cf. also Kuhn apud de Vries (1992) s.v. *pak*, who assumes an IE substratum (i.e. *pak-), however.

Gysseling (loc. cit.) furthermore connects *pek- in Lat. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu*, etc. with *pak-, which seems impossible from a semantic and formal point of view, cf. s.v. *fia*.

Lit: van Helten 1889: 239ff. on formal complications.

see also: -fang, *fia*, -fongere

fach adj. 'outlawed, prosecuted, punishable' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *fah

OE *fāh*, *fag* 'outlawed', OHG *gifēh*, MDu. *ghevee* 'inimical'

●PGMC: *fah-

Also in: Goth. *bifaih* 'exaction', *bifaihōn* 'defraud'; OS *afēhian*, OHG *fēhen* 'condemn' and in the word 'feud', cf. s.v. *feithe* (< *faih-īþ-ō).

●PGMC: *faih-

Relationship with an adj. *faig-ia- < *poiġ-jo- has been suggested, which is

found in ON *feigr*, OE *fæge*, OS *fēg(i)*, OHG *feigi*, MDu. *ve(y)ghe*, *veych* 'moribund' etc., also in OFris. *fāy* 'moribund' (pace von Richthofen 1840, who treats the two words as variants in one lemma; cf. Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: 23, 138) < *fei < *faigi- (Tollenaere 1960: 49 after Siebs; correcting van Helten 1889: 245, van Helten 1906: 192). Doubts expressed by de Vries (1977: 115).

• IE etymology unclear.

A PIE root *peik- has been suggested (Pokorny 1959: 795), cf. Skt. *písuna-* 'evil, wicked' (NB Lith. *paikas* 'stupid' has a plain velar). This seems doubtful for semantical reasons.

Lit: Tollenaere 1960: 48-50 for discussion + ref.; Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: feithe

fad subst. m. 'counterfeiting, forgery; false coin (= the product of forgery)' Gmc.

•PFRIS: *fād

A derivation *faih-ōdu- of *faihō (cf. Goth. *bifaihōn*), cf. s.v. *fāch*.

von Richthofen (1840) compares ON *fæþ*, but cf. de Vries (1977: s.v. and s.v. *fār* 2.).

Lit: van Helten 1889: 242-4 on reconstruction and semantics.; Lendinara 1990: 300

fal subst. m. 'fall' PIE

OFris. also *fel*

The variation <e,a> must point to an unlauded vowel, because we do not expect fronting of *a in closed syllables before /l/, cf. van Helten (1890: 1). On <a,e>/_ll + unlauding vowel cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX). Cannot be connected with 'gully' in the geographical name *Sinkfal*, cf. Dp *sinkfalon* without geminate.

•PFRIS: *fæl

ON *fall*, OE *fiell*, OS, OHG *fal*, MHG, MLG *val*, MDu. *val*, *valle* 'fall'

•PGMC: *falliz

•PIE: *p(e)h₃l-

POKORNY: 851

Lith. *pūolu*, *pūlti* 'fall'.

A PIE phoneme *p^h (next to *b^h) is no longer reconstructed (thus Pokorny 1959 loc. cit.). The Baltic accent points to a root containing a laryngeal. Doubts in Seebold (1970: 181-2), however. On the geminate ll cf. s.v. *falla* 1.

see also: *falla* 1., 2., -falle, *fella* 1., *fil*, *urfella*

-**fald** adj. '-fold' PIE

•PFRIS: *fald

Suffix Goth. *-falþs*, ON *faldr*, OE *-feald*, OS *-fald*, OHG *-falt*, MHG *-valt*, MLG *-vālt*, *-vōlt*, ODu. *-valt*, MDu. *-vout*

•PGMC: *-falda-

Enlarged formation OFris. *-faldech* (not in R₁): OHG *-faltig*, MHG *-valdec*,

MLG *-vāldich*, *-vōldich*, *-weldich*, MDu. *-voudich*, *-vuldich*, *-veldich*, *-voldich*. Also in Gmc. vb. 'to fold', Goth. *falþan* etc. (not attested in OFris.).

●PIE: **pol-to-*

POKORNY: 802-3

Gr. *di-plásios* < **pl̥t̥jo-*.

A dental formation to a root **pel-*, cf. Gr. *ha-plóos* < **sm̥-plos* 'simple', Lat. *simplus* 'id.'; also Alb. *palë* 'fold, row' < **pol-i-* or **pol-n-*. OIr. *alt* 'joint' is problematic; it may represent **p̥l-sto-*.

falla 1 str. vb. VII 'fall, enter (a house [with force]), lower, go down, collapse' PIE

●PFRIS: **falla*

Strong verb (cl. VII, with nasal suffix: **-ln-* > **-ll-*) to the root **fal-*, cf. s.v. *fal*.

Also in: ON *falla*, OE *feallan*, OS, OHG *fallan*, MHG *vallen*, MLG (*ge*)*vallen*, MDu. *vallen*, ODu. *fallon* 'id.'

see also: *fal*, *falla* 2., *-falle*, *fella* 1., *fil*, *urfella*

falla 2 wk. vb. I '(lit.) make fall, kill; dismiss, refuse to accept' PIE

OFris. also *fella*

This by-form points to a 'partly umlauted' form, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX).

●PFRIS: **fælla*

Weak causative verb (cl. I) **falljanaN*, to the root **fal-*, cf. s.vv. *fal*, *fella* 1., *urfella*.

Also in: ON *fella*, OE *fiellan*, OS *fellian*, OHG *fellan*, MHG *vellen*, MLG (*ge*)*vellen*, MDu. *vellen*, ODu. *fallon* 'id.'

see also: *fal*, *falla* 1., *-falle*, *fella* 1., *fil*, *urfella*

-falle adj. suff. 'falling' PIE

In *gersfalle* 'falling into the grass; hewn off'.

OFris. also *-felle*

This by-form indicates an i-umlauted stem vowel **æ*, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX).

●PFRIS: **fælli*

An io-stem adjectival formation to the root **fal-*, cf. s.v. *fal*.

see also: *fal*, *falla* 1., 2., *fella* 1., *fil*, *urfella*

falsk subst. n.? 'counterfeiting, forgery; false coin (= the product of forgery)' LW

●PFRIS: **falsk*

From Old French f. *falske* to *fals* < Lat. *falsus* 'wrong, false'.

Also in: ON, OE *fals* 'false', MHG, MLG *vals* (both languages also *valsch* borrowed from MDu.) 'false', MDu. *valsc* 'false, unreal, bad, evil'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *falsk*

-fang subst. m. 'grip, grasp' PIE

Ofris. also *feng*

This by-form points to a 'partly unlauded' form, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *fæng

A substantival formation to PGmc. *fāh- / *fang- < PIE *peh₂k-, cf. s.v. *fa*. see also: *fa*, -fongere

fara 1 str. vb. VI 'go, travel; obtain (+an, ova); go to war (hiriferd-); ride along (a way)' PIE

●PFRIS: *fara

Goth., OE, OS, OHG *farān*, ON *fara*, MHG *varn*, MLG *vāren*, MDu. *varen* 'go, travel'

●PGMC: *faranaN

Other formations: (weak 1) ON *ferja*, OE, OS *ferian*, OHG *ferren* 'ferry across'; (stem vowel *-ō-) ON *fœra*, OE *fērgan*, OFris. *fēra* (q.v.) etc. 'bring, convey'.

●PIE: *por-

POKORNY: 816-7

Skt. *pīparti* 'convey across', Gr. *peírō* 'penetrate', Lat. *portō* 'carry'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288, 301; Seebold 1970: 186-8

see also: -fara 2., *fera*, *ferd*, *ferē* 1., -fere 2.

-fara 2 subst. m. 'traveller' PIE

In *rumfara* 'pilgrim to Rome'

●PFRIS: *fara

An n-stem substantive to *far- < *por-, cf. s.v. *fara* 1.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288, 301

see also: *fara* 1., *fera*, *ferd*, *ferē* 1., -fere 2.

fara 3 adv., prep. 'before (time, space)' PIE

Also in: *afara*, *bifara* 2, *farahavcd*, *tofara* 2.

●PFRIS: *fara

adv. OE, OS *foran*, MHG *vorn* [or cf. OHG *voren*, MLG *vōre(n)*, *vōr*, MDu. (also prep.) *voren* 'before']

●PGMC: *furanaN

If the OFris. form is cognate with this set, we must account for the deviant vowel *a*. It may represent vowel reduction as in OS, OHG preverb *far-* (van Helten 1890: 14, after Paul 1879: 207). Later, *for-* came to be used as a prefix as well which resulted in a doublet *for-* 1 ~ *far-*; *for-* 1 also occurs in R₁, q.v.

●PIE: *prh₂-

POKORNY: 813

Skt. *purāh*, Gr. *páros* < *prh₂-os 'before', Lat. *prae* < *preh₂-i etc.

A daring assumption is that OFris. retains the old vowel, whereas the other WGmc. dialects introduced *o* from a cognate formation (to be compared with OFris. *fori* etc.), cf. Old Persian *paranam* 'earlier' (Holthausen 1963 s.v. *foran*). The Old Persian form represents a *ø*-grade, however: *prh₂-enom

(Lubotsky, p.c.).

see also: afara, bifara 2., farahaved, for- 1., 2. (also forhaved), fori 1., 2., 3., tofara 2., ur- 3.

farahaved subst. n. 'front part of the mouth' PIE

Compound of *fara* 3. 'before' and *haved* 'head', cf. s.vv.

To be distinguished from *forhaved* 'forehead', cf. MLG *vōrhōvet*, MDu. *vor-hovet* 'id.' etc.

Farle 'NP'

fax- subst. n. 'hair' PIE

●PFRIS: *fahs

Oic. *fax* 'mane', OE *feax*, OS, OHG *fahs*, MDu. *vas* 'hair'

●PGMC: *fahsaN

Also in *fahti- 'fur', cf. OE *feht*, MDu. *vacht*, etc.

●PIE: *peĸ-

POKORNY: 797

Gr. *pékos* 'wool', also *péktō* 'shear', cf. Lat. *pectō* 'to comb', Gr. *pékō* 'shear', cf. Lith. *pešù* 'pluck'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

see also: fia

faxfang subst. m. '(criminal) grasping of the hair' PIE

Ofris. also *faxfeng*

On *-feng* cf. s.v. *fang*.

●PFRIS: *fahsfæng

Compound of *fax-* 'hair' and *fang* 'grip, grasp', cf. s.vv

feder subst. m. 'father' PIE

Ofris. also *fader*, *feider*

The former by-form is OWfris. and lacks fronting of *a (cf. MDu. *vader*), the latter represents a typical form of E₃ (von Richtofen 1840 s.v.).

●PFRIS: *feder

Goth. *fadar*, ON *faþer*, OE *fæder*, OS *fadar*, -er, OHG, MHG *fater*, MLG *vāder*, MDu. *vader(e)*, *vadre*, *vaer* 'father'.

●PGMC: *fadēr

●PIE: *ph₂ter-

POKORNY: 829

Skt. *pitár-*, Gr. *patḗr*, Lat. *pater*, OIr. *athir*, Arm. *hayr* 'father'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: aldafeder, federmech, fethe, stiäpfeder; fidiransunu, fidir(i)a

federmech subst. m. 'relative of father's line' PIE

Ofris. also *fadermēch*

On *fader-* cf. s.v. *feder*

●PFRIS: *federmech

Compound of *feder* 'father' and *-mēch* 'relative', cf. s.vv.

Lit: von Richthofen 1840 s.v. falsely starts from a weak subst.

see also: modermech

feithe subst. f. 'feud, dispute, hostility, *inimicitas*' Gmc.

OFris. also *faithe*

We are dealing with *ai-/ei-* < **ēgi-* < **aigi-* (Steller 1928: 33 par. 44 Anm. 2.).

•PFRIS: **feip̃i/faiṽi*

A feminine substantive **faih/g-iṽ-ō* to the root PGmc. **faih-/faig-*, cf. s.v. *fāch*.

Also in: OE *fæhp̃* 'feud, hostility', OHG *gi-fehida* 'hatred, dispute, hostility', MLG *vēde*, *vē(i)de* 'feud, dispute, hostility', MDu. *vede*, later *vete* 'hostility'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: fach

fel subst. n. 'skin' PIE

•PFRIS: **fel*

(Goth. *brutsfill* 'leprosy', *filleins* adj. 'leathern'), ON *fell*, *fjall*, OE *fell*, OHG, OS *fel*, MHG, MLG, ODu. *vel*, MDu. *vel(le)* 'skin'

•PGMC: **fella-*

•PIE: **pel-*

POKORNY: 803

Gr. *pélas* 'skin', Lat. *pellis* 'skin' < **pelni-* (Gmc. < **pelno-*).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 293

see also: -fela 2.

fela 1 wk. vb. 1 'feel' PIE [?]

•PFRIS: **fēla*

OE *fēlan*, OS *gifōlian*, OHG *fuolen*, MHG *vüelen*, MLG (*ge*)*vōlen*, *vülen*, MDu. *voelen*, *vo(i)len* 'to feel'

•PGMC: **fōljana* (P(W)Gmc.)

• Etymology unclear

Suggestions in de Vries (1992) s.v. *voelen*:

(1) possible (cf. also Lehmann 1986 s.v. *usfilma*; idea of Fick): to ON *falma* 'feel, grope; be astonished', Goth. *usfilma* 'astonished, frightened' etc. Lat. *palpor* 'stroke', Gr. *pelemízō* 'swing', cf. also *pállō* 'id.' < **pl-j-* to **pel-* (Pokorny 1959: (789-) 801), cf. also s.v. *felo*.

(2) improbable (idea of Kretschmer): original meaning 'movement of the hand', cf. Gr. *palmós* 'tremble', to *palámē*, Lat. *palma*, OE *folm*, *folma* etc. 'palm of the hand', cf. also s.v. *feld*.

(3) improbable (Pokorny 1959: 841, with doubt): to 'thumb', cf. Lat. *pollex*, ORuss. *палець*.

see also: feld, felo

-fela 2 str. vb. IV 'order' PIE [?]

In: *bifela*

●PFRIS: *bifela

Goth. *filhan* 'bury, conceal', ON *fela* 'hide, conceal', OE *fēolan* 'commit, conceal'

also: OE *befēolan* 'conceal; entrust to, insist', OS *bifelhan*, OHG *bifel(a)han* 'conceal; recommend', MHG *bevelhen* 'entrust to, recommend', MLG *bevēlen*, *-vālen*, MDu. *bevelen* 'entrust to, recommend; order, command'

●PGMC: *(bi-)felhanaN

With unclear semantical development; hardly convincing (de Vries 1992 s.v. *bevelen*) 'bury' > 'entrust to earth' > 'entrust' > 'give an order'

●PIE: *pel-k- [?]

POKORNY: 803

Usually considered a k-erweiterung to *pel-, cf. s.v. *fel*. Serious semantical problems remain. Considered as having no IE etymology by Seebold (1970: 191-3).

see also: bifela, fel

feld subst. m. 'field' PIE

Ofris. also *fiel*

This form shows the postclassical breaking of *e/_1C (Sjölin 1969: 24).

●PFRIS: *feld

OE, OS, OHG *feld*, MHG, MLG *velt*, MDu. *ve(e)lt*, *veld* 'field, plain'

●PGMC: *felpaN

●PIE: *pelh₂-

POKORNY: 805-6

The root would mean 'to spread'. Gmc. has a t-erweiterung; m-formans in *palāmē*, Lat. *palma*, OE *folm*, *folma* etc. 'palm of the hand'; also OCS *polje* 'field', Lat. *plānus* 'plain', etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

see also: fela 1. (2)

fele subst. f. 'feeling' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *feli

Substantival formation to Gmc. *fēl-, cf. s.v. *fēla* 1.

fella 1 wk. vb. 1 '(lit.) make fall, kill; dismiss, refuse to accept' PIE

Ofris. also *falla* 2.

This by-form points to a 'partly unlauded' form, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *fælla

Weak causative verb (cl. I) *falljanaN, to the root *fal-, cf. s.v. *falla* 2.

see also: fal, falla 1., -falle, fella 2., fil,

fella 2 wk. vb. 1 'redeem, pay (a fine)' PIE

(Ofris. also weak 2 *fullia*, cf. OS *fullōn*, MDu. *vollen* etc.)

●PFRIS: *fella

Goth. *fulljan*, ON *fylla*, OE *fyllan*, OS *fullian*, OHG *fullen*, *fulljan*, MHG

vüllen, MLG vüllen, MDu. vullen 'fill'

●PGMC: *fulljanaN

Most probably a derivative of *full-, cf. Goth. *fulls*, ON *fullr*, OE, OS, OHG, OFris. *ful(l)*, OHG *fol* etc. < *fuln- < *pl(h₁)-n-.

Alternatively (van Helten 1890: 224), we may start from a denominative of *fal* (not in R₁) 'fine', cf. MHG *fal* 'id.' Note, however, such syntagms as ...*sa is thiu kest al ebet and alle fullad* (= *al efullad)... (III, 105-6) '... thus the *kest* is completely redeemed and 'fulfilled'...'

●PIE: *plh₁no-

POKORNY: 799

Skt. *pūrṇā-*, Lith. *pilnas* 'full'; Lat. *plēnus* < *pleh₁nos.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: *felo*

felo subst. n., adv. 'much' PIE

As a noun, this word governs a genitive, meaning: 'an amount of = much of... ', e.g. ... *also fele heles londes*... '... so much fixed land...' (X, 51).

OFris. also *fele*

This by-form shows reduction of the final vowel **-u*

●PFRIS: *filu

Goth. *filu*, ON *fjǫl*, OE *feolu*, *feala*, OS, OHG *filu*, *filo*, MHG *vile*, *vil*, MLG *vēl(e)*, *vōle*, *vil*, ODu. *filo*, MDu. *vele*, *veel*, *vcile*, *vo(e)le* 'much'

●PGMC: *felu

●PIE: *pelh₁u-

POKORNY: 800

An u-stem formation to the root *pleh₁-, cf. s.v. *fella* 2.; ablaut in the root remains unclear, cf. Skt. *purú-* < *plh₁u-, Gr. *polús* < *polh₁u- and PGmc. *felu < *pelh₁u-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: *fella* 2.

fenne subst. f. 'meadow' PIE

OFris. also *fene*

This by-form shows the original stem form of the Ns; in a io-stem, gemination is regular in the other case forms. Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: Erg. 156) state a (slight) semantic differentiation.

●PFRIS: *feni, *fennj-

Goth. *fani* 'clay, mud', ON *fen*, OE *fen(n)*, OS *fe(n)ni* 'swamp, fen', OHG *fenni*, *fenna*, MHG *venne*, MLG *vēn*, *ven*, *venne*, *vēnlant*, *vān*, MDu. *ven(ne)*, *vinne* 'swamp'

●PGMC: *fanja-

●PIE: *ponio-

POKORNY: 807-8

To a root *pen-, cf. Skt. *pāñka-* 'mud, swamp' < *pen-k-, OIr. *en* < *peno- 'water, urine'; OPruss. *pannean* 'bog'

Lit: Fort 1984

fera wk. vb. 1 'carry, convey' PIE

●PFRIS: *fēra

ON *færa* 'carry, convey', OE *fēran* 'go, travel', OS *fōrian*, OHG *fuorran*, *fuoren*, MHG *vüeren*, MLG *vōren*, *vu'ren*, MDu. *vo(e)ren*, *voiren*, *vouren*, *vu(e)ren*, *vuyren* 'carry, convey'.

[Goth. *forjan*, quoted in Holthausen and Hofmann (1985) s.v. must be a ghost word, cf. Köbler (1983), Lehmann (1986) s.v.,]

●PGMC: *fōrejanaN

Causative formation to *faranaN, cf. s.v. *fara*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: *fara* 1., -*fara* 2., *ferd*, *fere* 1., -*fere* 2.

ferd subst. f. 'journey' PIE

●PFRIS: *ferd

A feminine ti-abstract to *far-, cf. s.v. *fara* 1.

Also in: ON *ferþ*, OE *fierd*, OS *fard*, OHG *fart*, MHG *var*, MLG *vārt*, ODu. *farth*, MDu. *vaert*, *va(e)rd*, *va(e)rde*, *vert*, *ve(e)rde* 'journey'

●PGMC: *farþi-

see also: *fara* 1., -*fara* 2., *fera*, *fere* 1., -*fere* 2.

ferē 1 subst. n. 'benefit, profit, use, hail' PIE

●PFRIS: *fēre

A io-stem adjective that later was substantivized to *far-, cf. *fara* 1.

Also in: ON *færr* 'ready to set out, ready to use', OE *fēre* 'able to go, ready to use, useful', *gefēre* 'attainable', OS *gifōri* 'benefit, profit', OHG *gifuori* '*commodum, lucrum*' [< PGmc. *(gi)fōria-]

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 120; Holthausen 1963: 111; Schrt 1925: 181; reff. in Buma 1961 s.v.

see also: *fara* 1., -*fara* 2., *fera*, *ferd*, -*fere* 2.

-fere 2 subst. f. 'journey' PIE

In: *utfere*.

OFris. also *fer*, *fare*

These by-forms are from OWFris.; the former underwent apocope of *-e, the latter may show a for *e/_r. The latter form may also have taken a from e.g. *fara* 1. There is no Ns *fera* as quoted in von Richtofen (1840) s.v. for B, cf. already van Helten (1907a: 120) and especially the glossary in Buma (1949).

●PFRIS: *fere

An ā-stem to *far-, cf. s.v. *fara* 1.

Also in: ON *fōr*, OE *faru*, OHG *fara*, MHG *var*, MLG *vār(e)*, MDu. *vare*, *var*, *vere* [< PGmc. *faru].

Lit: van Helten 1890: 5 as to the stem vowel; Lendinara 1990: 288; van Helten 1907a: 120

see also: *fara* 1., -*fara* 2., *fera*, *ferd*, *fere* 1.

fermia wk. vb. 2 'administer confirmation' LW

●PFRIS: *fermia

From Lat. *firmare* 'make firm'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *fermia*; Wollmann 1990: 527 (s.v. *ferma* as in von Richthofen 1840)

ferost adj. superl. 'first' PIE

OFris. also *fer(e)st* (*farnest*, *forrest*)

ferest (weakened *-ist-) and syncopated *ferst* represent the current superlative formation (*-ist-) next to *R*₁-*ost* (< *-ōst-). The forms *farnest*, *forrest* represent different formations (after **faran*, cf. s.v. *fara* 3. and **foran*, cf. OS *foran* [see also *fara* 3.]).

●PFRIS: **ferust*/**ferist*

Superlative formation to *fori* 1. 'for', q.v.

Also in: ON *fyrstr*, OE *fyrst(a)*, OS, OHG *furist(o)* etc. 'first'

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 120-1

see also: *fara* 3., *ferra*, *fori* 1

ferra adj. comp. 'right (scil. hand)' PIE

OFris. also *farra*, *fora*

The form *farra* (E) shows lowering of *e* to *a* before *r* (van Helten 1890: 8); *fora* is OWFr. and shows influence of the positive *fore*.

●PFRIS: **ferra*

Comparative formation to *fori* 1. 'for', q.v.

Also in: ON *fyrri*, OE *fyrra*, OHG *furiro* 'more to the front, earlier'

NB MHG *vorder*, MLG *vörder*, *vürder*, MDu. *vo(o)rder*, *voirder* 'right' are comparatives to the etymon OFris. *forth* 'forward', q.v.; also in the OFris. by-form *fordera* (not in *R*₁), OS *forthora* 'right'.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 120-1; Hoops 1950: 86-7

see also: *ferost*, *fori* 1

fest 1 subst. f. 'fist' PIE

●PFRIS: **fēst*

OE *fȳst*, OS, OHG *fūst*, MHG *vūst*, *voust*, MLG *vūst*, MDu. *vu(u)st*, *vuys(ch)t*, *vucst*, *fuust*, *voyst* 'fist'

●PGMC: **fūsti*- < **punksti*-

●PIE: **peug*-

POKORNY: 828

Lat. *pungo* 'sting'; also Gr. adv. *pūks* 'with the fist' etc., Lat. *pugnus* < **pug-no*-.

Alternatively to OCS *pešť* 'fist' [Pokorny 1959: 839] < **pnk^w-st-i*. On the possibility of these words pointing, with other evidence, to a PIE word **penk^w*- 'hand' (eventually cognate with the numeral 'five'), cf. recently Schwartz (1992).

Lit: de Vries 1992 s.v. *vuist* who also mentions less likely alternatives.

-**fest 2** adj. 'fixed' PIE

In: *frethofest*, *onfest*, cf. s.vv

●PFRIS: *fest

ON *fastr*, OE *fæst*, OS *fast*, MHG, MLG *vast*, ODu. *fast*, MDu. *fast*, *vast(e)* 'fixed'

●PGMC: *fastu-

next to a former i-stem *fasti- in: OHG *fest*, MHG *veste*

●PIE: *ph₂stu-

POKORNY: 789

Arm. *hast* (i-st.) 'firm'. Perhaps *ph₂k-st- (cf. s.v. *fa*, idea of Schwabe *apud de Vries* 1992 s.v. *vast*).

see also: *fa*, *frethofest*, *onfest*

feste 1 subst. f. 'fasting (also as a [religious] punishment)' Gmc.

In: *ierfesta*, *thiadfesta*

●PFRIS: *feste

OS, OHG *fasta*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *vaste* 'fasting'

●PGMC: *fastō

Several other formations: Goth. *fastubni*, ON *fasta*, OE *fastunnia*; *fæsten*, OHG *fasto*, MLG *vasten(e)*, ODu. *fastinga*, MDu. *vasten*, *vastene*, *vastine* 'id.'

A feminine substantive to the verb *fastanaN, OFris. *festia* (q.v.), which originally meant 'hold, guard' (still in Goth.), but came to be used for the (religious) act of fasting.

see also: *ierfesta*, *thiadfeste*, -fest 2., feste 2., -festere, *festia*

feste 2 adv. 'firm' PIE

●PFRIS: *feste

An adverbial formation to -fest 2. 'firm', q.v.

Also in: MHG, MLG *vast(e)*, MDu. *vast(e)*, *vasten* 'id.' etc.

see also: -fest 2., feste 1., -festere, *festia*

-festere subst. m. 'person who is fasting' Gmc.

In: *karfestere*

●PFRIS: *-festiri

Substantival -ere-formation to *fast- (also in e.g. MHG, MDu. *vaster*), cf. s.v. *festia*.

see also: *karfestere*; -fest 2., feste 1., 2., *festia*

festia wk. vb. 2 'fast' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *festia

Goth. *fastan* 'hold, guard; fast', ON *fasta*, OE *fæstan*, OHG *fastēn*, -ōn, MHG, MLG, MDu. *vasten* 'fast'

●PGMC: *fastanaN

This verb originally meant 'hold, guard' (still in Goth.), but came to be used for the (religious) act of fasting. Most probably a calque of a Lat. or Greek expression (reff. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *fastan*). Arisen in Goth. and spread to

other Gmc. dialects as well as to OCS (*postъ* 'fasting') through Arian mission. see also: -fest 2., feste 1., 2., -festere

fethansunu subst. m. 'son of father's sister' PIE

Compound of *fethe* 'father's sister' and *sunu* 'son', cf. s.vv.

Also in: MLG *vādensōne*, MDu. *fedden soon*

fethe subst. f. 'father's sister' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *feþi

OE *fape*, *fabu*, MLG *vāde*, MLG ° *fede*, *fedde*, MDu. (Fris. context) *fedde*

●PGMC: *faþō- [PWGmc.]

● No certain IE etymology.

Two etymologies, or rather etymological suggestions, have been proposed:

(1) Kluge (1888: 60) surmises that we are dealing with 'eine uralte. . . Koseform'. This idea was taken up again by Horn (1923: 9) and Bammesberger (1979: 48-9; who credits Falk-Torp). After Kluge, Bammesberger assumes a shortened nickname *faþor-swesō, which, as a compound with initial stress, did not undergo Verner's Law (as against *feder* etc.). However, note that actually PIE *ǵelh₂-ōu > OCS *zъlъva*, Gr. *gálōs*, Lat. *glōs* may be 'uralt' as against the WGmc. word under discussion here.

(2) Holthausen (1955: 198) (also cf. Holthausen 1956: 157) compares Gr. *pótnia*, Ved. *pátnī*, Lith. *patī*, i.e. PIE *potnih₂-, although in his OE etymological dictionary, Holthausen (1963: 98) suggests a connection to 'father' without further explanation. Formal complications as well as semantical considerations (the word concerned refers to the wife of the *potis, i.e. to the lady of the house) render this etymology impossible (also Bammesberger loc. cit.).

Lit: van Helten 1890: 30; Lendinara 1990: 298

feth(e)m subst. m. 'fathom (6 feet) = the length between the fingertips with one's arms widest apart' PIE

In A(?)p *fethma* (X, 54; XI, 4)

●PFRIS: *fethm

ON *faþmr* 'fathom, embrace, bosom', OE *fæþm* 'fathom, embrace, protection, bosom, thread', OS Npm *fathmos* 'arms wide apart', OHG *fadam*, *fadum*, MHG *vadem*, *vaden* 'thread', MLG *vādem(c)*, *-um*, *-em*, *vātme*, MDu. *vadem(e)*, *vadom* 'fathom, thread'

●PGMC: *faþmaz

Cognate with Goth. *faþa* 'hedge, dividing wall' (Lehmann 1986 s.v.), MHG *vade* 'fence, hedge', ON NL *Föþ* ('border').

●PIE: *peth₂-

POKORNY: 824

Cognate meaning in OWelsh *etem* 'thread' < *petemā?, Gaelic *aitheamh* 'fathom'. Av. *paana* 'large, enormous' < *petHeno-, Gr. *epétas(s)a* < *peth₂- 'to sprcad'. Furthermore Lat. *patere* 'be open' with unclear -a- (also in cognate

pandere 'to spread' with unclear *-d-* and formation).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Schrijver 1991: 498ff. discusses Italic forms

fia subst. n. 'movables, personal property' PIE

●PFRIS: *fia

Goth. *faihu*, ON *fé*, OE *feoh*, OS *fehu* 'cattle, movables, money', OHG *fihu*, MHG *vihe*, *vehe*, MLG *vē*, *vie*, MDu. *ve(e)*, *veeh*, *vie(h)*, *veede* 'cattle'

●PGMC: *fehu

Cognate with ON *fær* < *fahaz 'sheep'

●PIE: *peku-

POKORNY: 797

Skt. *pásu-*, Av. *pasu-*, Lat. *pecu*, *pecus*, Lith. *pékus* 'cattle'. Old discussion on original meaning and semantic development, cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *faihu*. Probably to *pek-, 'shear, pluck', cf. s.v. *fax*.

Gysseling (1987: 51) assumes that *pek- is furthermore to be connected with *pak- 'take', cf. s.v. *fa*. This seems impossible from a semantic as well as a formal point of view: *pak- = *ph₂-k- vs. *pek- without laryngeal.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 121-2; Lendinara 1990: 307; On semantics van Helten 1906: 282

see also: *fax*, *fia-eth*

fia-eth subst. m. 'oath concerning movable property' PIE

Ofris. also *fiaēd*

This by-form shows the development /b/ *th* > *d*.

●PFRIS: *fia-ēþ

Compound of *fia* 'movables, personal property' and *ēth* 'oath', cf. s.vv.

Lit: On semantics van Helten 1906: 282; van Helten 1907a: 122

see also: *fax*, *fia*

fian subst. m. 'enemy, foe' PIE

Ofris. also *fiund*

This by-form represents analogical *-iund* < *-ī(j)ūnd- < *-ījōnd- after the word for 'friend', cf. OFris. *friund* (BEHF), *friond* (R) (van Helten 1890: 27; cf. Goth. *frijonds*). On the distribution of *fian* and *fiund* cf. van Helten (1907a: 125), van Helten 1890: 159-160.

●PFRIS: *fian/fiund

Goth. *fijands*, ON *fjándi*, OE *fēond*, OS *fiund*, *fian*, OHG *fiant*, MHG *viant*, *vīnt*, *vīnt*, MLG *viant*, *vī(e)nt*, ODu. *fiunt*, MDu. *viant*, *fiant*, *vicant*, *viēnt*, *vient* 'enemy'

●PGMC: *fian-

Actually a present participle to a verb *fijanaN 'to hate', cf. Goth. *fijan*, ON *fjá*, OE *fēo(g)an*, OHG *fi(j)ēn*.

●PIE: *ph₂-i-

POKORNY: 792-3

If cognate, Gr. *pēma* 'misfortune, suffering' < *peh₂-mn shows the root to which the formation under discussion would be an extension; *ph₂-i- > *pih₂- > *pī- in Gmc. and in Skt. *pīyati* 'revile'. Possibly Lat. *paenitet* 'it is a

pity' < *peh₂i-. On the complications of laryngeal metathesis cf. Schrijver (1991: 226ff.).

fiar- card. num. 'combining form' 'four' PIE

In: *fiarda*, *fiardahalf*, *fiardandel*, *fiardunge*, *fiarfote*.

●PFRIS: *fiar-

Goth. *fidur-*, ON *fjogur*, OSwe. *fiøper-*, *fiæper-*, *fiǫr-*, OE *feopur-*, *feopor-*, *feopæ-*, *feþer-*, *fiþer-*, *fyþer-* 'id.'

●PGMC: *feþur-

Combining form to *fiuwer*, q.v.

The OFris. diphthong must be due to a secondary development. Stiles (1986a: 25, 1985: 90-1) starts from PGmc. *feþur-, which was later influenced by the cardinal *fewwar > **fiawer (≫ *fiuwer*, q.v.).

●PIE: *k^wtur-

POKORNY: 643

Gr. *trá[peza]* < *(k^w)t(ɥ)rpēdih₂ (Beekes 1990: 260), Lat. *quadru-* (with non-laryngeal a/C_CCC, cf. Schrijver (1991: 491-5); *k^wetur- in Skt. *cátur-*, Lith. *ketur-*, Gaul. *petru-* 'id.').

Lit: Stiles 1986a: 25-7

see also: *fiuwer*; *fiarda*, *fiardahalf*, *fiardandel*, *fiardunge*, *fiarfote*, *fiuwer*

fiarda ord. num. 'fourth' PIE

●PFRIS: *fiarda

ON *fjórpi*, OE *feorþa*, OS *fiorðo*, OHG (early) *feortho*, *fiordo*, MHG *vierde*, *vierte*, MLG *vērde*, *vierde*, MDu. *vierde*, *veerde* 'fourth'

●PGMC: *feurþan-

On this reconstruction cf. also Stiles (1986a: 3ff.). It must have undergone a dissimilatory loss of the first dental in *k^wetur-to-.

●PIE: *k^wtur-

POKORNY: 642-3

A io-derivation is found in Skt. *turíya-*on -to-derivation cf. also Lat. *quārtus* < *k^wtur₃-to-.

Lit: Schrijver 1991: 491-2; Stiles 1986a: 3ff.

fiardahalf card. num. 'three and a half' PIE

Compound of *fiarda* 'fourth' and *half* 'half', cf. s.vv.

●PFRIS: *fiarda half

On the construction cf. s.v. *achtundahalf*.

Also in: MHG *vierdehalp*, MLG *vērdehalf*, MDu. *vierd(e)half*, *vierdenhalf* 'id.', etc.

see also: *achtundahalf*, *fiarda*, *half*

fiardandel subst. n. 'a fourth part; a fourth part of a jurid. district' PIE

OFris. also *fiarendēl*, *fiar(e)ndēl*, *fiardēl*

The first form shows reduction of the medial vowel. The last two forms show influence of the 'combining form' *fiar-*.

●PFRIS: *fiardandēl

Compound of *fiarda* 'fourth' and *dēl* 'part', cf. s.vv.

Note that the n-stem ending *-an did not drop its final *-n in composition.

Also in: OHG *fiarteil*, MHG *vierte(i)l*, MLG *vērdēdē(i)l*, *vērdē(i)l*, *vērdel*, *verdel*, *vērdendē(i)l*, *vēr(e)ndē(i)l*, *vērndel*, *verndē(i)l*, MDu. *vierdel*, *veerdel* 'id.', etc.

see also: *del*, *fiar-*, *fiarda*

fiardunge subst. f. 'a quarter of a mark' PIE

Ofris. also *fiardeng* (m.)

R₁ shows remarkable u-vocalism in several suffixes where the other dialects show *i* > *e*. This must be due to a different dialectal generalization of former variants, cf. the variants within the languages quoted below (in addition, MDu. *-unc*, *-onc* appears to have a more general meaning ('ruimer gebruik') than *-inc*, *-ing* (Verwijs and Verdam 1882-1952 s.v.)).

●PFRIS: *fiardingi/fiardungi

An substantival *-ung*-derivation of *fiarda*, q.v.

Also in: OE *fēorþing*, *ferþing*, *fēorþung*, *fēorþling* 'quarter', MHG *vierdinc*, *-unc* 'quarter of a certain weight, amount (esp. of a pound)', MLG *vēr(d)inc*, *vēr(n)dinc*, *vēr(linc)* 'quarter of a certain weight, amount (especially of a mark)', MDu. *vierdinc*, *vierding*, *-unc*, *-onc* 'quarter of a certain weight, amount', etc.

fiarfote adj. 'four-footed, quadruped' PIE

●PFRIS: *fiarfōti

Compound of *fiar-* 'four ('combining form')' and *-fōte* '-footed', cf. s.vv.

Also in MDu. *viervoet(t)e*, *viervoet*; also MHG *viervüezic*, MLG *vērvōtich*, MDu. *viervoetich*, *-ech*; MLG *vērvōted*, MDu. *viervoetet* 'id.', etc.

see also: *fiar-*, *-fote*

fidiransunu subst. m. 'son of father's brother' PIE

●PFRIS: *fedirian sunu

Compound of *fidiria* (Gs *-an*) 'father's brother' and *sunu* 'son', cf. s.vv.

Also in OE *fedransunu* etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: *fidiria*, *sunu*

fidiria subst. m. 'father's brother' PIE

Note that the medial *-i-* is lost in Gs *fidiran-* (s.v. *fidiransunu*)

Ofris. also *federia*, *fedria*

These by-forms show the usual OFris. *i*-UL of **a* to *e* (> *R i*), hence *fed-* rather than *fid-*. The medial vowel is weakened to *-e-* (HB), and can be syncopated (EHW).

●PFRIS: *fediria

OE *fædera*, OHG *federo*, *fatirro*, *fatureo* 'id.', MHG *veter(e)*, MLG (Ofris. →)

fedder(e), *fādrie*, *fēdrie* 'father's brother, cousin', MDu. *vedder* 'uncle, cousin'

●PGMC: *fader(w)jan-

A form with secondary weak inflexion and a full-grade form *-er- (> *-ir-/_i) as compared with:

●PIE: *ph₂truio-

POKORNY: 829

Skt. *pitṛvya-*, Av. *tūiriia-*, Lat. *patruus*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: fidiransunu

fif card. num. 'five' PIE

●PFRIS: *fif

Goth. *fimf*, ON *fimm*, OE, OS *fif*, OHG *fimf*, *finf*, *funf*, MHG *vinf*, *vūnf*, *vīf*, *vunf*, *vumf*, *vūmf*, *viunf*, *viumf*, *viuf*, MLG *vīf*, *vīve*, MDu. *vijf*, *vif*, *vive* 'id.'

●PGMC: *finfe

POKORNY: 808

Skt. *pāñca*, Gr. *pénτε*, Lith. *penki*; Gmc. shows assimilation of the second consonant: *penk^we > *penpe > *finfe.

fifta ord. num. 'fifth' PIE

●PFRIS: *fifta

Goth. *fimfta-*, ON *fimti*, OE *fifta*, OS *fifto*, OHG *fimfto*, *finfto*, *funfto*, MHG *vünfte*, MLG *vifte*, *veftc*, MDu. *vijfte*, *vifte*, *vijchte*, *vichte*, (later:) *vijfde*, *vijfste* 'id.'

●PGMC: *fifntan-

●PIE: *pnk^wo- (sometimes remodelled to *penk^wto-)

POKORNY: 808

Gr. *pémpτος*, Lith. *peñktas* < *penk^wto-; Skt. *pakthá-* < *pnk^w-tHo-; ø-grade in OHG *funfto*, MHG *vünfte* < *pnk^w-.

see also: fif

fiftahalf card. num. 'four and a half' PIE

Compound of *fifta* 'fifth' and *half* 'half', cf. s.vv

●PFRIS: *fifta half

On the construction cf. s.v. *achtundahalf*.

Also in: OE *fiftahalf*, OS *fiftehalf*, MDu. *vijft(e)half*, *vijftalf* 'id.', etc.

see also: achtundahalf, fifta, half

fiftin card. num. 'fifteen' PIE

OFris. also *fiftīne*, *fiftenc*

On the problematic formation of these by-forms, cf. s.v. *achtatīn*.

●PFRIS: *fiftin

●PGMC: *finfe + *tehun (tehan)

●PIE: *penk^we + *dekm̥t-

see also: achtatīn, fif, -tin

fiftinda ord. num. 'fifteenth' PIE

Ofris. also *fiftendeste*

The R₁ form in *-da* shows an older formation.

●PFRIS: *fiftinda

Expected *-to-formation functioning as ordinal (e.g. van Loey 1970: 155; Prokosch 1939: 292-3) of *fiftin*, cf. s.v. *-tinda*.

see also: *achtatinda*, *fifin*, *-tin*, *-tinda*

fil subst. n. 'fall, steep shore, deep point in the sea' R₁

Only attested in R₁ X, 55 ... *thet skil wesa alla fennon anda fili er sante vites di...* '... that must be from all meadows to the [?] on *sante vites di...*' (i.e. June 15th) with unclear meaning of Ds *fili*.

Abundant references in Buma (1961) s.v., who discusses earlier proposals and starts from an unlauded form *fil < *fæl- [with typical *i* < *æ in R_{1,2}], cf. ON *fall* 'fall, heavy sea'. Holthausen (1953) rightly remarks that this word has a geminate *-ll-*, which renders the proposed etymology impossible and the etymology of the word unclear again. He furthermore rejects Schwentner's comparison of ON *fili* 'plank', which may fit from a formal but hardly from a semantical point of view. In Boutkan (1998c), I propose an interpretation 'marshy soil' and connect the word with Lat. *palūs* 'marsh', etc., which probably represents a substratum etymon (partly following Heinertz (1912, 1915); + reff. and discussion).

finda str. vb. III 'find; judge, deem' PIE

●PFRIS: *finda

Goth. *finþan* 'learn, recognize', ON *finna*, OE *findan*, OS *findan*, *fithan*, OHG *findan*, MHG, MLG *vinden*, ODu. *findan*, MDu. *vinden*, *venden*, *vijnden*, *veynden*, *vinnen* 'find'

●PGMC: *findan (/ *finþan > Goth. *finþan*, ON *finna*, and OS *fithan*)

Also *fand-ōja- in OFris. *fandia* 'visit', cf. OE *fandian* 'explore, prove', OS *fandon* 'prove; visit', OHG *fantōn* 'explore', MDu. *vanden* 'prove; visit';

*fund- (+ different suff.) in OE *fundian*, OS *fundon*, OHG *funden* 'go to, search, strive'.

●PIE: *pent-

POKORNY: 808-9

Skt. *pánthāḥ* 'path', Gr. *póntos* 'sea', Lat. *pons* 'bridge'. The root would have meant 'go; find (out)'. Serious doubts as to this etymology in Seebold (1970: 193-4).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

finger subst. m. 'finger' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *fingir

Goth. *figgrs*, ON *fingr*, OE *finger*, OS, OHG *finger*, MHG, MLG *vinger*, MDu. *vinger*, *vinder* 'finger'

●PGMC: *fingraz

• PIE etymology unclear.

Perhaps to *penk^we 'five': *penk^w-ro-s? Alternatives in Lehmann (1986) s.v. *figgrs*, de Vries (1992) s.v. *vinger*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

fior subst. n. 'fire' PIE

Ofris. also *fiur*

The form *fior* represents an allophony [iu]/[io] in R₁ (latter variant before *r*, *s*, *D*, *n* + in the loans *diouel* and NP *Diocletianus*) and free variation elsewhere (Sjölin 1969: 24).

•PFRIS: *fiur

Goth. *fon*, ON *funi* 'fire'; ON *fýrr*, *fúrr*, OE *fȳr*, OS *fiur*, *fuir*, OHG *fiur*, MHG *viur*, *vi(u)wer*, MLG *vûr*, *vûer*, ODu. *fuir*, MDu. *vuur*, *vier*, *vuyr*, *vuer*, *vuyer*, *fuer* 'fire'

•PGMC: *fu(ō)n ~ *fūr-

Archaic variation reflecting the vestiges of a former *r/n*-inflection as well as ablaut in the root.

Traces of *n* have been recognized in WGmc., e.g. OHG *funcho*, MHG *vanke*, MLG *vunke*, MDu. *vonke* 'spark' < *fun-k-/fan-k-.

However, see Beckes (1996) on a different etymology.

•PIE: *p_{eh}2-ur, Gs *p(e)h₂-uen-s

POKORNY: 828

Gmc. *fō- < Gs *ph₂u-, *fū- < *ph₂u-.

Hitt. *pahhur*, *pahhucnas*, Gr. *pūr*, Arm. *hur*, Umbr. *pir* 'fire'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

fir adj., adv., conj. 'far' PIE

•PFRIS: *fir

Goth. adv. prep. *fairra* 'far from; afar', ON *ferri*, *fjarri*, OE *feor(r)*, OS *fer(ro)*, OHG, ODu. *ferro* 'far' adv., MHG *ver(re)*, MLG *vēr(e)*, *verre(n)*, *vēr̄n(e)*, MDu. *ver(re)*, *vere*, *veer*, *var(rc)* (; *verren*; *verde*, *vorde*) 'far'.

The Ofris. vocalism is secondary after the comparative, cf. van Helten (1907a: 200).

•PGMC: *ferera-

The Gmc. forms cannot be derived from a single formation. The reconstruction of several parallel formations is necessary:

*fererai in ON, possibly Goth. and possibly WGmc. long forms in -e

*fererō in OE, short WGmc. forms, possibly Goth.

*fererōt in OS *ferro*, OHG, ODu. *ferro*, and possibly the WGmc. long forms in -e

[The Goth. and WGmc. long forms in -e may also reflect *fererōN]

We expect Goth. *fairara, cf. also *undar*, *afar* etc. < *era-. Probably the medial syllable was lost as a result of haplology (Brugmann 1913-1914: 300-301) or as a result of the sporadic syncope before heavy following syllables in adv. *fairraþro* 'afar', cf. *mikildüps* < *mikila-. It seems less satisfactory to

disconnect the Goth. evidence from the rest of Gmc. and reconstruct *ferrai (Köbler 1989: s.v.).

●PIE: *per-ero-

POKORNY: 810-11

PIE *-ero-formation to *per, cf. Skt. *pāraḥ* 'further' < *peros, i.e. an o-stem adjective, cf. also Gr. *pērā* < Isf *pereh₂(h₁) 'further'; also in prep., preverb, adv. *per-i: Skt. *pāri*, Gr. *perí* 'over, around'.

Lit: Brugmann 1913-1914: 300-1

see also: *firia* 1.

firia 1 wk. vb. 2 'to be too far' PIE

●PFRIS: *firia

A weak 2 verbal formation to *fir* 'far', q.v.

Also in: ON *firra*, OE *āfierran*, *fiersian*, OS *firrian*, OHG *firren*, MHG *verren*, MLG *vēren*, *verren*, MDu. *verren* 'recede', etc.

see also: *fir*

firia 2 wk. vb. 2 'celebrate' LW

●PFRIS: *firia

From Lat. *fēriāe* 'celebrations'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *firia*; Wollmann 1990: 524 fn. 55, 526, 529

fisk subst. m. 'fish' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *fisk

Goth. *fisks*, OR *fiskz*, ON *fiskr*, OE *fisc*, OS *fisk*, OHG *fisc*, MHG *visc*, *vesc*, *visch*, MLG *vis(ch)*, MDu. *visc(h)*, *vis*, *vesc(h)*, *viesch* 'fish'

●PGMC: *fiskaz

● No IE etymology

Only NW-European, cf. Lat. *piscis* < *pisk-i-, OIr. *íasc* < *peisk- 'fish', Russ. *piskarʹ* 'gudgeon'. Hence the assumption of a PIE word *peisk- [Pokorny 1959: 796] is problematic; we are rather dealing with a substratum word.

Yet, Bammesberger (1996) analyses *p-isk-, but has his doubts as to the exact identification of the element *p-. He considers the possibility (p. 403, fn. 22) of a comparison of Lat. *opus* 'work', which leads to an original meaning 'active' (and a reconstruction *h₃p-isk-).

Celtic has formally reminiscent words for water: Mlr. *esc*, cf. also the hydronyms OWelsh NL *Uisc*, Welsh *Wysg* etc. which have been compared ('fish' = water animal). In view of Germanic hydronyms such as Dutch *IJsel*, *Weer-ijs*, these forms rather go back to *eiskā, however.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 306

fiucht subst. n. (?) 'fight' PIE

●PFRIS: *fiuht

A neuter (?) o-stem derivation to *fiuchta*, q.v.

Also in: OE (*gi*)*fecht*, *gefioht*, OS *fehhta*, OHG *gifeht*, MHG *gevechte*, MLG

vecht(e), *vacht(e)*, MDu. *gevecht(e)*, *gevicht* 'fight'

see also: *fiuchta*

fiuchta str. vb. III 'fight' PIE

Ofris. also *fiochta*

This sporadic by-form attests to the free variation *iu/io* (Sjölin 1969: 24).

●PFRIS: **fiuhta*

OE *feohtan*, OS, OHG, ODu. *fehtan*, MHG *vehten*, MLG *vechten*, MDu. *vechten*, *vichten*

●PGMC: **fe(u)hta*

Perhaps the original meaning is 'to pluck; tear out another's hair', cf. Mod. Du. *elkaar in de haren zitten* 'to have a fight (also fig.)', which makes a reconstruction **feht-* to PIE √*pek-* [Pokorny 1959: 797; cf. s.v. *fia*] possible. Another possibility is to start from an original str. II verb **feuchtana-* (with later shift in verbal class) to PIE √*peug-* [Pokorny 1959: 828; cf. s.v. *fēst* 1.] cf. Lat. *pugnus* 'fist', *pugnāre* 'fight'.

●PIE: **pek-* or **peug-*

cf. sub *fēst* 1. and *fia* respectively. Seebold (1970: 190-1) only mentions the first possibility which he labels '... mit Sicherheit...'

fiuwer card. num. 'four' PIE

Ofris. also *fiwer*, *fiuuer*, *fiower*, *fiouuer*, *fiowr*, *fior*, *fiwr*

The original form seems to be *fiuwer* with orthographical variants *fiwer*, *fiuuer* and later syncope in *fiwr*, next to *fiower*, *fiouuer* and syncopated *fiowr*, *fior* with the OFris. variation *io/iu* (e.g. Sjölin 1969: 24; on the forms cf. especially van Helten 1890: 40).

●PFRIS: **fiuwir*

Goth. *fidwor*, ON *fjórir*, OE *fēower*, *fēor*, OS *fior*, *fiuuar*, *fiuuuar*, *fiar*, *viar*, OHG *fior*, *feor*, MHG *vier*, MLG *vēr*, *vi(e)r*, MDu. *vier(e)*, *vijr*, *vire*, *veer* (eastern form) 'four'

●PGMC: **fedwōres*

An exhaustive discussion of the Gmc. forms of this numeral is found in Stiles (1985, 1986a, 1986b).

Stiles reconstructs PWGmc. **fewwar-*, which, in his view, is not likely to have yielded OFris. *fiuwer* etc. The traditional rule **eu* > **iu*/ *w* (e.g. van Helten 1890: 26) would be contradicted by the subst. *tre(u)we* (e.g. R₁) with retained e-vocalism. Stiles also starts from influence of the cardinal upon the 'combining form', i.e. *fiar* << **feþur-* in which *ia* would reflect earlier **eu* rather than **iu*. Therefore, Stiles proposes an assimilation (**feubar-* >) **feuwir-* > **fiuwir-* (**eu* > **iu*/ *i, j*) as a result of the i-stem inflexion of the word. However, van Helten (1890: 26-7) rightly points to the fact that in *treuwe* we are dealing with medial 'w¹', i.e. *w* from **-zw-* or *verschärfung* (Goth. *-ggw-*). That this *-w-* differed from PGmc. **w* becomes clear from the fact that it is never lost in later OFris., as against *-w-* of other origin that may undergo loss (van Helten 1890: 76; cf.

also the difference between MDu. *vier* and *trouwe*). Furthermore, Stiles does not give an explanation of the different reflexes of *eu in *fiar-* ~ *treuwe*.

Further complications remain as to the development of the initial and medial consonants. I agree with Stiles (1985: 84-5 with ref.) that initial *f- must represent some form of phonological development (*k^w > *f under unclear conditions) rather than influence of the numeral 'five' or borrowing from Celtic. The sequence *-dw- may have yielded WGmc. *-ww- by phonological development as well (Stiles 1985: 91).

North Frisian shows curious forms with anlauting palatals, cf. Helgoland *štjūr*, Amrum *šjóōä*, that represent demonstrably recent (second half 19 century) developments (full discussion in Krogmann 1952-53: 108-116).

●PIE: *k^wetuores

POKORNY: 642-3

Skt. *catvāras*, Gr. *téttares*, Lat. *quattuor*.

Compare Beekes (1987) on the IE complications. The singular form would be *k^wetuōr > Lat. *quattuor*. Gmc. must have generalised the long vowel in the plural form: *-ores >> *-ōres because Goth. *fidwor* cannot reflect *-ōr in view of *swistar* < *swestōr (pace Stiles 1985: 85-6 with discussion and ref.; NB length in Skt. is inconclusive for comparison as it may reflect Brugmann's Law).

Lit: Beekes 1987; Stiles 1985, 1986a, 1986b

see also: *fiar-*

fiu(w)er and fiu(w)ertich card. num. 'fourty-four' PIE

Compound of *fiuwer* 'four' and *fiuwertich* 'fourty', cf. s.vv.

fiuwer and twintich card. num. 'twenty-four' PIE

Compound of *fiuwer* 'four' and *twintich* 'twenty', cf. s.vv.

fiuwer and twintigosta ord. num. 'twenty-fourth' PIE

Ordinal to *fiu(w)er* and *twintich*, q.v.; on the formation see *achtatwintigosta*.

see also: *achtatwintigosta*, *fiu(w)er* and *twintich*

fiuwertich card. num. 'fourty' PIE

Expected *-tich*-formation (see *achtantich*) to the numeral 'four', cf. s.v. *fiuwer*.

see also: *achtantich*, *fiuwer*

fiuwertin card. num. 'fourteen' PIE

Expected *-tin*-formation (see *achtatin*) to the numeral 'four', cf. s.v. *fiuwer*.

see also: *achtatin*, *fiuwer*

fiuwertinda ord. num. 'fourteenth' PIE

Expected *-tinda*-formation (see *achtatinda*) to the numeral 'fourteen', cf. s.v. *fiuwertin*.

fiuwertin.

see also: *achtatinda*, *fiuwer*

fiuwertindosta ord. num. 'fourteenth' PIE

Alternative *-tindosta*-formation (see *achtatinda*) to the numeral 'fourteen', cf. s.v. *fiuwertin*.

see also: *achtatinda*, *fiuwer*

fiwer card. num. 'four' PIE

Orthographical by-form of *fiuwer*, attested in *fiwer and fiuertich* (I, 94), cf. s.v. *fiu(w)er and fiu(w)ertich*.

flarde subst. f. 'lobe (of a lung)' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *flardi

MLG ° *vlarre, vlerre* 'large, shapeless wound', Mod. LG *flarde, flarre, flirre*, East Frisian *flarre, flár* 'large, flat object', Mod. Fris. *flarde* 'rag', (Fris. →) Mod. Dutch *flard* 'rag; fig.: incomplete part (of a story)'.
 ●PGMC: *flarde [P-(Dial.)Ingv.]

This form (< *flazdō) may contain *flaz-, i.e. a Verner variant of ON *flasa*

'thin slice, splinter, shiver' (+ Mod. cognates), which seems to fit rather well from a semantical point of view.

● No IE etymology

Pokorny (1959: 834) suggests a comparison of ON *flasa* with Lith. *plāskanos* 'dandruff'. Interestingly, he does not mention the *flazd-forms. The ON-Lith. comparison may be correct, but we must reconstruct *plos-/*plas- given Lith. circumflex *ā* and Gmc. *a*. We may be dealing with a common substratum word.

The root cannot further be connected with the root Pokorny (1959) *plēk-, *plāk-/*plēik-, *plīk- [Pokorny 1959: 835] which must contain a laryngeal, cf. Lith. *plēšti* 'tear', ON *flá*, OE *flēan* 'skin, strip' < *plēHk-. Obviously, influence of this root may have led to the folk-etymology in Lith. *plēiskanos* 'dandruff'.

flask subst. n. 'flesh' PIE [?]

OFris. also *flēsk*

This form shows the alternative monophthongisation of *ai to *ē*.

●PFRIS: *flāsk/flēsk

ON *flesk(i)* 'bacon', OE *flāsc*, OS *flēsk*, OHG *fleisc*, MHG *fleisch*, *vleisch*, MLG *vlē(i)s(ch)*, *vlīsch*, ODu. *fleisc*, MDu. *vleysch(e)*, *vleesch(e)*, *vlesch* 'flesh'

●PGMC: *flaiska-/*fleiski-

●PIE: *pleiH-sk- [?]

POKORNY: 835

Usually compared with Lith. *plėišėti* 'tear, burst (skin)', Latv. *plīst* 'tear', but these forms suggest *-k- rather than *-sk-.

We find several different formations in Gmc., viz.

*ploiH-s- > *flai-s-: MHG *fleis*, MLG *vlē(i)s(ch)*, MDu. *vleis vlees* 'id.';

*pl(e)iH-s- > *fli-s-: Swe. *fliis(a)* 'cut off piece, splinter' and cognates (Pokorny 1959: 835);

*ploiH-g- > *flai-k-: OE *flāc* 'flesh';

*pl(e)iH-g- > *flī-k-: ON *flik(a)* 'rag, piece'.

The short forms ON *flikki*, OE *flicce*, MLG *vlicke*, MDu. *vlicke*, *vlecke* 'piece of bacon', (with a-UL), ON *flekkr* 'place, piece of land', OHG *flec(cko)*, MHG *vlec(ke)* 'piece of skin, -land, place, etc.' remain unclear.

ON *flis* 'cut off piece, splinter' and MLG *vlacke*, *vlak* 'spot', if cognate, must represent secondary ablaut.

A PIE origin of this complex is doubtful for several reasons, viz. the Baltic parallel (with problematic *-k̄- ~ *-sk-), the abundant Gmc. formations, which remain partly unclear, and the unclear relationship to Baltic-Gmc. *plek̄-, *plək̄- (and *pl(e)H-s-, Pokorny 1959: 834, cf. s.v. *flarde*).

I therefore suspect a North-European substratum word.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304

flecht 1 subst. f. 'flight, escape' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *fleht

ON *flótti*, OS, OHG *fluht*, MHG *vluht*, MLG *vlucht*, *vlocht*, ODu. *flucht*, MDu. *vlucht(e)*, *vlocht(e)* 'flight, escape'.

●PGMC: *fluhti-/*fluhta- (latter in ON)

A feminine *ti-abstract to *fluht-, cf. Goth. *pluhan*, OE *flēon* 'flee' etc., cf. s.v. *fia*.

see also: -flecht 2., *fia*

-flecht 2 subst. f. 'the act of tearing' Gmc.

In: *offlecht* 'the act of tearing off' = *flecht 1*. used in a figurative sense.

see also: flecht 1., *fia*

flet- subst. n. 'house' PIE

●PFRIS: *flet

ON *flet* 'room, dwelling', OE *flett* 'dwelling, hall, floor', OS *flet(ti)* 'room, dwelling, drinking hall', OHG *flezzi* 'floor, threshing-floor, camp', MHG *vletze*, *vlez* 'floor, threshing-floor', MLG *vlet(te)* 'floor', MDu. *vlet(te)* 'floor; flat boat'

●PGMC: *flatja-

cf. also adj. ON *flatr*, OS *flat* < *flat-, etc. 'flat', MLG *vlōt* < *flōt- 'id.'

●PIE: *plth₂-

POKORNY: 833-4

Skt. *pr̥thú-*, Gr. *platús* 'broad, flat', perhaps Lat. *planta* 'sole of the foot'

Lit: de Vries 1977 s.v. *flet*, *flatr*.

fletieve subst. f. 'bride' PIE

Compound of *flet-* 'house' and *ieve* 'gift', cf. s.vv.

Fli NL

fia str. vb. II 'flee' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *fia

Goth. *þliuhan*, ON *flýja*, OE *fleōn*, OS, OHG *fliohan*, MHG *vlie(he)n*, MLG *vlēn*, *vlien*, MDu. *vlie(de)n*, *vliehen*, *vleen* 'flee'

●PGMC: *þleuhanaN

● No IE etymology

Untenable etymologies mentioned in de Vries (1992) s.v. *vlieden*, Lehmann (1986) s.v. *þliuhan*, cf. also Seebold (1970: 517-8).

see also: flecht 1., -flecht 2.

fiata str. vb. II 'flow' PIE

●PFRIS: *fiata

ON *fljóta*, OE *fleotan*, OS *fiotan*, OHG *fiazzan*, *fio(z)zan*, *fiezzen*, MHG *vliezen*, MLG *vlēten*, *vlīten*, ODu. 3s ind. pres. *flūtīt*, MDu. *vli(e)ten*, *vleten* 'flow'

●PGMC: *fleutanaN

●PIE: *pleu-d-

POKORNY: 837

Lith. *pláusti* 'wash, clean', OIr. *luīd* 'move'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301; Seebold 1970: 202-4

fochte = *sochte, cf. s.v. *sēka* 1.

folgia [, **folia**] wk. vb. 2 'follow, come behind; live up to, observe (the law); be an accomplice; take over (a verdict)' Gmc.

On the unique and only partial loss of -g- cf. van Helten (1890: 112-113). Pace Buma (1961), I assume only one stem form /folg-/ with reduction of -gi- [-ji-] to -i- before endings containing -i-.

●PFRIS: *folgia

ON *fylgja*, OE *fylgan*; *folgian*, OS *folgon*, OHG *folgōn*, *folgēn*, MHG *volgen*, MLG *volgen*, *valgen*, MDu. *volgen*, *volligen* 'follow'

●PGMC: *fulgōjanaN

Possible but disputed cognates are only found in Celtic, cf. Welsh *ol* 'trace' < *pol- (without velar).

folia = *folgia*, q.v.

folk subst. n. 'people, crowd, army' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *folk

ON *folk* 'army', OE *folc*, OS *folk*, OHG *folc*, MHG *volc*, MLG *volk*, ODu. *folc*, MDu. *volc* 'people, army'

●PGMC: *fulka-

●PIE: *plh₁-go- [?]

POKORNY: 799

This formation is possibly only attested in Alb. *plok*, *plogu* 'crowd' < *pleh₁-g-. However, the root *plh₁- 'full' is used to denote a crowd of people in Lat. *plēbēs* < *plh₁-d^hueh₁- (stem form of the As), Gr. *plēthūs* < *pleh₁-d^huh₁-s (*Ns) (discussion of the formations in Schrijver (1991: 380-1).

de Vries (1992) s.v. doubts connection with the IE words meaning 'crowd'

< 'fullness' given the oldest Gmc. meaning 'gathering of the warriors of the community'. This is in accordance with the fact that Alb. is doubtful and Gr. and Lat. represent another formation. The Gmc. word would be borrowed in Slavic, cf. Russ. *polk* 'regiment', etc. (Vasmer 1953-58: III, 311 s.v.). Or can we assume a substratum word common to Gmc. and BS.?

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

folkledere subst. m. 'leader of a group of warriors (in a feud)' PIE [?]
Compound of *folk* 'people, crowd; army' and *-lēdere* 'leader', cf. s.vv.

fon prep., adv. 'from, (out) of, for, because of, on account of' PIE
OFris. also *fan*

This form shows the expected OWFris. vocalism (*a* < PFris. **o* before nasals) which is in accordance with its distribution (cf. von Richthofen 1840 s.v.).

●PFRIS: *fon

OS *fan(a)*, *fon*, OHG *fan(a)*, *fon(a)*, MHG *van*, *von(e)*, MLG *van*, *von*, *vun*,
ODu. *fan*, *van*, MDu. *van* 'of'

●PGMC: *fan(-)

●PIE: *h₂pone

POKORNY: 54

The assumption of a compound of *af + *ana (e.g. de Vries 1992 s.v. *van*) requires an *ad hoc* loss of *a-. The assumption of a *o*-grade *h₂po (followed by *-ne or *-nē for the longer forms), cf. also Lat. *po-situs* 'placed upon', is straightforward, perhaps also Albanian *pa* 'without, except' with problematic long vowel (Demiraj 1997: 307-8 s.v. *pa* I. [pa:]).

see also: of 1., 2.

fona subst. m. 'flag, ensign' PIE [?]

OFris. also *fana*

This form shows the typical OWFris. vocalism which is in accordance with its distribution (cf. von Richthofen 1840 s.v.).

●PFRIS: *fona

Goth. *fana* 'cloth', ON *fani*, OE *fona* 'flag', OS *fano* 'cloth', OHG *fano* 'cloth, flag', MHG *vane*, *van*, MLG *vāne*, MDu. *vane*, *vaen* 'flag'

●PGMC: *fanan-

●PIE: *ph₂n-on-

POKORNY: 788

Perhaps Gr. *pēnē* 'woven cloth' < *pān- < *peh₂n-, Lat. *pannus* < *panno- (formal problems, cf. Ernout and Meillet 1985: 479 s.v.). Perhaps we are dealing with a European cultural term?

This complex cannot be connected with the root *(s)pen- 'spin' [Pokorny 1959: 988], which does not contain a laryngeal, cf. OCS *o-pona* 'curtain', *ponjava* 'cloth'. It is possible, however, that PGmc. *fan- actually belongs to this root (< *pon-) rather than to *ph₂n-.

-fongere subst.m. 'catcher' PIE

In: *forifongere* 'substitute'

Substantival -ere-formation (cf. MDu. *vangere* etc.) to the stem *fong-* < *fang- to *fā*, q.v.

see also: *fa*, -fang

fonwisa wk. vb. 1 'dismiss' PIE

Compound of *fon* 'of etc.' and *wisa* 'point out; prescribe', cf. s.vv.

for- 1 pref. PIE

In: *forhaved* 'forehead'

OFris. also *ūr*

This form (s.v. *ūr- 3*.) is a weakened by-form of *for- 1*.

●PFRIS: *for-

Goth. *faur-*, ON, OE *for-*, OS *for-*, *fur-*, OHG *for-*, MHG *vor-*, *ver-*, MLG *vōr(e)-*, *vōr-*, *vār-*, *viūr-*, MDu. *vor-*, *ver-*

Perhaps OS *far-*, *fer-*, OHG *far-*, *fir-* and ODu. *far-*, *fer-* only show a weakened vowel and may belong here as well. It is also possible that part of them represent another proto-form *fer- (cf. Lith. *per-*), cf. Goth. *fair-*. Goth. shows a third form *fra-* (Skt. *prā*), which, in a weakened form, may also have survived in part of the forms quoted.

●PGMC: *fura-

●PIE: *prh₂os

POKORNY: 812

Skt. *purāḥ*, Gr. *páros* prep., adv. 'in front (of)'

see also: *afara*, *bifara 2.*, *farahaved*, *for- 2.* (also *forhaved*), *fori 1., 2., 3.*, *forth*, *frana*, *tofara 2.*, *ur- 3.*; *forma*, *frande*, *fremma*, *fremo*, *frowe*

for- 2 pref. PIE

In: *unforwrocht* 'not confiscated'

= *for- 1*.

forhaved subst. n. 'forehead' PIE

Compound of *for- 1*. pref. and *haved* 'head', cf. s.vv.

fori 1 prep., adv. 'for, as to; -fore' PIE

Adv. only in *ther fori* (XVIII, 26) 'therefore'

OFris. also *fore*, *for*

The -i < *-e in R₁ is due to vowel balance (not to be compared with OHG *furi*); the form without final vowel (E, W) may represent apocope or *for- 1., 2.* used independently (cf. Goth. *faur* etc.).

●PFRIS: *fore

Goth. adv., prep. *faura*, OE prep. *fore*, OS adv., prep. *fora*, -e, OHG adv., prep. *fora*, MHG adv., prep. *vor(e)*, MLG *vōr(e)* adv., prep., MDu. *vore*, *vuer(e)*, *voor*, *voir*, *voer*, *veur* adv., prep. 'in front of'

●PGMC: *furē

●PIE: *prh₂-ch₁

POKORNY: 813

Skt. *purā*, Av. *parā* prep., adv. 'before', Gr. *pára-* verbal prefix.

Lit: Hollifield 1980b: 145-6 on the formation and correspondences, also Hollifield 1980a see also: *afara*, *bifara* 1., *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* 1., 2. (also *forhaved*), *fori* 2., 3., *forth*, *frana*, *tofara* 2., *ur-* 3.; *forma*, *framde*, *fremma*, *fremo*, *frowe*

fori- 2 pref. PIE

In: *foribranga* 'bring forth, declare'
= *fori* 1. used as a prefix.

fori- 3 pref. PIE

In: *forifalla*, *forifangere*, *foriwerna*, cf. s.vv.
= *fori* 1. used as a prefix.

foribranga wk. vb. 1 'bring forth, declare' PIE

Compound of *fori-* 2. pref. and *branga* 'bring, attest etc.', cf. s.vv.

forifalla str. vb. VII 'decease' PIE

Compound of *fori-* 3. pref. and *falla* 1. 'fall, etc.', cf. s.vv.

forifongere subst. m. 'substitute' PIE

Compound of *fori-* 3. pref. and *-fongere* 'catcher', cf. s.vv.

foriwerna wk. vb. 1 'refuse, resist' PIE

Compound of *fori-* 3. pref. and *werna* 'refuse', cf. s.vv.

forke subst.f. 'fork (agricultural implement)' LW

OFris. also *furke*

This form represents an interesting problem in view of the question of the time of borrowing.

According to Wollmann (1990: 519), the vowel *o* points to a terminus post quem for the borrowing, viz. after the vulgar Latin lowering *u* > *o* (4th cent.). Interestingly, the vowel *u* is still found in German, cf. OS, OHG *furka*, MHG *furke*, *furgge* as against OE *forca*, -e, MLG, MDu. *vorke* (ON *forkr* may not belong here, cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *vorke*).

As the oldest OFris. form *forke* fits into the non-German pattern (as expected), *furke* (OWFris.) must represent a later development, perhaps the variation of *o/u* (Sjölin 1969: 23).

●PFRIS: *forka

From Lat. *furca* > Vulgar Lat. *forca* 'fork'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *forke*; Wollmann 1990: 519

forma adj., num. 'first' PIE

●PFRIS: *forma

Goth. *fruma*, ON *frum-*, OE *forma*, OS *formo*, 'first', MHG *vrum*, *vrom*, MLG *vrōme*, *vrōm*, *vrām(e)*, MDu. *vrom(e)*, *vroom*, *vroum* 'outstanding, brave'

●PGMC: *fruman-

We find several formations, the representatives of which may show *r*-metathesis

(*furm-); the o-grade *fram- must have arisen secondarily (*proH- > **frō-). We find:

superl. *frum-ist-: OE *fyrmost*, OFris. *formest* 'first';

subst. *fruman-: OE *fruma* 'origin';

subst. *frumō: OFris. *froma*, *froem* (s.v. *fremo*), OS, OHG *fruma*, MDu. *vrome*, *vroom* 'usefulness';

subst. *frumī: OS *frumi* 'id.';

verb *framjan-: ON *fremja*, OE *fremman*, *framian*, OS *fremmian*, OHG *fremman*, OFris. *fremma* (s.v.), MDu. *fremen*, *vremen* 'perform';

adv./prep. *fram: Goth. *fram*, ON *frá*, OE *from*, OS, OHG *from*, ODu. *fram* '(away) from'; ON adv. *fram* 'forward',

from which:

adj. *framþia-: Goth. *framaþeis*, OE *frem(e)de*, *fremeþe*, OS *fremithi*, OHG *framadi*, *fremidi*, MHG *vrem(e)de*, *vrōm(e)de*, MLG *vrōmede*, *vrōmet*, *vrōmede*, *vrōmmet*, *vrōmde*, *vrōmde*, OFris. *fram(e)d(e)* (s.v. *framde*), also *frem(e)the*, *fremede*, *fremd(e)*, ODu. *fremithi*, MDu. *vre(e)mde*, *vre(e)mt* 'foreign';

adj. *fram-: ON *framr*, OE *fran* 'outstanding',

from which:

subst.: ON *frami* 'courage, honour', OE *fremu*, OFris. *fremo* (s.v.), MDu. *vrame* 'usefulness';

verb: MDu. *vramen* 'be useful'.

•PIE: *prH-mo-

POKORNY: 814-5

Lith. *pirmas*, OPruss. *pirmas* 'first', perhaps Gr. *práimos* 'foremost, leader', which may be a spelling error for *próimos* (Chantraine 1968: 941 s.v. *próimos*); *-no-derivation in Skt. *púrva-* 'foremost', OCS *prěvъ* 'first' etc.; aniþ-formation o-grade *pro- (perhaps also Gmc. *fram*?) seems to be represented in Umbrian *promom* 'primum'.

see also: *framde*, *fremma*, *fremo*, *frowe*; *afara*, *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* 1., 2. (also *forhaved*), *fori* 1., 2., 3., *forth*, *frana*, *tofara* 2.

forth adv. 'away, forward, further, furthermore' PIE

OFris. also *ford*

The variation -d (W) ~ -th represents the later-OFris. confusion of /þ/ and /d/.

•PFRIS: *forþ

OE *forþ*, OS *forth*, MHG *vort*, MLG *vōrt*, *vōrde*, *vārt*, ODu. *forth-*, MDu. *vo(o)rt*, *voirt* 'forward, forth'

•PGMC: *furþa-

Also ON *forþa* 'save' as a verbal derivation to *forþ (also OE *geforþian* 'take away').

Germanic dental formation to:

•PIE: *prH-

POKORNY: 813

Cf. s.v. *fori* 1.

see also: *afara*, *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* 1., 2. (also *forhaved*), *fori* 1., 2., 3., *frana*, *tofara* 2.; *forma*, *framde*, *fremma*, *fremo*, *frowe*

forwerka wk. vb. 1 'confiscate' PIE

Compound of *for-* 2. pref. and *werka* 'make, etc.', cf. s.vv.

fot subst. m. 'foot' PIE

●PFRIS: *fōt

Goth. *fotus*, ON *fótr*, OE, OS *fōt*, OHG *fuoz*, MHG *vuoz*, MLG *vōt*, *vūt*, ODu. *fuot*, MDu. *voet*, *voot*, *vet*, *voit* 'foot'

●PGMC: *fōts

Traces of the old root noun are found in e.g. OE, where the Np form is *fēt* < *fōt-iz < PGmc. *fōt-es < PIE *pōdes.

●PIE: *pōds

POKORNY: 790-1

Skt. *pád-*, Gr. *pós*, Arm. *otn*.

Lit: Griepentrog 1995: 153-183

see also: *-fote*, *fiar-*, *fiarfote*

-fote adj. '-ped' PIE

Adjectival io-stem to *fōt*, q.v.

Also in MDu. *-voet(t)e*, *-voct*.

In OFris. competing with a dental formation, cf. OWFris. *flowerfōtad* (Faltings 1996).

●PFRIS: *fōti

see also: *fot*, *fiar-*,

framde adj. 'foreign' PIE

OFris. also *fram(e)d(e)*, *frem(e)the*, *fremede*, *fremd(e)*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX); the medial and ending vowels can be lost. The dental of the suffix probably represents the later OFris. confusion of /b/ and /d/, cf. *frem(e)the* (E).

●PFRIS: *fræmīdi

Cf. s.v. *forma*

see also: *fremma*, *fremo*, *frowe*; *afara*, *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* 1., 2. (also *forhaved*), *fori* 1., 2., 3., *forth*, *frana*, *tofara* 2.

frana subst. m. 'representative of the count' PIE

●PFRIS: *frāna

OS, OHG *frōno*, MHG *vrōn(e)*, MLG *vrōn(e)* 'sacred; belonging to the lord', MDu. *vroon-*, *vrone* 'sacred; subst. lord'

●PGMC: *frawan-

●PIE: *proH-uon-

POKORNY: 815

OCS *pravъ* 'right'.

Lit: reff. in Buma 1961 s.v.; Krolis-Sytsema 1990; Lendinara 1990: 297

see also: forma, framde, fremma, fremo, frowe; afara, bifara 2., farahaved, for- 1., 2. (also forhaved), fori 1., 2., 3., forth, framde, tofara 2.

frase subst. f. 'danger' Gmc.

OFris. also *frees*

The alternation \bar{a}/\bar{e} points to *ai; the ending could undergo apocope.

●PFRIS: *frāsa/frēsa

OS *frēso*, -a 'danger', OHG *freisa* 'fear, danger, tempt', MHG *vreis(e)* 'danger, fear', MLG *vrē(i)se* 'danger', ODu. *freisa* 'interitus', MDu. *vre(e)se*, *vreise* 'fear, danger'

Deverbative formation to:

●PGMC: *fraisanaN

Goth. *fraisan* (str. VII), OE *frāasian* 'tempt', etc.

Also MHG *vreist* 'danger', ON *vreista* 'tempt'

● No IE etymology

Attempts toward an IE explanation quoted in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *fraisan*, de Vries 1992 s.v. *vrēzen*.

Note the different verbal and nominal formations, which may also point to a non-IE origin.

fre adj. 'free from -' PIE

Only in R₁ XX, 114 *thes send fre* 'free from that arc.'

Explained from the *froh*-ctymon (van Helten 1889: 248-9; partly different and preferable explanation of phonological development in van Helten 1907a: (141, 142).

OFris. also *frō*

This OWFris. form reflects the non-umlauted stem *fraw- (van Helten 1890: 30).

●PFRIS: *frē/frō

OR *frawa/radaz* NP, ON *frár* 'rapid', OS *frō*, *fruo* (adv. *frōliko*), OHG *frao*, *frō*, *frawalih*, *frōlih*, MHG *vrō*, MLG *vrō*, adv. *vrolik(en)*, MDu. *vro(o)*, *vroe*, *vroljic* 'happy, gay'

●PGMC: *frawa-

●PIE: *prou-

POKORNY: 845-6

Skt. *práivate* 'jumps, runs', *pravá-* 'flying'; apparently a semantical shift 'run' > 'happy' took place.

fremma wk. vb. 1 'perform' PIE

●PFRIS: *fræmma

cf. s.v. *forma*.

see also: forma, framde, fremo, frowe; afara, bifara 2., farahaved, for- 1., 2. (also forhaved), fori 1., 2., 3., forth, frana, tofara 2.

fremo subst. f. 'benefit, profit' PIE

OFris. also *froem*

This form represents another formation, cf. s.v. *forma*.

●PFRIS: *fremu

cf. s.v. *forma*.

see also: *forma*, *framde*, *fremma*; *afara*, *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* 1., 2. (also *forhaved*), *fori* 1., 2., 3., *forth*, *frana*, *tofara* 2.

frete adj. 'outlawed' WGmc.

OFris. also substantivised *freta*, *frētha* 'outlaw'

On the problem of the dental (original *-t-* or *-th-*) cf. van Helten (1890: 100-1). The original dental seems to have been *-th-* that was replaced by *-t-* (but E *frethe*) as a result of a folk-etymological contamination with *frēt, cf. OE *fræte* 'wrong, proud', OHG *frāzar*, *-or* 'bold, forward', cf. also Du. Dial. (Brabant) *vr:t* 'proud' [?] (evidence in Weijnen 1987: 33).

●PFRIS: *frēpi

Given the direction of the folk-etymology mentioned above, Holthausen (1963: 114) was wrong where he connected these words *etymologically* with *frethe* (taken over by Buma 1949: 187 s.v. *frēta* + reff.). van Helten (1906: 195) (also Heinertz 1912: 322) compared OHG *freideo* 'profugus'. This word seems to have a limited number of cognates in WGmc., cf. adj. OS *frēdi*, OHG *freidi*, MHG *vreide* 'apostate, unfaithful'; subst. f. OFris. *frēthe*, MHG *vreide*, Langob. *fraida* 'unfaithfulness' (cf. Sjölin 1970-75: 190-2); OS *frēðig*, OHG *freidig*, *-ag* 'unfaithful', MHG *vreidic*, *-ec* 'unfaithful, on the run, outlawed', MLG *vrēidich* 'wild'.

Frethericus NP LW

frethia wk. vb. 2 'pay compensation (*fretho*)' PIE

OFris. also *frithia*, *ferdia*

frith- must be due to '...anlehn. an früh. *frithu... ' (van Helten 1890: 10). The stem *ferd-* shows *-d* for *þ (later-OFris. confusion of /þ/ and /d/) and r-metathesis.

●PFRIS: *frēpia

A weak 2 denominative verb to *fretho*, q.v.

Also in: Goth. *gafriþon* 'reconcile', ON *frīþa* 'pacify', OE (*gc*)*frīþian* 'protect', etc.

see also: *frethlas*, *fretho*, *frethofest*, *fretholas*, *frethopannig*; *fri*, *fridom*, *frihals*, *friling*, *frimon*; *fri(o)nd*

frethlas adj. 'without compensation' PIE

OFris. also *fretholās*, *frethe lās*, *frethlās*, *fredlās*, *ferdlōs*

The final vowel *-o* of the first member could be weakened to *e* /*ə*/ and subsequently undergo syncope. In *ferd-* we find *-d* for *-th* (later-OFris. confusion of

/b/ and /d/) and r-metathesis. The OWFrís. form *ferdlōs* shows the monophthongisation of *-laus- to -lōs, cf. also MLG -lōs(t), MDu. -lōs.

As to the forms of R₁, I take hapax *frethlās* (IX, 15) next to *fretho lās* (4x; of which 3 attestations in IX [25, 53, 57]) as a scribal error.

●PFRIS: *freþulās

Compound of *fretho* 'peace, etc.' and -lās 2. '-less', cf. s.vv.

Also in MLG *vrēdelōs*, *vrēdelōs*, etc.

see also: *frethia*, *fretho*, *frethofest*, *fretholas*, *frethopannig*; *fri*, *frídom*, *frihals*, *fríling*, *frímon*; *fri(o)nd*

fretho subst. m. 'peace, (legal) protection, safety; compensation for breach of the peace' PIE

OFris. also *frethe*, *frede*, *ferd*

On the stem variants *fred-*, *ferd-* and the weakening of -o to -e, cf. s.v. *frethlās*.

●PFRIS: *freþu

(Goth. *friþa-* in NP *friþareiks*.) ON *friþr*, OE *fri(o)þu*, *friþ*, OS *friþu*, OHG *fridu*, MHG *vride*, *vrit*, *vrede*, MLG *vrēde*, ODu. *friþo*, MDu. *vrede*, *verde* 'peace'

●PGMC: *friþuz (or *freþuz*?)

In view of the current interpretation of Gmc. vocalism, it remains open to doubt which stem vowel is original (e.g. already Prokosch 1939: 100-1). One can assume that the stem vowel *i* is due to raising of original *e/_u. One can, on the other hand, assume that *e* represents a-umlaut of original *i (e.g. Gs **friþauz* > **freþa*). I think that OE, OFris. and ON did not regularly show raising of stressed *e > i/_u.

Hence I consider the *i*-vocalism as original. The stable OFris. *e* must be due to influence of the inflected forms showing *a*-mutation (cf. also Cercignani 1979: 75, fn. 18).

●PIE: *priH-

POKORNY: 844

Skt. *priñāti* 'pleases', OCS *prijati* 'be favourable', Latv. *prīcks* 'joy', OIr. *riar* 'will, wish'.

There are formal problems because no IE ablaut form would yield **frī-tu-*: **priH-*, **preiH-* (**preiH-?*) > pre-Gmc. **pri-*. One can assume that short *i* was analogically introduced after **priHos* > **prijjos* > **friaz*, etc. 'free', cf. s.v. *frī*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: *frethia*, *frethlas*, *frethofest*, *fretholas*, *frethopannig*; *fri*, *frídom*, *frihals*, *fríling*, *frímon*; *fri(o)nd*

frethofest adj. 'requiring compensation (*fredus*)' PIE

Compound of *fretho* 'peace, etc.' and -fest 2. 'fixed', cf. s.vv.

see also: *frethia*, *frethlas*, *fretho*, *fretholas*, *frethopannig*; *fri*, *frídom*, *frihals*, *fríling*, *frímon*; *fri(o)nd*

freth(o)las cf. s.v. *frethlās*

see also: fri, fridom, frihals, friling, frimon; fri(o)nd

frethopannig subst. m. 'peace-money; tax for maintaining the *fretho*' PIE
Compound of *fretho* 'peace, etc.' and *panning* 'penny', cf. s.vv.

see also: frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas; fri, fridom, frihals, friling, frimon; fri(o)nd

fri adj. 'free, not subject to certain regulations, independent' PIE

●PFRIS: *frī

Goth. *freis*, OE *frēo*, *frī*, OS, OHG *frī*, MHG *vrī*, MLG *vrī*, MDu. *vri(e)*, *vrijch*, *vrijg* 'free'

●PGMC: *fria_z

The meaning of the Gmc. word must have developed from 'dear', cf. the IE cognates (s.v. *fretho*) and the name of the goddess ON *Frigg*, OE *frīg*, OHG *Frija* < *priHjeh₂ (with Verschärfung). Thorough discussion + refl. are found in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *freis* and de Vries 1992 s.v. *vrij*. Perhaps an older meaning is 'one's own' which can account for both 'dear' and 'free' as later meanings (original idea of Scheller; doubted by Lehmann loc. cit.).

●PIE: *priHo-

POKORNY: 844

Skt. *priyā-* 'beloved', Welsh *rhydd* 'free' < *prijo- < *priHo-. In order to obtain a short vowel, we have to start from a form in which the laryngeal was in intervocalic position, i.e. in the position where it was lost without lengthening the preceding vowel. cf. s.v. *fretho*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: fridom, frihals, friling, frimon; fri(o)nd, frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas, frethopannig

fridom subst. m. 'freedom' PIE

Compound of *frī* 'free, etc.' and *-dōm* 4. subst. suffix, cf. s.vv.

see also: fri, frihals, friling, frimon; fri(o)nd; frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas, frethopannig

frihals subst. m. 'freedom' PIE

Compound of *frī* 'free, etc.' and *hals* 'neck; life', cf. s.vv.

Also in: Goth. *frīhals* 'freedom', OHG *frihals* 'free man', etc.

see also: fri, fridom, friling, frimon; fri(o)nd; frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas, frethopannig

friling subst. m. 'free man of (partially) unfree descentance' PIE

●PFRIS: *friling

Strong masc. substantival derivation to *frī* 'free, etc.', q.v.

Also in: MHG *vrīlinc*, MLG *vrīlinc* 'id.', etc.

Lit: refl. in Buma 1961 s.v.; Jackel 1906b; van Helten 1907a: 105-107

see also: fri, fridom, frihals, frimon; fri(o)nd, frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas, frethopannig

frimon subst. m. 'free man' PIE

Compound of *frī* 'free, etc.' and *hals* 'neck; life', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Jaekel 1906b; van Helten 1907a: 105-107

see also: fri, fridom, frihals, friling; fri(o)nd, frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas, frethopannig

frind cf. s.v. *friond*

fri(o)nd subst. m. 'relative' PIE

I take the single attestation of *frind-* (Gp *frinda*, X, 21) as a scribal error.

Ofris. also *früund*

This form (B, E, H) shows the expected form of the diphthong *iu. In R, the spelling *io* represents a phonetic spelling for an allophone of /iu/ before dentals (van Helten 1890: X). In OWFris., we also find *io* (Sjölin 1969: 24).

•PFRIS: *friund

Goth. *frijonds*, ON *frændi*, OE *frēond*, *frīond*, OS *friund*, OHG *friunt*, MHG *vriunt*, MLG *vrūnt*, *vrent*, *vrint*, *vrōut*, MDu. *vri(c)nt*, *vre(e)nt*, *vrunt* 'friend, relative'

•PGMC: *frijōjands

The form is a ppa to the verb *frijōna-, cf. Goth. *frijon*, OE *frēogan* etc. The original meaning is 'to love', cf. also Skt. *priyāyāte* 'make friends with'. de Vries 1992 s.v. *vriend* assumes that the meaning 'friend' is secondary for 'someone who has reached the status of a relative'. The meaning 'relative' may rather go back to an earlier meaning 'one's own', cf. further s.v. *frī*.

•PIE: *priHo-

POKORNY: 844

cf. s.v. *fretho*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: fri, fridom, frihals, friling, frimon, frethia, frethlas, fretho, frethofest, fretholas, frethopannig

Frisa subst. m. 'Frisian' unclear

Ofris. also *frēsa*

The stem vowel is apparently Gmc. *ē₂

•PFRIS: *frēsa/frīsa

Of unclear, probably non-Gmc. and non-IE origin (Kuhn 1963, 1966).

Lit: ref. to older views in de Vries 1992 s.v. *Fries*; ref. most recent discussion Kuhn 1963, 1966, Krogmann 1964, 1968.

see also: frisesk, friseskriucht, Frislonde

frisesk adj. 'frisian' unclear

•PFRIS: *frēsisk

Adjectival *-iska- formation (cf. MDu. *vriesch*, *vreesch* etc.) to the stem *frīs-*,

cf. s.v. *Frisa*.

see also: *Frisa*, *friseskriucht*, *Frislond*

friseskriucht subst. 'Frisian law' PIE

Syntagm containing *frīsesk* 'frisian' and *riucht* 2. 'law etc.', cf. s.vv.

see also: *Frisa*, *frisesk*, *Frislond*

Frislond subst. 'Frisia' PIE

Compound of *frīsa* 'frisian' and *lond* 'country etc.', cf. s.vv.

see also: *Frisa*, *frisesk*, *friseskriucht*

frost subst. m. 'frost, cold' PIE

OFris. also *forst*

This word shows the Ingveonic r-metathesis, cf. also the OE doublet (see below).

●PFRIS: *frost/forst

ON *frost*, OE *frost*, *forst*, OS, OHG *frost*, MHG *vrost*, MLG *vrost*, *vorst*, MDu. *vorst(e)*, *voorst*, *vu(r)st*, *verst*, *varst*, *vost* 'frost'

●PGMC: *frustaz

Deverbative of *freusanaN 'freeze', cf. ON *frjósa*, OE *frēosan*, OHG *friosan*, MLG *vrēsen*, MDu. *vriesen* etc.

cf. also Goth. *frīus*, ON *frøt*, MDu. *vrīese* 'freezing weather'

●PIE: *preus-

POKORNY: 846

Skt. *pruṣvā-* 'drop', Lat. *prūina* < *prus-ūina (?) 'hoarfrost'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

frowe subst. f. 'woman' PIE

OFris. also *frouwe*

This by-form is merely orthographical: the sequence <uw> is often rendered as <w>.

●PFRIS: *frouwe

(ON *Freya* NP,) OHG *frouwa*, MHG, MLG *vro(u)we*, *vra(u)w(e)*, *vrou*, *vrū(w)e*, MDu. *vro(u)we*, *vr(a)uwe*, *vrou*, *vrau* 'woman'

●PGMC: *frjanōn-

Feminine n-stem formation to the word for 'lord', cf. *frōuja(n)- > *frauja(n)-, cf. Goth. *frauja*, ON *freyr*, OS *frōio* 'lord' (cf. also *frawan- in OE *frēa*, OS *frōho*, *frāho*, OHG *frō*, etc.).

●PIE: *proH-u-

POKORNY: 815

cf. s.v. *frana*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

see also: *forma*, *framde*, *frana*, *fremma*, *fremo*, *afara*, *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* 1., 2. (also *forhaved*), *fori* 1., 2., 3., *forth*, *framde*, *tofara* 2

ful adj., adv. 'full(y), complete(ly)' PIE

OFris. also *fol*

According to van Helten (1890: 14-15), the vowel *o* (part of OWFris.) is the original one, phonetically arisen from *u/ɹ.

●PFRIS: *fol

Goth. *fulls*, ON *fullr*, OE *ful(l)*, OS *ful*, *fol*, OHG *fol*, MHG *vol*, MLG *vol*, *vul*, ODu. *fol*, MDu. *vol(le)*, *vul*

●PGMC: *fullaz

< *fuln- < PIE *pl(h₁)-n-, cf. s.v. *fella* 2.

see also: *fella* 2., *felo*, *fulbranga*, *fullia*

fulbranga wk. vb. 1 'pay' PIE

Compound of *ful* 'full, etc.' and *branga* 'bring, etc.', cf. s.vv.

see also: *ful*, *fella* 2., *felo*, *fullia*

fullia wk. vb. 2 'fulfil, satisfy' PIE

OFris. also *folla*

The vowel alternation *u/o* is in accordance with that in the word *ful*, *fol* (latter OWFris.) from which it was derived.

●PFRIS: *follia

Weak 2 verbal derivation of adj. *fol*, *ful*, q.v.

Also in: Goth. *fulljan*, ON *fylla*, OS *fullian*, MDu. *vullen*, *vollen*, etc.

see also: *ful*, *fella* 2., *felo*, *fulbranga*

G

ga- subst. n. 'district' PIE [?]

In: *gāsthereke*, q.v.

OFris. also *-gō*

This by-form is West-Frisian and occurs as a second member in compounded place-names. It shows the monophthongisation of *au to *ō*.

●PFRIS: *gā-, *gō-

Goth. *gawī*, OE *-gē*, OS *-gō*, *-gā*, OHG *gawī*, *gewī*, *gowī*; *gaw(i)a*, *gow(i)a*, MHG *gou*, *gōu*, MLG *gō*, ODu. *-gauua*, *-gō(ie)*, MDu. *gou(w)*, *gau*, *go*, *gooy* (*ga-* in Frisian contexts) 'district, county, area'

●PGMC: *gauja-

● No certain IE etymology

Possibly 'collective' *ga- + *auwja-, cf. *ā* 1.A. This is in accordance with the frequent use of the word in reference to areas near water (Lehmann 1986: s.v. *gawī* + reff.). Less likely to Gr. *oīē* < *oujā 'village' (cf. both Chantraine 1968 and Frisk 1960-1972 s.vv. *oīē* 2. with hesitation). Feist (1939: s.v. *gawī*) starts from a reconstruction *ga-wih, cf. Goth. *weihs* 'settlement, village', Av. *vīs-* 'village', Gr. *oikos* 'house', etc. The original Gmc. meaning 'series of settlements' would fit nicely, but the formal development remains unclear; perhaps an old root noun *gawik > *gawī > *gawī with transition into the io-

stems?

Lit: Feist 1939 s.v. *gawi* for older, unlikely etymologies.; Lendinara 1990: 305

see also: *gasthereke*

gadur adv. 'together' PIE [?]

OFris. also *gader*, *gaer*

Weakening of the second vowel yielded *gader*; syncope of *-d- in OWFris. *gcar*, cf. Mod. Fris. (*alle*)*gearre*; also MDu. *gaer* beside *gader(e)*, Mod. Du. *alle|gaartje*.

●PFRIS: *gadur

OE *gador*, MHG *gater*, MLG *gad(d)er*, MDu. (*te*) *gader(e)*, *gaer*, cf. also

Weak 2: OHG *begatōn* 'unite, come together', OFris. *gadia* 'unite', MLG, MDu. *gāden* 'please', etc.;

o-st.: Goth. *gādiliggs* 'cousin', OE *gædcling*, OS *gaduling*, OHG *gatilinc*, *gatulinc*, MLG *gādelinc*, *gødclinc*, MDu. *gadelinc*, *g(h)edelinc*, etc. 'relative'; etc.

●PGMC: *gadur

●PIE: [?] *g^hed^h-

POKORNY: 423-4

Skt. *gadh-* 'seize (booty)' (also cf. Mayrhofer 1956-82: I, 460-1), and *gādhya-* 'booty' are doubtful as cognates. Furthermore, we only find Baltic and Slavic cognates: o-grade in OCS *godъ* 'favourable time', *godъnъ* 'graceful', etc. (Pokorny 1959: 423). Lengthened grade *gōd- perhaps in Lith. *godà*, *guōdas* 'honour'. The latter form has been compared with PGmc. *gōd- 'good', but cf. s.v. *gōd* 2.

The limited geographical distribution (unless the Skt. forms are cognate after all) as well as the unclear variation *-il-* ~ *-ul-* (often within one dialect) in the o-stem noun (Goth. *gādiliggs*, etc.) may point to an etymon borrowed from a substratum. Vocalic variation is also found in related MHG *gadunge* ~ MLG *gādinge*, etc. 'kind, species'.

see also: *algadur*, *gaduria*, *gadurleda*, *god* 2.

gaduria wk. vb. 2 'gather' PIE [?]

OFris. also *gad(e)ria*, *garia*

Weakening of the medial vowel yielded *gaderia*, which became *gadria* as a result of syncope; *garia* shows loss of intervocalic *-d-*, cf. s.v. *gadur*.

●PFRIS: *gaduria

Denominative formation from *gadur*, q.v.

Also in: OE *gaderian*, MHG *gateren*, MLG *gad(d)eren*, MDu. *ga(de)ren* 'gather'.

see also: *algadur*, *gadur*, *gadurleda*, *god* 2.

gadurleda wk. vb. 1 'bring together, collect' PIE [?]

Compound of *gadur* 'together' and *lēda* 'lead, etc.', s.vv.

see also: *algadur*, *gadur*, *gaduria*, *god* 2.

game subst. f. 'care' PIE

In: *gama dwa* 'care for, look after'

Ofris. also *gōme*

This by-form is West-Frisian and shows the monophthongisation of *au to *ō*.

●PFRIS: *gāmi, gōmi

ON *gaumr* 'attention, care', OE *gēme* 'care', OS *gōma* 'entertainment', OHG *gouma* 'banquet, attentiveness', MHG *goum(e)* 'meal, banquet', MLG *gōm* 'care', MDu. *gome, goom* 'festivity, hospitality, attention', Mod. Fris. *gumi* 'christening celebration'.

Also Goth. *gaumjan* 'see, observe', OE *gēman* 'watch', MDu. *gomen* 'watch; care', etc.

●PGMC: *gaumō

●PIE: *g^{wh}ou-meh₂

POKORNY: 453

OCS *gověti* 'worship', Arm. *govem* 'praise'; perhaps Lat. *faveō* 'be favourable' (discussion of possible etymologies in Schrijver 1991: 441-2; probably < *b^hh₂u-, Lubotsky p.c.);

ganse adj. 'current' PIE

Ofris. also *genzie, gens, ginse*

The R₁-form shows 'partial' umlaut; on the partial umlaut before /ng/ cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX). The vowel of the other Ofris. forms (H, F and OWfris. respectively) regularly reflects mutated *a > e, i. The spellings -zi-, -s- reflect assibilation (palatalisation) of *-g-.

●PFRIS: *gængī

ON *gengr* 'current', OE *genge* 'fit, suitable, appropriate', OHG *gengi*, MHG *genge, gengec*, MLG *ganc, genge, ginge*, MDu. *genge, gance, ginge* 'current'; cf. also:

str. m. *ganga- 'course': Goth. *gagg*, ON *gangr*, OE, OFris. *gong* (q.v.), OS, OHG, ODu. *gang*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *ganc*;

str. f. *genhti- 'way': OE -*gīht*, MHG *gīht*;

str. VII *gangan 'go': Goth. *gaggan*, ON *ganga*, OE *gangan*, OS, OHG, ODu. *gangan*, MDu. *gangen* (especially in rhyming position);

ø-grade *gungan: OFris. *gunga* 'go' (q.v.), also ODan. *gunge* 'swing';

iterative *gangjan: OE *gengen*, MHG *gengen*, pret. *ganctc*.

The verb also shows 'short forms', viz. Crimean Goth. *geen*, OE, OS, OWfris. *gān*, OHG, MHG, MLG *gān, gēn*, MDu. *gaen*. The relation of these to the long forms has been subject of dispute and also hinges on the interpretation of the IE etymology one adheres to, see below.

●PGMC: *gang-

●PIE etymology unclear.

The current derivation is that from a PIE root *g^heng^h- [Pokorny 1959: 438-9], cf. Lith. *žengti, žēngti* 'stride'; Skt. *jānghā-* 'lower leg'. Only Lith. and Gmc.

would have verbal forms to this root. The short forms would reflect *ǵ^heh₁(i)-, cf. Skt. *jāhāti* 'leave', Gr. *kikhánō* 'reach'. The derivation of the Germanic forms yields (slight) semantic problems, however (cf. also de Vries 1992 s.v. *gaan*).

As an alternative, the short forms have been explained as being due to shortenings of the longer ones, most recently Mańczak (1987: with abundant reff.). Kortlandt (1990: 8-9) returns to Kluge's derivation of the short forms from PGmc. *ga- + *h₁eimi (Pokorny 1959: 293-7; Lat. *īre*, etc.) and considers the long form as analogical after *stai- (durative), *stand- (inchoative), etc., thus disconnecting the Gmc. forms from *ǵ^heng^h-.

Perhaps, we are dealing with a form consisting of the prefix PGmc. *ga- + *ung- < PIE *h₂ŋk-, cf. OIr. *ánaic* < *h₂e-h₂nonk- (Skt. *aśnóti* 'reach') [Pokorny 1959: 316-8], which yields an attractive solution for the unexplained OFris. form *unga* < *h₂ŋk- (Schrijver p.c.), cf. s.v. *gunga*.

Lit: Holthausen 1963: 127 s.v. *gēngē* 3.; Lehmann 1986 s.v. *gaggan* for discussion and reff.; Meijering 1989 on the distribution of the long and short forms in Old Frisian; Mottausch 1996; Seebold 1970: 213-6, 216-7

see also: *gong*, *gunga*

-garda subst. m. 'property (land)' PIE

In: *liodgarda* 'hereditary land of a family'

●PFRIS: *gārda

Goth. *garda* 'enclosed yard', OS *gardo*, OHG *garto*, MHG *garte*, MLG *gārde*, MDu. *gaerde* 'garden'; cf. also the following nominal formations:

*garda-: Goth. *gards* 'house, family, court', ON *garþr* 'fence, garden, court', OE *geard*, OS *gard* 'enclosure; pl. house, dwelling', OHG *gart* 'garden, circle', MLG *gärt* 'field', MDu. *gaert* 'garden';

*gerd-: Goth. *gairda*, ON *gerþ*, *gjörþ* 'girdle', MDu. *darmgerde*, *-ga(e)rde*, *-gare* 'belly-band for a horse';

*gurd-: MHG *gurt*, MLG *gorde*, *görde*, MDu. *gorde*, *go(o)rt* 'girdle';

*gurd-il-: ON *gyrþill*, OE *gyrdel*, OHG *gurtill*, *gurtilla*, MHG *gürtel*, MLG *gordel*, *gördel*, OFris. *-gerdel* (q.v.), MDu. *gordel*, *gurdel* 'girdle'.

Furthermore, MDu. *gorden* 'girdle'; OE *gyrdels*, OS *gurdisl* 'girdle', etc.

●PGMC: *gardan-

●PIE: *ǵ^herd^h-

POKORNY: 442-3; 444

There are three possible reconstructions for PIE:

(1, 2) to *ǵ^her-

In this case, it remains unclear whether Gmc. *gVrd- reflects *ǵ^her-to-, i.e. a formation to the root *ǵ^her- [Pokorny 1959: 442-3], or a d^h-enlargement of this root, viz. *ǵ^her-d^h- [Pokorny 1959: 444].

The original meaning of the root must have been 'seize, encompass', cf. the 'girdle'-words; *garda-, *gardan- refer to enclosed properties. On the different words for 'house' in Gmc. cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *gards* + reff. *ǵ^hor-to- in

Gr. *khórtos* 'court, fenced area', Lat. *hortus* 'garden'; *ǵ^hor-d^h- in Lith. *žārdis* 'corral', Phryg. *-gordum* 'town'

(3) to *ǵ^herd^h-

Another possibility is the reconstruction of a root *ǵ^herd^h- [Pokorny 1959: 444], cf. Skt. *grhá-* (< *ǵrđhá-) 'house, dwellings', Alb. *gardh* 'hedge'.

gasthereke subst. f 'church of a (clerical) district' PIE

Compound of *gā-* and *sthereke*, cf. s.vv.

gelden adj. 'golden' PIE

OFris. also *golden*, *gulden*

These OWFris. by-forms show the rounded vowel that also occurs in MDu.; the unrounded vowel *e* is found in R, E, H.

●PFRIS: *ǵeldin

An adjectival in-derivation to PGmc. *gulþ* 'gold', cf. s.v. *gold*.

Also in: Goth. *gulþeins*, ON *gullinn*, OE *gylden*, OS *guldin*, OHG *gulđin*, MHG *gulđin*, MLG *gülden*, *gölden*, MDu. *guldijn*, *gulden*, *goudijn*, *-en*, *gouwen*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

see also: *gland*, *gled*, *glisia*, *gold*

-ger subst. m 'spear' PIE [?]

In: *Liudger*, *Liodger* and in latinised *Liudgerus* (II, 34).

OFris. also in *etgēr* 'spear', *gērfonge* 'fishing equipment', *gērjeve* 'part of the wergild that is attributed to the father's brothers'

●PFRIS: *ǵēr

ON *geirr*, OE *gār*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *gēr*, MDu. *geer* 'spear'; cf. also:

ON *gisli* = *geisl*, see below, Langob. *gīsil* 'shaft of an arrow', perhaps also:

ON *geisl* 'stick used when walking on snow-shoes', OHG *geisila* 'whip'

On the evidence of personal names cf. de Vries (1977) s.v. *geirr*.

●PGMC: *ǵaisa-

●PIE: *ǵ^h₂iso- [?]

POKORNY: 410

The only certain cognates are found in Celtic, cf. OIr. *gae*, MBret. *goa*, MCor. *gew*, *gyw*, *giu* 'id.'; *uφo-gais- > Mir. *foga* 'small spear', MWelsh. *gwayw*, *gwaew* (Schrijver 1995: 131); cf. also Gaul.-Lat. *gaesum*, Gaul.-Gr. *gāison* 'heavy iron spear'. Furthermore comparing Gr. *khaios*, *-on* 'staff of a shepherd' one should posit PIE *ǵ^h₂iso-. However, the Greek word is considered a loan from the west by Chantraine (1968) s.v. The comparison with Skt. *heṣa-* 'projectile' has generally been given up (cf. s.v. *jest-*). We may assume a Gmc.-Celtic substratum word. On the other hand, ON *isl(i)*, Langob. *īsil* seem to suggest *ǵ^hHis- > *ǵ^hiHs- (with laryngeal metathesis, cf. Schrijver 1991: 535), which can be interpreted as an IE ablaut form.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

-gerdel subst. m. 'bag attached to a girdle, purse' PIE

In: *bigerdel* 'purse, money-bag (attached to the girdle)'

●PFRIS: *gerdel

A nominal *-ila-formation to *gerd-, cf. s.v. *-garda*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303

see also: bigerdel

-geroch adj. 'adult' PIE

In: *ungēroch* 'not adult'

Ofris. also *ierochoch*, *ierich*, *ierech*, *gerich*

The variation *g-/i-* is due to the merger of *g and *j before front vowels. The forms from R show the typical suffix form *-och* where the other OFris. MSS show *-ich* (*-ech*), cf. also *-dēdoch* next to *-dēdich*, etc.

●PFRIS: *-iērih, *-iēruh

An adjectival *-och*-derivation to *jer* 'year', q.v.

Also in: MLG *jārich*, *jērich* 'from this year, yearly, one year old', MDu. *jarich* 'from this year, adult', etc.

see also: er 1.; *jer*, *jerfeste*, *jeroch*

gers subst. n. 'grass, turf; kind of grass' Gmc. [?]

Ofris. also *gres*

This by-form does not show r-metathesis; both forms occur side by side in B.

●PFRIS: *gers, *gres

Goth., ON *gras*, OE *gærs*, *græs*, OS, OHG, MHG *gras*, MLG *gras*, *gres*, MDu. *gras*, *gres*, *gars*, *gers*, *gors*; cf. also (on the reconstructions see below sub PIE): MHG *gruose* 'juice and young sprouts of plants', MLG *grose* 'juice of plants', *groese*, *gruese* 'young grass, turf, grass-land';

OE *græd* 'grass', OFris. *grēd*, OWfris. *gree(d)* 'grass-land' (→ MLG *grēde*, *grēt*; MDu. *grede*, *gree*); MHG *graz* 'sprouts of pine-trees'

ON *grópi*, *grópr* 'growth', MHG *gruot*, MLG *grōde*, *grūde*, OFris. *grōde*, MDu. *groede* 'new growth';

ON *gróa*, OE *grōwan* 'grow', OHG *gruoen* 'turn green', MLG *grojen*, *grōjen*, *grōyen*, *grō(i)en*, OWfris. *grōya*, MDu. *groyen*, *groeyen* 'grow';

ON *grœnn*, OE *grēne*, OS *grōni*, OHG *gruoni*, OFris. *grēne* (q.v.), MHG *gruone*, MLG *grōne*, MDu. *groene*, *groen*, *gruene*, *grone* 'green'

●PGMC: *grasaN

●PIE: [?] *g^hrh₁-so-

POKORNY: 454

The only possible cognate is Lat. *grāmen* 'grass' < *grās-mn̥. We are probably dealing with a substratum word.

Lit: Krahe 1954: 75; Lendinara 1990: 309; Schrijver 1991: 487

see also: *gersfal*, *gersfalle*, *grene*

gersfal subst. m. 'the chopping off of body parts, mutilation' PIE

Compound of *gers* and *fal*, cf. s.vv.

gersfalle subst. m. 'chopped off (of body parts), mutilated' PIE

Compound of *gers* and *-falle*, cf. s.vv.

Also in MLG *grasvallende*.

geve adj. 'current, valid' PIE

In: *geue* and *ganse* (XII, 27) 'current and valid (of coins)'

Ofris. also *iëve*

The variation *g-/i-* is due to the merger of **g* and **j* before front vowels.

●PFRIS: **gēvi*

An adjectival io-stem to the stem **gev-*, cf. s.v. *jeva*

Also in: ON *gæfr* 'good', MHG *gābe*, MLG *gēve*, MDu. *gave*, *gheve* 'current, good'

NB: cf. especially the parallel construction MLG *genge* und *gēve*.

see also: *have*, *hebba*, *hef*, *heftnese*, *jeft*, *jeva*, *jeve*

gland adj. 'glowing, burning' PIE

It must be an i-stem adjective, cf. van Helten (1906: 283); contra Bremer (1893: 313). I interpret this form as /glænd-/ , i.e. a form with partial i-umlaut (van Helten 1907a: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX). It is not to be confused with the present participle *gliand-* to *glia* 'glow'.

●PFRIS: **glænd*

The specific formation has a limited distribution within Gmc.: LG *glant* 'shining, beautiful', *glende*, *glen* 'glowing, shining', *glen(d)s*, *glendighaid* 'something glowing' (Groningen, cf. Molema and Ganderheyden 1887 s.vv.), OHG *glandich* 'glowing, hot', Frisian Dutch *glend* (Baardt, 16th cent.) 'burning, glowing'; cf. also:

MHG *glander* 'shining, glowing', MHG *glinzen* 'shine', OHG, MHG *glanz* 'shining', *glenzen* 'shine', etc.

●PGMC: **glandiz*

●PIE: **ǵ^hlh₂nd^h*

POKORNY: 430, 431

Lat. *glaber* < **ǵ^hlh₂d^hro-* 'smooth, without hair' (Schrijver 1991: 188 and passim), Lith. *glodūs* 'tool for smoothening', *glósti* 'smoothen', cf. Gmc. **glad-* in ON *glápr* 'bright', OHG *glat*, OFris. *gled* 'smooth, shining', etc.;

Gmc. **glō-* < **ǵ^hleh₂₋* in:

ON *glóa*, OE *glōwan*, OS *glōian*, OHG *gluoen*, MHG *glüejēn*, *glüegen*, *glüewēn*, *glüēn*, MLG *glōyen*, *glō(j)en*, *glōēn*, MDu. *gloyen*, *gloeyen* 'glow' < **glōjanaN*; ON *glóþ*, OE *glēd*, OS *glōd-*, OHG, MHG *gluot*, MLG *glōt*, OFris. *glēd* (q.v.), MDu. *gloet* 'glow, blaze' < **glōd-*;

OE *glōm* 'shimmering', etc.

The root **ǵ^hlh₂₋* is to be distinguished from **ǵ^helh₃₋* [Pokorny 1959: 429-434] which denotes green or yellow colour, cf. Skt. *hári-* 'yellow, green', Gr. *khlōrós* 'green' < **ǵ^hlh_{3-ro-}*, Lith. *žėlti* 'grow green'. However, we also find an *aniþ-* form **ǵ^hel-* with this meaning: Lith. *žėlvas* 'green, yellowish', OHG *gelo* 'yellow' and Gmc. cognates; to either form with or without laryngeal Gr. *khlōós*

< *ǵ^hlouos, Lat. *holus* 'green vegetable' (Schrijver 1991: 110). Given the fact that *ǵ^helh₂- 'shine' also shows *aniṭ*-forms (cf. s.v. *glisia*), we may perhaps reconstruct a root *ǵ^hel- that could be extended with either *h₂ or *h₃.

see also: *gelden*, *gled*, *glisia*, *gold*

gled subst. f. 'glow, burning coal' PIE

OFris. also *glōd*

This OWFris. by-form shows the non-umlauted vowel that is found outside OE and OFris., cf. MDu. *gloet*, etc.

●PFRIS: *glēd, *glōd

Substantival *-ti-formation to *glō- < *ǵ^hleh₂-, cf. s.v. *gland*.

see also: *gelden*, *gland*, *glisia*, *gold*

glisia wk. vb. 2 'be partly closed, able to see through a small opening only' PIE

Buna (1961) s.v. rightly rejects Van Helten's interpretation 'twitch' 1907a: 155-6.

●PFRIS: *glisia

ON *Glíru-Halli* NP, OE *glisian*, *glisnian* 'shine', MHG *glistern* 'twinkle', *glinsten*, MLG *glis(s)en*, MDu. (eastern Dial.) *glijssen* 'shine'; cf. also Mod. Norwegian, Mod. Swedish Dial. *glisa* 'shine weakly, mock at', etc.; with Verner variation: Mod. Norwegian *glira* 'twitch an eye, laugh with mockery', Swedish *glira* 'mock at, make fun of sb.'

●PGMC: *gl(e)is-

●PIE: *ǵ^hl(e)is-

POKORNY: 433

Kluge (1989) s.v. *gleien*, *glitzern*, *glimmen* speaks of 'glanzwörter mit Anlaut gl-', which have no convincing etymology.

However, Gmc. *gl(e)is- has been compared with Gaulish *gliso* 'shining' < *gleiso-, cf. furthermore Welsh *glwys* 'beautiful', OBret. *glois*, *gloes* < *gleisto- 'beautiful'. This may be an extension of *ǵ^hlei-, cf. Gr. *khliainō* 'make warm', *khliarós* 'warm' < *ǵ^hli-, cf. also *khliḍōn* 'ornament' < *ǵ^hli-d-, OIr. *glé* 'clear, shining' < *ǵ^hlei-ūo-, etc. It has been assumed that we are eventually dealing with extensions of the root *ǵ^hel-, cf. s.v. *gland*.

One can assume that the Gmc. forms containing a long vowel (ON *Glíru-Halli*, OE *glisian*, perhaps MLG *glis(s)en*, MDu. *glijssen*) represent Gmc. *glis- < *ǵ^hlih₂s- < *ǵ^hlh₂is- with laryngeal metathesis *-HI- > Gmc. *-IH-, cf. Schrijver (1991: 535) on *ǵ^hlh₂- cf. s.v. *gland*). However, the forms with short *i* suggest an *aniṭ*-formation PGmc. *glis- < *ǵ^hl-i-s-. The long forms then simply represent the e-grade *ǵ^hleis-.

Gmc. shows many other formations, cf. verbal ON *gljá* 'shine', OFris. *glia* 'glow' < *gli-; OS *glīmo* 'shining', OHG *glīmo* 'firefly' < *glī-m- or *ǵ^hl-ei-m-. The OHG word has an interesting by-form *gleimo* < *glai- < *ǵ^hl-oi- which provides positive proof for an *aniṭ*-formation: *ǵ^hlh₂-e/oi-m- would have given **gulaim- (cf. Goth. *kaurus* < *kur(H)V- < *g^wrHV-). Similarly, OE *gleomu*

'shining' < *glemu < *ǵ^hl-em-; *ǵ^hlh₂-em- would have given *gulam- (OE *glæm* 'id.' < o-grade *ǵ^hl-om-). The cognate dental extension OHG *glīz*, *gliz* 'shining' may represent an ablaut variant of the *aniṭ*-form: *ǵ^hl-(e)i-d-, cf. Gr. *khlídon* (see above).

see also: *gelden*, *gland*, *gled*, *gold*

god 1 subst. m. 'God' PIE [?]

•PFRIS: *god

Goth. *gub* ON *gub*, *gob*, OE, OS *god*, OHG, MHG *got*, MLG *got*, ODu. *got*, MDu. *god*, *got* 'God'

•PGMC: *gupaN

In Goth. and ON the word is neuter when referring to a heathen god. The original gender may therefore have been neuter.

• No certain IE etymology.

Currently interpreted as a to-formation *g^hu-tom to either *ǵ^heuH- 'call' (Pokorny 1959: 413, e.g. Skt. *hávate*, *hūtá-*) or *ǵ^heu- 'pour' (Pokorny 1959: 447-8, e.g. Lat. *fundo*, Goth. *giutan*). The former (and most current) connection ('divine entity summoned to a sacrifice', cf. also Skt. *puru-hūtá-* 'often called on') is problematic from a formal point of view: *ǵ^huHto- would yield Gmc. *gūpa- with a long vowel. Given the short vowel, OIr. *guth* 'voice' points to a sequence *ǵ^hHu-tu-, but *-Hu- would yield PGmc. (*-uH- >) *ū as well (due to laryngeal metathesis, cf. Schrijver 1991: 535).

The latter interpretation (cf. Skt. *hótar-*, Av. *zatar-* 'priest') is less probable from a semantical point of view: the verbal noun in *-to- has passive meaning and the god is not poured but poured for during the sacrifice. However, Watkins (1974: 102) returns to this latter view. He quotes *á-huta-*, an epithet of Agni and Gr. NP *spensi-thios* (= -theos; inscription from Crete), the first element of which can be compared with *spéndō* 'libate'. The neuter *g^hutom might have referred to the spirit in a tumulus.

However, perhaps we are dealing with a non-IE substratum word, see Beekes (2000).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 297 as possible non-IE word; Watkins 1974

god 2 adj. 'good' Gmc.

•PFRIS: *gōd

Goth. *gops*, *gods*, ON *gópr*, OE, OS *gōd*, OHG, MHG *guot*, MLG *gōt*, *gut*, ODu. *guot*, MDu. *goed*, *goet*, *guet* 'good'; cf. also:

Goth. *godei*, ON *gǫpǫ*, OS *gōdi*, OHG *guoti*, MHG *güete*, MLG *gōde*, *gōte*, *güde*, OFris. *gēde*, MDu. *goede*, *guede*, etc. 'goodness'

Further formations s.v. *gadir*.

•PGMC: *gōda-

• No certain IE etymology.

Usually connected with Skt. *gadh-* 'seize (booty)' (also cf. Mayrhofer 1956-82: I, 460-1, *gádhya-* 'booty'; o-grade in OCS *godъ* 'favourable time', *godъnъ*

'graceful' etc. (Pokorny 1959: 423). Lengthened grade *gōd- = OFris. *gōd* perhaps in Lith. *goda*, *guōdas* 'honour'. The root would be PIE *g^hed^h- 'fit' [Pokorny 1959: 423-4], cf. s.v. *gadur*. However, as far as Gmc. is concerned, the semantics are possible but not obvious, whereas the lengthened grade is problematic.

Beekes (1996) proposes to connect Gmc. and unexplained Gr. *agathós* 'good', which exactly fits semantically. He reconstructs a European substratum word *(a)g^hād^h- 'good'. However, in the same volume Anttila (1996) tries to explain the Greek form as representing *aǵn̄-dh̄a-o-s 'supporting the aga, upholding the (social) unit'.

see also: *algadur*, *gadur*, *gaduria*, *gadurleda*

god 3 subst. n. 'goods, property' PIE

OFris. also *gud*, *gued*

The former by-form (E) is an indication for the phonetic character of the high vowel /ō/ (van Helten 1890: 20); the latter is OWFris. and can be compared with the Dutch spelling *guet*.

●PFRIS: *gōd

The substantivised adj. *gōd* 2. This substantival usage of the adjective in the meaning 'goods, property, etc.' is also found in OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG ODu., MDu.

godilik adj. 'according to divine law, just' PIE

The quality of the medial vowel has been interpreted as evidence for a short preceding syllable (Kock 1904: 183, taken over by Buma 1961: 50). The meaning must be related to (= *gōd* 2.) in view of MHG *got(e)lich*, *göt(c)lich* 'divine, pious', MDu. *god(e)lijc*, *goddelijc*, *goodlijc* [!] 'according to divine law, just' (van Helten 1907a: 156).

●PFRIS: *godilik

Adjectival *-lika-formation to *god* 1., q.v.

godilike adv. 'according to divine law, just' PIE

●PFRIS: *godiliki

Adverbial formation to *godilik*, q.v.

godishus subst. n. 'church' PIE

Compound (originally a syntagm of a Gs + Ns) of *god* 1. and *hūs*, cf. s.vv.

godismon subst. m. 'priest' PIE

Compound (originally a syntagm of a Gs + Ns) of *god* 1. and *mon*, cf. s.vv.

gold subst. n. 'gold, golden coins, jewelry' PIE

OFris. also *goud*

This OWFris. form shows the same development as MDu. *gout*.

●PFRIS: *gold

Goth. *gulþ*, ON *gull*, *goll*, OE, OS, OHG *gold*, MHG, MLG, ODu. *golt*, MDu. *gout*, *gaut*, *golt* 'gold'

●PGMC: *gulþaN

●PIE: *ǵʰlHtom

POKORNY: 430

A *-to-derivation to *ǵʰelH-, cf. s.v. *gland*. We find cognate formations of this root meaning 'gold', e.g. Skt. *híraṇya-*, Av. *zaraniia-* < *ǵʰlH-en-, OCS *zlato* < *zolto, etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

see also: *gelden*, *gland*, *gled*, *glisia*

gong subst. m. 'way' PIE

OFris. also *gung*

This by-form (H) shows the same vowel as the verb *gunga*. It may have been introduced analogically after this verb. We may also assume a raising of (*a >) *o > u, which has a parallel in the verb if we derive it from *gangan rather than a \emptyset -grade form *gungan (van Helten 1890: 4; cf. however Mottausch 1996).

●PFRIS: *gong

A verbal noun to the stem *gang-, cf. s.v. *ganse*.

Also in: ON *gangr* 'way', OE *gong*, OS, OHG *gang*, MHG *ganc*, MLG *ganc*, ODu. *gang*, MDu. *ganc* 'way'.

cf. also neuter Goth. *gagg* 'street, alley', ON *gang* 'way, entrance'.

see also: *ganse*, *gunga*

grad subst. m. 'step' LW

●PFRIS: *grād

From Lat. *gradus* > *grādus* 'grade'. The origin of the long vowel is unclear. It is also found in OIr. *grád*.

Also in: OE, OHG *grād*, MLG *grāt*, MDu. *graet*, etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *grad* (falsely positing a short vowel); Wollmann 1990: 534 fn. 83 as to *grād*.

grat adj. 'great, big, high' WGmc.

●PFRIS: *grāt

OE *grēat*, OS *grōt*, OHG, MHG *grōz*, MLG *grōt*, MDu. *groot*, *groet*, *gro(y)t* 'great'

●PGMC: *grauta- (PWGmc.)

As the Gmc. word was *mikila-, cf. Goth. *mikils*, OHG *mihhil*, etc., *grauta- must represent another word that underwent a WGmc. development towards the meaning 'great'. A comparison with ON *grautr* 'barley gruel', hence > 'coarse-grain' > 'coarse' > 'great' has been suggested (de Vries 1992 s.v. *groot*).

gref subst. n. 'grave' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *gref

OE *græf*, OS *graf*, OHG *grab*, MHG *grap*, MLG *graf*, ODu. *grav-*, MDu. *graf*

'grave'; cf. also:

Goth. *graban*, ON *grafa*, OE *grafan*, OS *bi|graban*, OHG *graban*, MHG *graben*, MLG *grāven*, MDu. *graven*, *greven* 'dig';

f. **grābō*: Goth. *graba* 'rampart', ON *grōf*, OE *grafu* 'hollow', OHG *graba* 'spade';

f. **grōbō*: Goth. *groba*, ON *gróf*, OHG *gruoba*, MDu. *gro(e)ve* 'hole', cf. also OFris. *grēva* beside *grōv(i)a* 'dig' < **grōb-*; etc. (further formations in Pokorny 1959: 456, Lehmann 1986 s.v. *graba*).

●PGMC: **grafa-*, *graba-*

●PIE: **g^hrob^h-* [?]

POKORNY: 455-6

Only cognates in BS., cf. OCS *pogrebъ* 'bury', Latv. *grebju*, *grebt* 'excavate, scrape'. Perhaps a substratum word (homonym and sometimes confused with **g^hreb^h-* 'seize', cf. Pokorny 1959: 455)?

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

grene adj. 'green' PIE

●PFRIS: **grēni*

ON *grœnn*, OE *grēnc*, OS *grōni*, OHG *gruoni*, MHG *gruone*, MLG *grone*, MDu. *groene*, *groen*, *gruene*, *grone* 'green'

●PGMC: **grōni-*

●PIE: **ǵ^hroh₁-ni-*

POKORNY: 454

see also: *gers*, *gersfal*, *gersfalle*

greva subst. m. 'count' LW [?]

●PFRIS: **grēva*

Most probably this is a Franconian neologism based on Middle Lat. *-grāvius* < Gr. *graphcús*.

Improbable suggestions as to Gmc. etymologies in de Vries 1992 s.v. *graaf*.

Also in: OS *grābio*, OHG *grāv(i)o*, MHG *grāve*, MLG *grāve*, *grēve*, MDu. *grave*, *greve*, *graef*, *greef*. MLat. sources also have *grāfo*, *graphio*.

Lit: Not in Holthausen 1921; not in Wollmann.

grim adj. 'fierce' PIE

●PFRIS: **grimm*

ON *grimr*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *grim(me)*, MDu. *grim*, *grem* 'fierce, angry'; cf. also:

OHG *grimmig*, OS *grimmag*, MDu. *grimmich* 'bitter, frustrated';

OHG *grimmi*, MDu. *grimme*, etc. 'anger';

ON *gramr*, OE, OS, OHG *gram* 'hostile', MHG *gram* 'angry';

denominative verb: Goth. *gramjan* 'irritate', ON *gremia* 'make angry', OE *gremman* 'provoke', OHG *gremmen* 'irritate', etc.

●PGMC: **grimma-*

●PIE: **g^hremno-*

POKORNY: 458-9

Av. *graṇta-* 'angered', Gr. *khrómos* 'noise', OCS *громъ* 'thunder'.

gripa str. vb. I 'seize' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *grīpa

Goth. *greipan*, ON *grípa*, OE, OS *grīpan*, OHG *grīfan*, MHG *grīfen*, MLG *grīpen*, MDu. *gripen* 'seize'; cf. also *griap- in:

ON *greipa* 'seize', iterative OE *grāpian*, OHG *greifōn* < *griapōjanaN 'touch';

ON *greip* 'space between the thumb and the other fingers', OE *grāp* 'grasp',

OHG *greifa*, MLG ° *grīpe* 'fork'; cf. also *grip- in:

ON *gripr* 'treasure', OE *gripe*, MHG *grif* 'grip', etc.

●PGMC: *gripanaN

●PIE: *g^hreib- [?]

POKORNY: 457-8

This particular formation has been compared with Baltic, cf. Lith. *griebù*, *griēbti* 'seize', Latv. *griba* 'wish, will', *gribēt* 'wish', but the Baltic forms must have contained *-b^h- given the absence of acute intonation (Winter's Law).

Perhaps we are dealing with a root *g^her- (for which there is no direct evidence) with several extensions: *g^hr-eib- (under discussion here), *g^hr-eb- (ON *grápa* 'seize', Lith. *gróbtī*), *g^hr-cb^h- (MLG *grabbe(le)n* 'seize quickly', etc.). Both latter extensions (or roots?) are confused in Pokorny (1959: 455), but cf. Kortlandt (1988a: 393) on the necessity to distinguish them.

The difference BS. *b^h ~ Gmc. (*b >) *p as well as the limited distribution may also point to a substratum word.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 237-9

gristel subst. m. 'partition of gristle in nose or ear' WGmc.

Ofris. also *grestel*, *gerstel*, *gristl*

The second vowel is clearly a parasite vowel, cf. *gristl*. The e-vocalism in the root may represent the frequent variation e ~ i, especially before r (Steller 1928: 11). The r-metathesis has a parallel in *gers*, *gres* (q.v.).

●PFRIS: *gristl-

The word seems to be restricted to WGmc. and shows a variety of forms:

OE *grist(e)l* 'gristle' < *gris-t-l- (MLG *gristel* ← OFris.); but also (all forms meaning 'gristle'):

*gru(/o)s-t-il/ul/l-: OHG *grustila*, *krustila*, *krustil*, *krustilī(n)*; *krustula*; *krostila*, MHG *krostel*;

*gros-il/l-: OHG *krosla*, OS gloss. *krosla*, MHG *krosel*; OHG *krosila*;

*gros-t-: OE *grost*;

*gru(/o)s-p-il-: OHG *kruspil*, *krospil*, MHG *kruspel*, *krospel*.

Some restrictions are clear: *gris- is the northern form (OE, OFris., MLG, *grus/*gros the southern one (OHG, MHG, the OS form must be a HG form given the initial k-; the only exception is OE *grost*); the *-p-extension only takes *-il-; *-ul- occurs only once. We find several inflexional types.

●PGMC: *gristl- [PWGmc.]

● No IE etymology

The abundance of apparently non-IE formations, coupled with the restricted

(WGmc.) distribution suggest a non-IE substratum word [pace Pokorny 1959: 457].

grund subst. m. 'ground' PIE [?]

OFris. also *grond*

This OWFris. form shows *o* for **u* before nasals (Heuser 1903: 106).

●PFRIS: *grund

Goth. *grundu*-[*waddjus* 'foundation', ON *grunnr* 'sea bottom', OE, OS *grund*, OHG, MHG, MLG *grunt* MDu. *gront*, *grunt* 'ground']

●PGMC: *grundu-

● No certain IE etymology.

The only plausible IE etymology is a connection with the root PIE **g^hren-* [Pokorny 1959: 459], cf. Gr. *khraínō* 'smear' < **g^hrn-ī-*, Lat. *frendo* 'grind', Lith. *gréndziu* 'scrape, rub' (NB: Winter's law causing acute intonation) < **g^hren-d-* (or **g^{wh}rend-*, cf. Schrijver 1991: 185); the Germanic forms would show the extension **-d^h-*. However, this connection presupposes that the word originally referred to the ground as soil or sand. This cannot be demonstrated to be the oldest meaning of the word (cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *grond*).

-**gulden** = pp of *jelda*, q.v.

gunga str. vb. VII 'go' PIE

OFris. also *unga*

This by-form has been unclear and can hardly be attributed to the confusion with *ongān* > **onga* (van Helten 1890: 215). Probably we are dealing with a direct descendant of PIE **h₂ŋk-* > PGmc. **uug-* [Pokorny 1959: 316], cf. also s.v. *ganse*.

●PFRIS: *gunga

ø-grade **gungan* next to stem **gang-* (also ODan. *gunco* 'swing'), cf. s.v. *ganse* (recently Mottausch 1996:).

We may also assume a raising of (**a* >) **o* > *u*, which has a parallel in H *gung* < *gong* < **gang* (cf. s.v. *gong*; van Helten 1890: 4), but leaves the ODan. parallel unaccounted for (secondarily arisen, cf. Seebold 1970: 215 ?).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 213-6

see also: *ganse*, *gong*

H

hach adj., adv. 'high, big, much, special, important, severe' PIE

OFris. also *hāg*

This by-form shows the spelling *-g* for the neutralised final velar fricative.

●PFRIS: *hāh

Goth. *hauhs*, ON *hár*, *hór*, OE *hēah*, OS *hōh*, OHG, MHG *hō(h)*, MLG *hō(ch)*, ODu. *ho*, MDu. *hooch*, *hoge* 'high'; cf. also:

Goth. *hauhjan*, OE *hēan*, OS *hōhian*, OHG *hō hen*, etc. 'praise, elevate'; with Verner's law OFris. *hēia* < **haugja-* 'elevate, erect' (q.v.), cf. also ON *haugr*, OHG *houc* 'hill' < **haug-*, etc.

●PGMC: **hauha-*

●PIE: **kouko-*

POKORNY: 589

A formation to **keu-k-* 'bend, curve' (extension of **keu-* 'bend'), cf. Lith. *kaūkas* 'swelling'; probably not here Skt. *kuca-* 'female breast', *kucāti* 'curve' (Mayrhofer 1956-82: 361). As to the Gmc. semantic development cf. Lith. *kaūkaras* 'hill', Toch. A *koc*, Toch. B *kauc* 'high, up, above'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 213-6

see also: *hachtid*, *hage*, *hap*, *har*, *heia* 1.

hachma vb. + pron. 'ought one' PIE

Syntagm containing *hāga* 'belong to, be entitled to, have to, ought to' and *ma* 'one' (indef. pron.), cf. s.vv.

hachmat vb. + pron. 'ought one it' PIE

Syntagm containing *hāga* 'belong to, be entitled to, have to, ought to' and *ma* 'one' (indef. pron.) and *hi* (neuter *hit*, encl. *-t*) 'he', cf. s.vv.

hachtid subst. f. 'religious feast' PIE

Compound of *hāch* 'high, etc.' and *tīd* 'time', cf. s.vv.

Also in: ON *hātīþ*, OE *hēachtīd*, OS *hōhetīd* 'id.', MHG *hōch(ge)zīt* 'religious feast, marriage', MDu. *hooch(ge)tide*, *hoghetide*, *hoochtijt* 'feast, religious feast', etc.

-had subst.m.? 'battle (as part of NP)' PIE [?]

In: *Willehad*, *Willehadus*

Functioning as the second member of a polysyllabic NP, the final vowel in **hadu(z)* was lost.

●PFRIS: **-had(u)*

Goth. *-hathas* NP, ON *hōþ* (poet.) 'battle', OE *hcaþu-*, OS *hathu-*, OHG *hadu-*, *hadu-*, MHG *hader* 'fighting, quarrel', MDu. *hadc-* 'NP'

●PGMC: **haþuz*

● No certain IE etymology.

The word has been reconstructed as PIE **katu-* [Pokorny 1959: 534] under reference to Skt. *sātru-* 'enemy', *sātāyati* 'hew down, throw down', Gaul. *Catu-* NP, OIr. *cath* 'battle, army'. Perhaps (also) to Gr. *kótos* 'anger, grudge'. As an alternative for the obsolete reconstruction containing **a*, one can start from **kH(e)d-*. On the other hand, the Skt. and Gr. words can be separated from Gmc. and Celtic, which is also suggested by the semantics. The remaining Gmc.-Celtic etymon has a perfect semantical counterpart in Old Bulgarian *kotora*, Russian OCS *kotera* 'battle'. From an IE point of view, this comparison yields formal problems, however. The different initial consonant in the Slavic

words (*k- rather than *k-) as well as the limited distribution (Gmc.-Celtic-Slavic) suggest a European substratum word.

Lit: de Vries 1977: 278-9

hafd = *hāved*, q.v.

haga = *āga*, q.v.

hage adv. 'high, big, much' PIE

●PFRIS: *hāge

Adverbial formation to *hāch*, q.v.

see also: hach, hachtid, hap, har, heia 1.

hagere vb. + pron. 'is he entitled to' PIE

Syntagm containing *hāga* 'belong to, be entitled to, have to, ought to' and *hi* (encl. Nsm -re) 'he', cf. s.vv.

-hald adj. 'inclined (to), pointed to' PIE

●PFRIS: *-hald

Goth. *wilja|halpei* 'partiality', ON *hallr*, OE *heald* 'inclined', OS *hold* 'inclined, merciful', OHG *hald* 'tended forward', MHG *halt*, MLG *hōlt*, *hālt* 'inclined to, loyal', MDu. *-halt* (east), *hout*, *houd(t)*, *hold*, *huld* 'inclined to, fortunate, loyal (both towards lower and upper social classes)'

●PGMC: *haldaz

●PIE: *kolto-

POKORNY: 552, 600-602

The exact attribution is disputed, cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *hulps*. Most probably, the word belongs to √kel- 'incline', usually found in the abundantly attested extension *kl-(e)j-, cf. Skt. *śrāyati* 'lean on', Gr. *klīnō*, *klīnō* 'incline, lean on', Lat. *clīnō* 'bend, incline'. Simple root in Lith. *šalis* 'side', however. The semantic development towards 'loyal' and 'observing social responsibility (in a feudal system)' which can be traced in Gmc. has an exact parallel in Lat., cf. *clēmens* 'kind' (ē unclear; perhaps *Kleiomēnos?), *cliēns* 'client, protected one' (not belonging to this etymon).

see also: bihalva, half, halve, helde 1., hlid

halda str. vb. VII 'protect, guard, keep, hold, preserve, beget, pay' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *halda

Goth. *haldan* 'feed, graze cattle', ON *halda*, OE *healdan*, OS *haldan*, OHG *haltan*, MHG *halten*, *halden*, MLG *hōlden*, *hālden*, MDu. *halden*, *ho(c)lden*, *helden*, *houden*, *houwen*, *huden* 'keep, guard', cf. also:

*huldi-: OE *gehield* 'guard, custody, supervision', OFris. *held* 'depository, safe-deposit' (q.v.);

*haldin-: OE *hield*, *hyld* 'protection, secret place', OHG *haltī* '(the act of) keeping', MLG *helde(ne)*, OFris. *helde* (cf. s.v. *helde* 2.), MDu. *halde*, *he(c)lde*, *hilde* '(foot-)fetter'

etc.

●PGMC: *haldanaN

●PIE: *kel- [?]

POKORNY: 548

Skt. *kaláyati*, Gr. *kéllō* 'drive', Lat. *celer* 'fast'.

This root apparently meant 'drive'; the connection of the Gmc. word is based on a semantical shift 'drive cattle' > 'graze cattle (pasture)' > 'guard', etc.

The Gmc. formation is unique among the representatives of this root. Moreover, semantical problems are recognized by Seebold (1970: 249) who characterizes the connection of Gmc. *halda and PIE *kel- as 'völlig hypothetisch'. As an alternative, he proposes a connection with PIE $\sqrt{k^w}el-$ 'turn, move around sth.', cf. Skt. *cáрати* 'move, walk', Gr. *pélō* 'move', OFris. *hals* 'neck (i.e. what turns)' (q.v.), with possible (but uncertain!) loss of the labial element of *k^w > *hw before rounded vowels (and apparently subsequent spread to *k^wel- >> *kel-). Apart from these formal problems, we have to assume a dental extension in Gmc. *hal-d-.

Schrijver (p.c.) suggests to me a comparison with *kel- 'cover' [Pokorny 1959: 553-4] > 'protect', which has a parallel in Celtic, cf. Welsh *celu* < *kel- 'cover, hide'; *gogel* 'protect' < *upo-kel-.

see also: haldere 1., 2., hals, held, helde 2.

haldere 1 subst. m. 'accused (in court)' PIE

●PFRIS: *haldiri

Substantival io-stem formation (type Goth. *-areis*) to *hald-, cf. s.v. *halda*.

The same meaning is found in MDu., cf. *houdere* which also means 'possessor, etc.' (cf. MLG *hōlder(e)* 'id.'). The semantical development 'possessor' > 'accused' would have been through an intermediate stage 'possessor of the disputed goods' (cf. the attestation in R₁ IV, 42). von Richthofen (1840) s.v. rather assumes an intermediate stage 'defendant'.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 12

see also: halda, haldere 2., hals, held, helde 2.

haldere 2 subst. m. 'thumb' PIE

●PFRIS: *haldiri

A substantival io-stem (type Goth. *-areis*) formation to *hald-, cf. s.v. *halda*.

The same meaning is found in MLG, cf. *hōlder(e)*, where it is due to OFris. influence.

Lit: von Richthofen 1840 s.v.

see also: halda, haldere 1., hals, held, helde 2.

half adj. 'half' Gmc.

OFris. also *hal*

This form represents a later, OWFris. development from *half.

●PFRIS: *half

Goth. *halbs*, ON *halfr*, OE *healf*, OS *half*, OHG *halb*, *halp*, MHG *halp*, MLG, MDu. *half*, *hallelf*, *alf* 'half'

●PGMC: *halba-

● No certain IE etymology

The form has been derived from *(s)kelp-, cf. Lith. *skleĩpti* 'polish', Lat. *scalpō* 'cut with a sharp tool'. Apart from the doubts one may have as to the Lat.-Lith. comparison (Schrijver 1991: 431), Gmc. would be the only branch without *s-. Equally uncertain is the further connection of the formation to √(s)kelH- in Gr. *skállō* 'dig, weed', Lith. *skėlti* 'split' (Pokorny 1959: 923-7). Alternatively, one may assume *k̥ol-b^ho- to √kel-, cf. Lith. *šalis* 'side' (cf. s.v. -hald reff. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *halbs*).

The best solution seems to be the assumption of a substratum word, however. see also: *bihalva*, -hald, *halve*, *helde* 1., *hlid*

halia wk. vb. 2 'get, take away, rob, marry' WGmc.

●PFRIS: *halia

(ON *hala* ← MLG OE *geholian*, OS *halon*, OHG *halōn*, *holōn*, MHG *halu*, *holn*, MLG *hālen*, MDu. *halen* 'get')

●PGMC: *halōjanaN [PWGmc.]

● No IE etymology.

The word is only WGmc. It has been connected with *kelh₁-, cf. Gr. *kalō*, Lat. *calō* 'call' (Pokorny 1959: 548-9), but this is hardly possible from a semantical point of view. Most probably a substratum word (perhaps cognate with isolated Gr. *kālōs* 'rope'? Mansion apud de Vries 1992 s.v. *halen*).

The connection with Arm. *k'alem* 'collect, take away; weed' (Holthausen 1927b: 191 [after Lidén] — he also quotes *k'il* 'hand') seems possible from a semantical point of view. However, the Arm. word is connected with Gr. *skállō* 'dig, scrape' by Ačayan (1971-1979: 541), who explicitly rejects Holthausen's etymology. A reconstruction *sk(e)lH- presents a formal possibility to connect Gr. and Arm. (Pokorny 1959: 923 [cf. s.v. *half*] does not mention the Arm. forms, however).

hals subst. m. 'neck, (=life)' PIE [?]

Also in *frīhals* lit. 'free neck' = 'freedom'.

●PFRIS: *hals

Goth., ON *hals*, OE *heals*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu. *hals* 'neck'

●PGMC: *halsaz

●PIE: *k^wolso- [?]

POKORNY: 639

The word is often connected with PIE √k^wel- 'turn, move around sth.', cf. Skt. *cāratī* 'move, walk', Gr. *pélō* 'move' (Pokorny 1959: 639-640), cf. also Seebold (1970: 249) and s.v. *halda*. The neck would be 'that which turns'. However, this etymology presupposes a dubious loss of the labial element of *k^w > *hw before the following rounded vowel.

The formation *k^wolso- meaning neck would have a parallel in Lat. *collus*, -um 'neck' (Krahe 1954: 75). Or is it a substratum word inherited in these two branches?

A connection of *collus* with *celsus* 'high', as is suggested by de Vries (1992: s.v. *hals*, after Falk), seems less probable for semantic reasons; the word is better grouped with Gr. *kolōnós* and Lith. *kálnas* 'hill' to *kelh₃- (Schrijver 1991: 406).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *halda*, *haldere* 1., 2., *held*, *helde* 2.

halsdok subst. m 'shawl' PIE [?]

Compound of *hals* 'neck' and *-dōk* 'cloth', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OHG *halstuoh*, MHG *halstuoch*, MLG *halsdōk*, MDu. *halsdoec* 'id.'

halswerdene subst. f. '(fine for) injury of the (muscles of the) neck' PIE

Compound of *hals* 'neck' and *-werdene* 1. 'injury', cf. s.vv.

halve subst. f. 'side, angle' PIE [?]

In *fon...* *halvon* 'because of, from the side of' and prep. *bihalva* 'except', q.v. OFris. also *hal(1)e*

In: *fon des keisers hallem*, *fan des wiues halum*, etc. (examples from von Richthofen s.v. *halvon*, *hallem*; von Richthofen (1840) has a separate entry for the prepositional use of the noun *halve*). This form represents a later, OWFris. development from *halv- (cf. also *half* ~ *hal*).

●PFRIS: *halvi

Goth. *halba*, ON *halfa*, OE *healf*, OS *halba*, OHG *halba*, MHG *halbe*, MLG *halve*, *half*, MDu. *-halve* 'side'

●PGMC: *halbo

● No certain IE etymology

Cf. s.v. *half*.

see also: *bihalva*, *-hald*, *half*, *helde* 1., *hfid*

hanzoch adj. 'dependent from, subject to (e.g. as a serf)' PIE

R₁ also *heinzoch* ~ *heinzioch*. These forms perhaps represent a contamination of the original form *hanzoch* with OFris. *heine* 'famuli, servants' (van Helten 1890: 114; cf. also Heinertz 1915: 314). The spellings *z*, *zi* point to /ǵ/, cf. also:

OFris. also *hendsegch*, *-zeg*, *-zech*

This form shows the spelling <e> rather than <a> for æ, i.e. the result of 'partial' i-unlaut (van Helten 1906: 175ff, Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX) and different orthographical representations of the final fricative (as a result of neutralisation of voicedness). The forms from R show the typical suffix form *-och* where the other OFris. MSS show *-ich* (*-ech*), cf. also *-dēdoch* next to *-dēdich*, etc.

●PFRIS: *hængih, *hængulh

OHG *gihengig* 'agreeing, permissive', MLG *hengich* 'permissive', *gehengich* 'inclined to, loyal to', MDu. *gehengich* 'permissive, subject to'; cf. also:

OE *gehenge* 'inclined to, permissive', *gehonge* 'disposed, inclined to', MDu. *gehange* (?; hapax, hardly readable) 'inclined to', *gehengelijc*, *gehenclijc*, *gehinclijc* 'permissive';

MHG *gehenge*, *gehengede* 'permission', etc. cf. the verbal formations:

str. *hanh/ganaN: Goth. *hāhan* 'keep in suspense', ON *hanga* 'hang', OE *hōn* 'hang, crucify', OS *hāhan* 'crucify', OHG *hāhan* 'hang, crucify', MHG *hāhen*, MLG *hān*, *hangen*, OFris. *hwa* (q.v.) MDu. *hanghen*, *haen* 'hang';

weak *hangeja-: ON *hengja*, OE *hengan* 'cause to hang', OHG *hengen* 'allow, slacken the reins', MLG *hengen*, 'cause to hang, allow', OFris. *hingia* 'cause to hang', MDu. (*ghe*)*henghen* 'allow';

weak *hangō/ēja-: ON *hanga*, OE *hongian*, OS *hangon*, OHG *hangēn*, OFris. *hongia* 'hang';

etc.

●PGMC: *hangih- [P(W)Gmc.]

●PIE: *konk-

POKORNY: 566

Hitt. *ga-an-ki* 'hang', Skt. *śāṅkate* 'doubt', Lat. *cunctor* 'hesitate'. One may start from a meaning 'hang' that resulted in a meaning 'doubt, hesitate' through an intermediate stage 'geistig in Schweben sein' (Pokorny 1959: loc. cit.).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 249-250, also on improbable alternative etymologies.

see also: heinz(i)och, hongia, hwa; -higen, hion(a), sinhigen

hap subst. m. 'heap, crowd' PIE [?]

In: *to hāpc* 'together'.

●PFRIS: *hāp

OE *hēap*, OS *hōp*, OHG, MHG *houf*, MLG *hōp(e)*, MDu. (*h*)*oop*, *hoep*, *hoip* 'heap', cf. also:

ODu. *hōpon* 'copulari';

*hūpa-: OHG *hūfo*, MHG *hūfe*, MLG *hupe*, *hūpen* 'id.'

●PGMC: *haupaz [P(W)Gmc.]

●PIE: *kou-b- [?]

POKORNY: 590

Perhaps an extension to *keu- 'bend', cf. also s.v. *hāch*. However, the formation is restricted to WGmc., the ablaut form *hūp-* (< *kuH-b-?; however Gr. *kúbos* 'vertebra' points to *ku-b-) is problematic, and the meaning has little to do with 'bend' (of body parts, i.e. the reconstructable meaning of *k(e)u-b-; cf. also Pokorny 1959 loc. cit. as to this latter problem). Probably the word is not IE (Beekes 1996).

see also: hach, hachtid, hage, har, heia 1.

har adj. 'high' PIE

●PFRIS: *hār

A new positive form beside *hāch*, arisen as a result of false reanalysis of the comparative *hārā < *hāhra < *hāhira (van Helten 1907a: 165; pace van

Helten 1890: 117-8).

see also: hach, hachtid, hage, hap, heia 1.

hara Gp pers. pron. 3rd pers. 'their' PIE

Scribal error for hiara, q.v.

see also: hi, hiara

hars subst. n. 'horse' Gmc.

OFris. also *hers*, *hors*, *ros*

The Eastern forms *hers/hars* can be derived from *hress- < *hrass- + following *e* versus *hrass- (without following *e*), both showing metathesis, cf. van Helten (1907a: 164-5). The forms showing o-vocalism are OWFris. The form must show another ablaut-grade, see below.

●PFRIS: *hars, *hors

OS *hers*, MDu. (*h*)ars, (*h*)ers; beside ON *hross*, OE *hors*, OS *hros*, OHG (*h*)ros, MHG *ros*, *ors*, MLG *ors(ch)*, *örs*, *urs*, MDu. (*h*)ors, *orse*, *ros* (Northern Dial.) 'horse'; cf. also:

ON *unghryssi* 'colt'

The original meaning 'horse used in a battle' gradually disappears in MDu. but is well-attested in the other Dial.

●PGMC: *harss- ~ *hurss- [?; see below]

● No certain IE etymology.

The following etymologies have been proposed, cf. de Vries (1992) s.v. *ros* (+ ref.) and Pfeifer (1989: s.v. *Roß*):

— derivation from PIE $\sqrt{\text{k}ers}$ - 'run', cf. Lat. *curro* 'run', Gaul. *carros* 'vehicle', MHG *hurren* 'move quickly', which yields formal problems (geminate *-ss-, therefore doubted by Pokorny 1959: 583-4); still, this is mentioned as the only etymology in Franck et al. (1976);

— dental derivation from PIE $\sqrt{\text{k}er-d}$ -, cf. Gr. *kradāō* 'stagger', OIr. *fo-ceird* 'throw' [Pokorny 1959: 934], which is unsatisfactory from a semantical point of view; furthermore, the formal development is complicated: *k_ṛd- would yield Gmc. *hurs-, *kord- would yield Gmc. *hars-; in order to uphold this etymology, one must assume Schwebcablaut (also in ON *hrata* 'fall, stagger', etc., cf. Pokorny loc. cit.): *krod-/*k_ṛd- > *hras-/*hurs- >> *hras-/*hrus-;

NB: For some reason de Vries (1992) reconstructs *hrup_ṛpa- to a 'root' *(s)kert-; moreover, *-dt- would yield *-tt- > *-þþ- > *-ss- already in PGmc.;

— connection with ON *horskr* 'intelligent, acute, fast', OE *horsc* 'intelligent, acute', OS *horsk*, OHG *horsc* 'fast', which has an unclear etymology (de Vries 1977 s.v. *horskr*; perhaps to $\sqrt{\text{k}ers}$ -?!, see above); this is semantically unsatisfactory;

— a loan from an Iranian language (Sarmatian), cf. Ossetic *wyrs/urs* 'stallion' < *ur_ṣan-; the Iranian word was also borrowed in Uralic languages, cf. Finnish *varsa* 'stallion', etc.

The last explanation seems preferable. Pfeifer (1989) also thinks in this direction (an Eastern 'Wanderwort'), whereas Kluge (1989) simply states 'Herkunft unklar' (both s.v. *Ro*). Despite the usual pattern of WGmc. r-metathesis (cf. especially van Loon 1986: 135), the forms with *hrVs- are to be considered later developments from *hVrs-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

harsum adj. 'obedient' PIE

●PFRIS: *hārsum

Compound of the stem *hār* 'hear', cf. s.v. *hēra* 1. and *-sum* adj. suffix, cf. s.v. *sum*.

Also in: OE (*ge*)*hīersom*, OS *un*[*g*]i*hōrsam*, OHG (*gi*)*hōrsam*, MHG (*ge*)*hōrsam*, MLG *hōrsam*, *-um*, *gehōrsam*, MDu. *hoorsam*, *horsae*m, *gcho(o)rsa(e)m*, *gehoirsa(e)m* 'id.'

***hasa** subst. m. 'hare' PIE

In: *hasskerd* 'having a harelip'

●PFRIS: *hasa

ON *heri*, OE *hara*; OHG *haso*, MHG *has(e)*, MLG *hāse*, MDu. (*h*)*ase*, *haes* 'hare'

Note the Verner variation *r/s*, which may be paradigmatic in origin but was levelled out dialectally. OFris. follows the continental-WGmc. pattern.

●PGMC: *hasan-/*hazan-

●PIE: *k_h1-s-

POKORNY: 533

Skt. *śasā-*, OPruss. *sasins* 'hare'; an s-stem *k_h1-es- to *k_h1- 'grey' (Lubotsky 1989: 56-7, Schrijver 1991: 91), cf. *k_h1-oi-ro- in OCS *sěrbъ*, ON *hárr*, OE *hār*, *k_h1-ei-ro in OIr. *cíar* 'dark brown' (suggesting *h₁ as no colouring of the vowel *e took place); cf. furthermore Lat. *cānus* < *kas-no- 'grey', ON *hōss* < *has-wa- < *k_h1s-uo-, OE *hasu*, OHG *hasan* 'grey-brown, brownish', MHG *heswe* 'pale, faint'.

see also: *hasskerd*, *hēra* 2., *hērskipi*

hasskerd adj. 'having a harelip' PIE

Compound of *hasa 'hare' and *-skerd* 'split in two', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 306

see also: *hasa, *hera* 2., *herskipi*, *-skerd*, *sker*, *skere*, *-skirma*, *skredene*

have subst. f. 'possessions, property, especially: movables' Gmc.

OFris. also *heve*

This mutated form is explained from a different formation *hawīni- van Helten 1890: 156, cf. MHG *hebe* 'id.'

●PFRIS: *havi

OHG *haba*, MHG *habe*, MLG *hāve*, MDu. *have*; cf. also:

Goth. *haban*, ON *hafa*, OHG *habēn*, MHG *habēn*, *hān*, MLG *hāven*, MDu.

havan; OS *hebbian*, OE *habban*, MLG *hebben*, *habben*, *heffen*, *haffen*, OFris. *hebba* (q.v.), *habba*, ODu. *hebon*, MDu. (*h*)*ebben* 'have'

●PGMC: *habō

● No IE etymology

The semantic similarity with Lat. *habēre* 'have' is striking, but this form suggests a PIE reconstruction *g^hh₁b^h- (Schrijver 1991: 92-3; cf. also OIr. *gaibid* 'take, seize', etc., Pokorny 1959: 407-9) and cannot be compared with Gmc. *hab- < *kh₂p-, cf. also Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *hebben*. From a formal point of view, a comparison with Lat. *capiō* 'seize', Gr. *káptō* 'seize eagerly' < *kh₂p- is obvious (Pokorny 1959: 527-8), but we have to assume a semantic shift towards 'have' in Gmc. As a solution to this problem, a contamination of *g^hh₁b^h- and *kh₂p- was assumed by Collitz and taken over by subsequent scholars (general ref. to the discussion in Feist 1939, Lehmann 1986 s.v. *haban*, de Vries 1992 s.v. *hebben*).

I think that it is an attractive assumption that European *g^hab^h- 'take, bring, keep' and *kap- 'take' represent two variants of a substratum etymon (Seebold 1970: 219):

*g^hab^h- in: Lat. *habere* 'have', OIr. *gaibid* 'take, seize', Lith. *gabėnti* 'transport';

Gmc. *geb- in: Goth. *giban*, ON *gefa*, OE *giefan*, OS *geban*, OHG *geban*, MHG *geben*, MLG *gēven*, OFris. *jeva* (q.v.), ODu. *gevan*, MDu. *geven* 'give', cf. s.vv. *jeft*, *jeva*, *jeve*;

*kap- in: Lat. *capiō* 'seize', Gr. *káptō* 'seize eagerly', Gmc. *hab- 'have'.

Schrijver (p.c.) suggests to me that the semantic difference between 'have' and 'take' may be expressed by the use of the suffix *-ch₁-, cf. Lat. *habēre* < *g^hab^h-ch₁-ic/o-, Goth. *haban* < *kap-ch₁-ic/o- as against the other forms such as OIr. *gaibid* < *g^hab^h-i-ti, Gr. *káptō* < *kap-i-ti, etc.

As to PGmc. *geb- 'give' belonging to this root cf. Seebold (1970: 219): '... Die Bedeutungen 'nehmen' und 'geben' treten öfters im gleichen Wort auf...'

To this root furthermore Gmc. 'lift': Goth. *hafjan*, ON *hefja*, OS *heffian*, OHG *heffen*, MLG *heffen*, MDu. *heffen*; OE *hebban*, OS *hebbian*, OHG *hevan*, MHG *heben*, *heven*, MLG *hēven*, OFris. *heva*, ODu. *hevon*, MDu. *heven*.

Formally, the consonantal variation in *kap- ~ *g^hab^h- reminds one of that in the substratum word Lat. *caper* 'buck', Gr. *kápros* 'wild boar', OIr. *caera* 'sheep', ON *hafr* 'buck' < *kap-ro- ~ OIr. *gabor*, Gaul. *Gabro-* 'buck' < *g^hab^h- (Schrijver p.c.).

We seem to be dealing with a European substratum word, perhaps belonging to Kuiper's category A₁ 1995.

see also: *geve*, *hebba*, *hef*, *heftnese*, *jeft*, *jeva*, *jeve*

haved subst. n. 'head' Gmc.

OFris. also *hāwed*, *hāvđ*, *hāfd*, *hād*

The by-form *hāwed* shows the OFris. merger of *-v- and *-w- (Sjölin 1969: 26);

the other forms show generalisation of the syncopated stem from trisyllabic forms, e.g. Gs *havedes > *hafdes* (E) (with final devoicing; etymological spelling *havdes* [H]). As in MDu. (see below), further simplification to *hād* could occur in OWFris.

●PFRIS: *hāved (/hāfed/)

Goth. *haubiþ*, ON *haufuþ*, OE *heafod*, OS *hōbid*, OHG *haubit*, MHG *houb(e)t*, *houpt*, MLG *hövet*, ODu. *hōvid*, MDu. *hovet*, *hooft*, *hoift*, *hoot*, *hood*, *hoit*; ON *hōfuþ*, OE *hafud* 'head'

●PGMC: *haubid-, *haubud-; *hafud-

● Unclear IE etymology

We state the following problems:

(1) the only form that can formally be compared is Lat. *caput* (Pokorny 1959: 529-530). The alleged Indian cognates are unreliable, cf. Skt. *kapuc-chalam* 'tuft of hair on the hind side of the head', *kapālam* 'cup' (Mayrhofer 1956-82: I, 300, 302 s.vv.; Schrijver 1991: 100-1);

(2) the vocalism in the first syllable: *au ~ *a. It has been argued that one vowel is original whereas the other arose as a result of some secondary development. If one wishes to maintain the comparison with Lat., a must be original. The diphthong might be due to influence to the u in the following syllable; but:

(3) the suffix forms *-id-/-ud- remain unclear.

(4) the status of formally and semantically resembling but incompatible forms such as Ir. *cúäch*, Welsh *cawg* 'cup' < *kapuko- (or: *kasuko-, *kaŋko-) presents an extra complication.

It seems clear that we are dealing with a substratum word. *kaup-i/ut- ~ *kap-ut-. An exhaustive discussion of the forms and complications is found in Beekes (1996).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

haveddede subst. f. 'serious crime' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *dede* 'crime, criminal deed; wound(ing)', cf. s.vv.

haveddusinge subst. f. 'dizziness, vertigo capitis' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *-dūsinge* 'vertigo, dizziness', cf. s.vv.

havedlas adj. 'without leader' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *-lās* 2. '-less', cf. s.vv.

havedleine subst. f. 'rope' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *-leine* 'rope', cf. s.vv.

Holthausen (1924: 462-3) reconstructs *lagina- 'Lage, Legung', which can also account for *leinmerk* 'fixed merk'. Later (Holthausen 1925: 487), he prefers to assume that *ei* is a spelling for *i* and assumes a meaning 'rope', cf. also Buma (1961) s.v. *-leine*. Both Holthausen and Buma reject van Helten's emendation

of *havedleine* to **havedsleinc* with alleged ***sleine* < **slagina-* (van Helten 1907a: 166).

havedlemithe subst. f. 'mutilation to the head' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *lemithe* 'mutilation, paralysis', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 166

havedles(e)ne subst. f. 'headransom' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *-lē(s)ne* 'ransom', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 166

havedned subst. f. 'case of emergency, serious crime' PIE

Compound of *hāved* 'head' and *nēd* 'danger, force, need', cf. s.vv.

hawa str. vb. VII 'hew, destroy' PIE

OFris. also *houwa*

This by-form attests to the variation <au> ~ <ou> ~ <a>/_<w> (Sjölin 1969: 24).

•PFRIS: **hāwa*

ON *hoggva*, OE *hāwan*, OS pp *-hauuan*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, MLG *houwen*, *hoggen*, ODu. *hauuan*, MDu. *houwen*, *hauwen*, *houden* 'hew'

•PGMC: **hawwanaN*

•PIE: **keuh₂-* (**keh₂u-*)

POKORNY: 535

On this etymon, cf. Schrijver (1991: 285-7). The laryngeal is proved by Lith. *káuti* 'hit, fight' < **kouH-* or **keh₂u-* and the Gmc. Verschärfung in **kaww-* < **kouH-*. We must start from **kHu-* in view of Toch. A *kot-*, Toch. B *kaut-* 'kill' < **keh₂u-T-*. Lat. *cūdō* 'beat (grain), pound, hammer' can be derived from **keuH-dh-*. Gr. *keássai* 'cleave wood, pound, crush', present *kéazō* may reflect **keuh₂-* rather than **kesh₂-* (supposedly in Skt. *śas(a)ti* 'cut'), cf. Schrijver (1991: 287).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 251

hebba wk. vb. I 'have, own, get, receive, keep, maintain' PIE

OFris. also *habba*

This OWFris. by-form shows the frequent variation <a,e>, cf. Steller (1928: 10).

•PFRIS: **hebba*

Goth. *haban*, ON *hafa*, OHG *habēn*, MHG *habēn*, *hān*, MDu. *haven*; OS *hebbian*, OE *habban*, MLG *hebben*, ODu. *hebon*, MDu. *(h)ebben* 'have'

•PGMC: **habejanaN*, *habejanaN*

The Frisian forms show the second, i.e. the weak 1 formation.

cf. further s.v. *have*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

see also: *geve*, *have*, *hcf*, *heftnesc*, *jefc*, *jeva*, *jeve*

hebbere vb. + pron. 'has (subj.) he' PIE

Syntagm containing *hebban* 'have, own, get, receive, keep, maintain' and *hi* 'he', cf. s.vv.

hef subst. n. 'sea' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hef

ON *haf*, OE *hæf* 'sea', MHG *hap*, *habe* 'port, sea', MLG, MDu. *haf* 'sea'

●PGMC: *hafan

The origin of the word remains unclear. In spite of such NGmc. evidence as *upphaf* 'sea', *haf* 'lifting up', Mod. Norwegian *hav* 'lift up a net' hardly to 'lift' (Goth. *hafjan*, ON *hefja*, etc. [cf. s.v. *have*]; in view of the tide??).

A cognate formation seems to be the word for '(sea)port', ON *hōfin*, OE *hæfen(e)*, MLG *hāve(ne)*, *hāven*, MDu. *haven(e)* < *hab-an-ō.

Probably a substratum word *kap- taken over from the non-IE inhabitants of the coastal area (also de Vries 1992 s.v. *haven*), cf. also OIr. *cúan* 'harbour, bay; sea, waters' < *kap-no-. We may be dealing with an original word for 'sea', whereas the etymon OFris. *se I*. 'sea' (q.v.), etc. originally indicated an inland water (cf. De Vries s.v. *zcc*).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305; de Vries 1977 201 s.v. *haf* on the NGmc. evidence.

see also: *geve*, *have*, *hebban*, *heftnese*, *jeft*, *jeva*, *jeve*

heftnese subst. f. 'arrest, imprisonment, captivity' PIE

●PFRIS: *heftnisi

A deverbative feminine *-nese-formation (Ahlsson 1960: 108ff.) to *haftja-, cf. Goth. *haftjan* 'hold to, adhere to', OE *hæftan*, OFris. *hefta* 'fortify, secure', MDu. *hechten* 'adhere to, take prisoner', etc.; in its turn a denominative of *hafta-, cf. Lat. *captus* (also de Vries 1992 s.v. *hechten*); thus ultimately related with the 'have' etc., cf. s.v. *have*.

Also in: OE *gehæftnys* 'captivity', MLG *hecht(c)nisse*, *heft(e)nisse*, MDu. *hechtenisse* 'arrest, imprisonment'.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 119

see also: *geve*, *have*, *hebban*, *hef*, *jeft*, *jeva*, *jeve*

heia 1 wk. vb. 1 'raise, erect' PIE

●PFRIS: *hēia

Goth. *hauhjan*, OE *hīcan*, OS *hōhian*, OHG *hō hen* 'praise, elevate', MHG *hōhen*, *hœhen*, MLG *hōgen*, MDu. *ho(o)gen*, *hoegen* 'raise, elevate'; cf. also: ON *hangr*, OHG *houc* 'hill' < *haug-, etc.

●PGMC: *hauhjanaN, *haugjanaN

cf. further s.v. *häch*

see also: *hach*, *hachtid*, *hage*, *hap*, *har*

heia 2 wk. vb. 1 'enclose the court, open or hold a session of the court, have a session of the court according to the legal procedure' PIE

●PFRIS: *heia

OE *þing]* (*ge*)*hegan* (poet.) 'enclose the court', OHG *umbibi-*, *bi-*, *untar]**heggen* 'fence in', MHG *hegen* 'fence in', *gerihte hegen* 'enclose the court', *reht hegen* 'hold a session of the court', MLG *hēgen(en)*, *heyen* 'fence in, hold a session of the court', MDu. *een gerichte, gerechte]* *hegen(en)* 'enclose the court', *geheget gerichte* 'session of the court held according to the legal procedure'; These collocations clearly refer to the old custom to fence in a place where the court was held. In ON, the old verb 'fence in' was replaced by the verb *heyja* 'perform, achieve', cf. ON *heyja þing* = OE *hīegan* 'perform, achieve' < **hauja-*. The OE collocation is only retained in poetry, cf. Stanley (1979: especially p. 87 on the possible origin from old legal usage); cf. also:

**haga-*: OE *hāeg* 'fence, enclosure, fenced place', OHG *hag*, *hac* 'city', MHG *hag*, *hac* 'fence, enclosure, fenced place';

**hagō-*: MLG f. *hāge*, MDu. f. *hage* 'hedge (functioning as a fence), bush';

**hagan-*: ON *hagi* 'meadow, pasture', OE *haga* 'yard', OS *hago* 'pasture', ODu. *hagin-*, MLG, MDu. *hage* 'hedge';

**hagana-*: OHG, OS *hagan* 'thorn-bush', MHG *hagen*, MLG *hāgen*, MDu. *hagen* 'fence';

**hagjō-*: OE *hecg*, OHG *hegga*, *hecka*, MHG *hegge*, *hecke*, MDu. *hegge* 'hedge';

**hagi-* (f): MHG *hege*, MLG *hēge*, *hēch*, MDu. (east) *hege* 'hedge';
etc.

●PGMC: *hagjanaN

●PIE: *kogh^h

POKORNY: 518

Welsh *cae* < **kagjo-* 'enclosure', perhaps also *caulae* 'enclosure, sheep-fold' (Schrijver 1995: 306). The limited distribution suggests a West-IE innovation. ON *heyja*, OE *hīegan* 'achieve, perform' < **hauj-* < **kou-j-* may belong to a PIE root *(s)keu- [Pokorny 1959: 950-51], but the only cognates would be OCS *prēkutiti* 'decorate, adorn', *kutiti* 'machinari' (and later Slavic cognates) and Gr. *skēnos* 'implement' and Gr. cognates. The latter etymon has no etymology, cf. both Frisk (1960-1972) and Chantraine (1968) s.vv.

The Slavic forms are thought to belong ultimately to a word **koutā* 'face?' by Pokorny (1959: 951).

heinz(i)och cf. s.v. *hanzoch*.

hel adj. 'complete, full; firm (i.e. ground)' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hēl

Goth. *hails* 'hale', ON *heill*, OE *hāl*, OS *hēl*, OHG *heil* 'hale, sound', MHG *heil* 'hale', MLG *hē(i)l* 'complete', MDu. *heel*, *hiel* 'hale, sound, complete'; cf. also:

noun: ON *heil* 'lucky portent', OE *hāl* 'luck, health', OS *hēl*, OHG, MHG *heil*, MLG *hēil* 'good luck', MDu. *heil(e)*, *hele*, *heel* 'good luck, joy';

verb: Goth. (*ga*)*hailjan*, ON *heila*, OE *hālan*, OS *hēlian*, OHG *heilan*, MHG *heilen* 'heal', MLG *hē(i)len* 'heal, salute, greet', OFris. *hela* 'heal, make in

order', MDu. *he(e)len, heilen, hielen* 'heal, make complete, unite'.

On *hail-ig/ag- 'holy', cf. s.v. *hēlich, -ech*;

●PGMC: *hailaz

● No IE etymology.

OCS *cělъ* 'hale, whole', *cěljo* 'heal', OPruss. *kails* 'hail!', Asf *kailüstikun* 'health'; not Welsh *coel* 'omen', cf. Schrijver (1991: 268).

Given the limited distribution (Gmc., BS.) probably an innovation based on a substratum word (Pacc Pokorny 1959: 520). Reff. as to an origin in a sacred context in Lehmann (1986) s.v. *hails*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

see also: *helich, -ech, helichdrachta, heliga, helega*

held subst. n. 'depository, safe-deposit' PIE

In ... *sa hwersa ma enne menotere bifari mith falske tha mith fade...*, an *sina helde...* (VII, 18-19) '...if one catches a mint-master with false money or coins of less value... in his safe-deposit...'. On the interpretation of Ds *helde* as belonging to a separate strong neuter *held*, cf. van Helten (1907a: 168), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: s.v.), and Buma (1961: s.v.); also van Helten (1890: 141-2). von Richthofen (1840) quotes the form s.v. fem./n. *helde*, thus bringing together n. *held* and f. *helde* (= *helde* 2., q.v.) in one lemma.

●PFRIS: *held

A neuter i- (older s-)stem formation to *hald-, cf. further s.v. *halda*

see also: *halda, haldere* 1., 2., *hals, helde* 2.

helde 1 subst. f. 'mercy' PIE

OFris. also *hulde*

This OWFris. by-form shows a non-umlauted vowel as does MDu. from which it may be borrowed, see below.

●PFRIS: *heldi

ON *hylli* 'mercy', OE *hyldu*, OS *huldi*, OHG *huldi*, MHG *hulde* 'mercy', MLG *hülde, hulde, holde*, MDu. *huld(e), (h)oude, helde* 'mercy, benevolence'

●PGMC: *huldin-

A feminine in-derivation to *huld- < *k_l-t- to *kel- 'incline', cf. s.v. *-hald*.

see also: *bihalva, -hald, half, halve, hlid*

helde 2 subst. f. 'fetter, hidden place' PIE

OFris. also *hielde, hilde*

These OWFris. by-forms show the OWFris. breaking of e/_ld.

●PFRIS: *heldi

A feminine in-derivation to *hald-, cf. s.v. *halda*; in order to account for the meaning 'hidden place', I am tempted to assume a homonym *helde* < *huld-/hald- + mutation factor (e.g. i-, in- stem) to *hul-/*hal- < *k_l-/kol- to PIE √kel- 'conceal', cf. s.v. *heli-*.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 168-9

see also: halda, haldere 1., 2., hals, held, heli-; -brede, helibrede, helm, hille

heli- subst. m.? 'brain?' Gmc.

In: *helibrēde* 'cerebral membrane', q.v.

A by-form *hēlc-* shows weakening of the medial vowel.

The word has an unclear Gmc. and, hence, IE etymology. The length of the stem vowel is crucial for formulating an etymology but remains unclear. If long, we can reconstruct *ai > ē/a, cf. also the by-form <hali->. PFrīs. *hēli-, *hāli- < *haili- could be compared with ON *heili* which means 'brain'. This meaning exactly matches that of the OFrīs. word. On the other hand, there are no further Gmc. cognates, and the etymology of the ON, OFrīs. word is unclear (de Vries 1977: 218 s.v. 2. *heili*). The ON and OFrīs. formations do not match either. Still, Holthausen and Hofmann (1985) s.v. *hēli-brēde* apparently accept the comparison.

In R₂, we encounter a further by-form *halimbrēde* (I, 3) that was used in order to formulate a different etymology. Van Helten explained this form from a contamination of *helim- < *helin-, cf. OHG *halina* 'cover', (van Helten 1890: 30; cf. furthermore MLG *hē(i)len[brēde]*) and a cognate formation *hale, cf. OHG *hala* 'cover' (hence stem vowel a).

Holthausen (1963: 154) apparently accepts this etymology, comparing OE *-hele*, OHG *helī* 'cover' with OFrīs. *hal[brēde]*. PGmc. *hal- belongs to PIE √kel- 'conceal', cf. also OE, OS, OHG *helan*, MLG *hēlen*, MDu. *he(e)len*, *heilen* 'conceal', etc.; cf. Skt. *śāraṃā-* 'protecting', Lat. *occulō*, *cēlō* 'conceal', OIr. *celim* 'conceal', etc. This etymology is better than the isolated comparison of ON *heili*, but less convincing from a semantical point of view ('covering membrane' for 'cerebral membrane'?).

see also: -brede, helde 2., helibrede, helm, hille

helibrede subst. f. 'cerebral membrane' Gmc.

Compound of *hēli-* 'brain?' and *-brēde* 'width, latitude, level, membrane', cf. s.vv.

Also in: MLG *hē(i)len[brēde]*

helich, helech adj. 'holy' Gmc.

On the variation *-ich* ~ *-ech* in R₁, cf. Boutkan (1996: 29 + reff.).

OFrīs. also *heilich*, *hēlch*, *hīlch*

The last two forms show the syncopated stem of the oblique cases levelled to the Ns. On the high vowel of *hīlch* cf. van Helten (1890: 24). The diphthong of *heilich* points to a loan word from Dutch.

●PFRIS: *hēlih-

An *ih*-derivation to *hēl*, cf. s.v.

Also in: OE *hālig*, *hāelig*, MHG *heilic*, *-ec*, MLG *hē(i)lich*, *hillich*, ODu. *heilig*, MDu. *he(i)lich*, *hillich*; (different suffix) OR-Goth. (ring of Pietroassa) *hailag*,

ON *heilagr*, OS *hēlag*, OHG *heilag* 'id.'. The different suffixal formations confirm the substratum origin of the word as suggested s.v. *hēl*.

see also: *hel*, *helichdrachta*, *heliga*, *helega*

helichdrachta subst. m. 'the (path used for the) carrying of statues of the saints (in a procession around the church)' Gmc.

Compound of *hēlich* 'holy' and *-drachta* 'the act of carrying', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 169

see also: *hel*, *helich*, *-ech*, *heliga*, *helega*

heliga, **helega** subst. m. [plural] '(statues of) saints, relics, church (as an institution)' Gmc.

On the variation *-ich* ~ *-ech* in R₁, cf. Boutkan (1996: 29 + reff.). Substantival use of the adj. *hēlich*, *-ech*, q.v. We find no evidence for a meaning 'consecrated wafer' in R₁, cf. Galama (1990).

see also: *hel*, *helich*, *-ech*, *helichdrachta*

helm subst. m. 'helmet' PIE

●PFRIS: *helm

Goth. *hilms*, ON *hjalmr*, OE, OS, OHG, *helm*, MHG *helm(e)*, MLG *helm*, *helmit*, *-ct*, MDu. *helm*, *hellem* 'helmet'

●PGMC: *halmaz

An o-stem to the PIE $\sqrt{*kel-}$, cf. s.v. *hēli-*.

Also in Skt. *śárma-* 'protection', shelter', etc.; not to Lat. *culmen* 'top' newly arisen next to *columen* < *kelamen < *kelH-mn (Schrijver 1991: 326).

see also: *-brede*, *helde 2.*, *heli-*, *helibrede*, *hille*.

helpa str.vb. III 'help' Gmc.

Note the specific use of present participle *helpande* 'useful' in such formulae as *helpande lemithe* 'lit. useful paralysis' i.e. a partial paralysis which has not rendered the entire limb unuseful (Buma 1961 s.v.; van Helten 1907a: 169).

OFris. also *hilpa*, *hulpa*

The by-form *hilpa* is based on analogy with paradigmatic forms such as 2s *hilpis, 3s *hilpiþ, etc. (cf. also Steller 1928: 10); the by-form *hulpa* represents an analogical spread of the vowel of the 'aorist-presents', of which the formation was productive in OFris.

●PFRIS: *helpa

Goth. *hilpan*, ON *hjalpa*, OE, OS *helpan*, OHG *helfan*, MHG *helfen*, MLG *(ge)helpen*, ODu. *helpon*, MDu. *helpen* 'help'

●PGMC: *helpanaN

● No satisfactory IE etymology.

The comparison with Lith. *šėpti* 'help, support' seems attractive, but requires an additional explanation of the non-corresponding labial consonants (Gmc. *p* < *b ~ Lith. *p*). The root to which the etymon would belong remains unclear

as well (cf. Seebold 1970: 254-5). Neither a derivation from PIE $\sqrt{k}el-$ 'incline' (> protect, help ?; cf. s.v. *-hald*), nor from $\sqrt{k}el-$ 'conceal' (> protect, etc. ?; cf. s.v. *heli-*) is obvious.

We seem to be dealing with a substratum word.

see also: *helpe*

helpe subst. f. 'help' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **helpi*

ON *hjǫlp*, OE *help*, OS *helpa*, OHG *helfe*, MHG *helfe*, *hilfe*, *hülle*, MLG *helpe*, *hülpe*, *hölpe*, MDu. *help(e)*, *elpe*, *hulp(e)* 'help'.

●PGMC: **helpō*

No satisfactory IE etymology, cf. further s.v. *helpa*.

see also: *helpa*

hem- subst. n.? 'home, hometown' PIE

In: *hēmēthoga*, q.v.

Ofris. also *hēme*, *him*, *hām*-

The by-form *hēme* represents an alternative feminine formation; *him* shows raising (and shortening) of the monophthongised reflex $\bar{e} < *ai$, cf. van Helten (1890: 24), *hām*- shows the alternative reflex $\bar{a} < *ai$.

●PFRIS: **hēm-*

Goth. *haims* 'village, country', ON *heimr* 'world', OE *hām*, OS *hēm*, OHG *heim*, MHG *heim*, *hein*, MLG n. *hē(i)m*, f. *hē(i)me*, MDu. *hecm*, *heim* 'home'

●PGMC: **haim-*

●PIE: **koimo-*

POKORNY: 539-540

Skt. *séte*, Gr. *keítai*, Hitt. *ki-i-ta* 'lie'; the root underlying the Gmc. forms has been interpreted as 'here' (PIE **k̑i-*), cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *heiwafrauja*, which is not compelling (but explicitly Oettinger 1996).

Kluge (1989) s.v. *heim* puts this complex to **k̑pei-* 'dwell' (Pokorny 1959: 626; = **tkei-*, cf. Beekes 1990: 169-70), cf. Skt. *ks̑éti* 'dwell', Gr. *cuktímenos* 'well built'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299; Oettinger 1996

see also: *hemethoga*, *-higen*, *hion(a)*, *sinhigen*

hemethoga subst. m. 'a sworn representing a *hēm*' PIE

Compound of *hēm*- 'home, hometown' and *-ethoch* 'sworn; adj. suffix', cf. s.v.v. The word has been used in the discussion concerning vowel balance and vowel harmony in R₁, cf. Buma (1961: 50) (see however Boutkan 1996: 26-7; Buma loc. cit. and s.v. on the history of the interpretation of the word + ref. The older interpretation (e.g. von Richthofen 1840 s.v.; van Helten (1906: 283-4); van Helten 1907a: 171), i.e. a OFris. loan based on Latin *hemitogium* 'half a toga' used as a metonym for its wearer, has now been abandoned.

hemilinge subst. f. 'mutilation' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *homilinge*, *homolinge*, *hemelinge* The last by-form shows reduction

of the medial vowel. The first form *homi-* shows an analogical unmutated vowel that is found in e.g. the verb, see below. The medial vowel was assimilated to the stem in *homolinge*, q.v.

•PFRIS: *hemilingi

MLG *hāmelinge* 'mutilation'; cf. also:

adj.: ON *Hamall* NP, OE *homola*, OHG *hamal*, etc. 'mutilated', to which: OHG *hamal*, MHG *hamel*, MLG *hāmel*, MDu. *hamel* m. 'wether'; perhaps OHG *hamm* 'mutilated' with unclear geminate;

weak vb.: ON *hamla*, OE *hamelian*, OHG *hamalōn*, MHG *hamelen*, *hemelen*, OFris. *hamelia* 'mutilate', etc.; cf. also OFris. weak 1. *hemma* 'mutilate';

possibly: Goth. *hamfs* 'mutilated', ON *háf* 'with maimed hands', OHG *hamf* 'crippled', etc.;

perhaps 'hammer': ON *hamarr* (also 'rock', cf. MHG *hamel*, see above or from 'hammer made out of stone'), OE *homor*, OS *hamar*, *hamur*, OHG *hamar*, OFris. *homer*, etc.

We seem to be dealing with a Gmc. base *ham- 'mutilate'. However, it remains unclear which forms exactly belong here, cf. especially Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *hamel*, *hamer*.

•PGMC: *ham-

• Unclear IE etymology

The etymon has been derived from a PIE form *(s)kēm- 'mutilated' [Pokorny 1959: 929], but this would only be found in Gmc. (perhaps also in ON *skammr*, OE, OHG *scamm* 'short'? with mobile *s- and unclear geminate) and in Skt. *śāmala-* 'stain, fault'. This is not very attractive.

de Vries (1992) s.v. *hamel* points to the older method of castrating animals by knocking rather than cutting. In his view, this would make possible a derivation of at least the words for 'wether' from a PIE root *kem- 'press, squeeze; hamper' [Pokorny 1959: 555] (Arm. *k'amel* 'press, squeeze', Lith. *kamúoti* 'press together, stop', MHG *hemmen* 'hamper' < *hamja-, etc.). However, note that a meaning 'knock' is not obviously compatible. Moreover, the derivation of the rest of the above forms from this root fails for semantical reasons. Finally, I doubt the reconstruction of the PIE root altogether in view of the abundance of different meanings and formations brought together in Pokorny's lemma (only from Arm., BS. and Gmc.; Gr. uncertain).

The derivation from PIE √(s)kep- 'cut' [Pokorny 1959: 931], Lat. *capō* 'capon' < *kep-, Gr. *kóptō* 'strike, hew' < *kop-, etc. seems attractive from a semantical point of view, but requires a curious nasal formation with subsequent assimilation: *ko-n-p > *komp- > *ham(m)-. However, a usual nasal-present has the form *CC-n-C- and the nasal seems to belong to the root.

If Goth. *hamfs* also belongs here (cf. Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *hamel*), Gr. *skambós*, OIr. *camb* < *(s)kHmbos 'crooked' ([Pokorny 1959: 525]; Gmc. from o-grade *koHmb- > *kōmb- > *kamb- with shortening due to Osthoff's Law) can be compared, but from a semantic point of view this only fits this

specific etymon and not the other forms. Moreover, *(s)kamb- meaning 'crooked, curved' is possibly of non-IE origin in view of the *a and the *b (cf. also Kuiper 1995: 73) and its connection with *(s)ke/omb- remains unclear.

We must reckon with a possible non-IE origin (de Vries 1992 s.v. *hamer*). I reconstruct PGmc. *ham- ~ *hamm- ~ *hamp-. Schrijver (p.c.) points to compatible Celtic evidence, viz. OIr. *caumall*, *cumall* 'champion' (with unclear geminate), Gaul. *Camulo-*, *Camulus* (epithet of Mars = 'maimer'??).

henda wk. vb. 1 'catch, arrest' Gmc.

OFris. also *handa*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff, Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *hænda

ON *henda* 'catch, occur', OE *gchendan* 'hold', MHG *henden* 'take', MDu. *handen* 'use one's hands, rule', *gehenden* 'hand over', cf. also:

str. vb. *henþ-: Goth. *frahinþan* 'take prisoner', *ushinþan* 'make prisoner of war', OSwe. *hinna* 'reach';

*handu- 'hand': Goth. *handus*, ON *hǫnd*, OE, OS *hand*, OHG, MHG, MLG *hant* OFris. *hond* (q.v.), ODu. *hant*, MDu. *hand*, *hant*;

*hunþa-: Goth. *hunþs* 'body of captives';
*hunþō: OE *hūþ*, OHG *heri|hunda* 'booty'.

Also OHG *fer|hundet* 'caught'.

●PGMC: *handejanaN

● No IE etymology

The above complex may belong to pre-IE hunter terminology (cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *hand*).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 255

see also: *hond*

her subst. n. 'hair' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hēr

ON *hár*, OE *hār*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *hār*, MDu. *haer*, *hair*, *hare* 'hair'

●PGMC: *hē₁raN

● No IE etymology.

Schrijver (p.c.) suggests to me the comparison of Ir. *cír* 'comb, rake' > 'top (e.g. of a bush)'. This is usually explained from *kērā < *kēsā (OCS *česati* 'comb', to a root *kes-, Pokorny 1959: 585), but the lengthened grade is unexplained. Perhaps we are dealing with a substratum word common to Gmc. and Celtic.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291; Unattractive IE etymologies + reff. in de Vries 1992 s.v. *haar*

hera 1 wk. vb. 1 'hear, listen to (in court), belong (to)' PIE [?]

OFris. also *hōra

This OWFris. by-form shows an unmutated vowel as does MDu., see below.

●PFRIS: *hēra

Goth. *hausjan*, ON *heyra*, OE *hieran*, OS *hōrian*, OHG *hōren*, *hōr(r)an*, MHG *hōren*, *hören*, MLG *hören*, *hāren*, MDu. *ho(o)ren*, *hoeren* 'hear'

●PGMC: *hausejanaN

●PIE: *h₂kous- [?]

Perhaps to be compared with Gr. *akoúō* 'hear' < *h₂kous-. Traditionally, this etymon is compared with Skt. *ā-kúvate* 'intends to', *ākūti-* < *-kuH-ti- 'intention', Gr. *koéō* 'notice, understand', Lat. *cavēō* 'beware, take heed', OHG *scouwōn* 'to observe', etc., but we are rather dealing with a root *keuh₁- with a basic meaning 'observe' [Pokorny 1959: 587-8]. Discussion of the IE forms in Schrijver (1991: 439-40). If one wishes to maintain this etymology, which seems less convincing than the comparison of Gr. *akoúō*, one can only start from a mechanical reconstruction PIE *kouh₁-s-ei-, i.e. a causative to an s-extension to $\sqrt{\text{keuh}_1}$.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291; Schrijver 1991: 439-40

see also: here 1., -here 3., heroch

hera 2 subst. m. 'lord (also used in reference to Christ or God), consecrated wafer (*corpus domini*)' PIE

OFris. also *here*, *her*

The ending -a of the n-stems may appear reduced (*here*) and syncopated (OWFris. *hēr*), the latter especially in vocative function (Steller 1928: 42).

●PFRIS: *hera

OHG *hēr(i)ro*, OS *hērro* (→ ON *herri*, *herra*, OE *hearra*), MHG *herre*, MLG *hēr(c)*, *hēre*, *herr*, ODu. *hērro*, MDu. *here* 'lord'

The word is the comparative of OHG *hēr* 'important', cf. also OE *hār*, ON *hárr* 'having grey hair', etc. < PGmc. *haiza- 'grey' (cf. s.v. *hasa), arisen as a calque of Lat. *senior* in the High German area and spread from there.

Cf. further s.v. *hasa

see also: hasskerd, herskipi

here 1 subst. f. 'hearing' PIE

●PFRIS: *hēri

A weak feminine substantival derivation of the stem *hēr-, cf. s.v. *hēra 1*.

With prefix *ge-*: MHG *gehære*, MLG *gehōr(c)*, MDu. *gehoor*; different formations in ON *heyrrn*, MLG n. *hōr*, MDu. n. *horen*, etc.

see also: hera 1., -here 3., heroch

her(e)- 2 subst. n. 'army' PIE

In: *hertoga* 'duke', q.v.

OFris. also *hiri(-)* q.v.

This form shows the raised reflex *i* < *ä that is particularly frequent in R_{1,2} (van Helten 1890: 31).

●PFRIS: *here-

OGmc. NP *hari[gasti]* (cf. Tollenaere 1967), Goth. *harjis*, OR *hari-*, *hAri-* (also

harja 'warrior'), ON *herr*, OE *here*, OS *heri*, OHG *hari*, *heri*, MHG *her(e)*, MLG *hēre*, *hēr-*, ODu. *heri-*, *here-*, MDu. *here* 'army'

●PGMC: *harjaN

●PIE: *korio-

POKORNY: 615-6

Gr. *koíranos* 'leader, king, lord', MĪr. *cuire* < *korjo- 'crowd'; also OPers. *kāra-* 'army', Lith. *kāras* 'war' < *koros.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299 (falsely to *koros rather than *-ios)

see also: *hertoga*, *hiri* 1., *hiribende*, *hiriferd*, *hirifolk*, *hirifona*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

-here 3 adj. 'obedient' PIE

In: *ovirhere* 'not obedient'

●PFRIS: *-hēri

An adjectival io-stem formation to the stem *hōr-, cf. s.v. *hera* 1.

Also in: MLG *ōverjhōr(c)* 'id.'

see also: *hera* 1., *here* 1., *heroch*

herne subst. f. 'corner (of a house), root of a tooth, area (*thiu grimme herne* = 'Scandinavia')' PIE

●PFRIS: *herni

ON *hyrna*, -i, -ing, OE *hyrne*, MLG *hörn(e)*, *hōrne*, MDu. *hor(e)n*, *hoorn*, *horren*, *hurn* 'corner, angle', cf. also:

*hurna-: Goth. *haurn* 'horn, trumpet', OR *horna* (oAs neuter) 'horn', ON *horn* 'horn, corner, angle', OE, OS, OHG, MHG *horn*, MLG *hörn(c)*, *hōrne*, OFris. *horn* (q.v.) 'horn', MDu. *hor(c)n*, *hoorn*, *horren*, *hurn* 'horn, angle, corner';

*hrenþi-: OE *hrīþer*, OS *hrīth*, OHG (*h*)*rind*, MHG *rint*, OFris. *hrīther*, MDu. *rint*, *rent* (western form) 'cow';

~*hrunþi-: OE *hrȳþer*, pl. *hrūþeru*, MLG, MDu. *runt*, *ront* 'cow';

*herut-: ON *hjørtr*, OE *heor(o)t*, OHG *hir(u)z*, MHG *hirt(e)*, *herte*, MLG *herte*, *harte*, ODu. *hirot*, MDu. *he(c)rt*, *ha(c)rt*, *herte* 'deer';

etc.

●PGMC: *hurni-

●PIE: *k̑(e)r-n-

POKORNY: 574-77, especially 576

To √k̑er(h₂)- 'head, top of the body, horn (and horned animals)' [Pokorny 1959 loc. cit.], Skt. *śiras-* 'head, top', Gr. (*epi*) *kár* '(on the) head' < *k̑₁-h₂-, *kéras* 'horn' < *k̑er-h₂-, Arm. *sar* 'height', etc.

The root shows several extensions. PGmc. *hurna- < *k̑₁-no- ('horn', cf. Lat. *cornu* < *k̑(o)rn-; the meaning 'angle' is also found in MĪr., Welsh *cern* 'angle, corner' < *k̑(e)r-nV-); PWGmc. *hrenþi- < *k̑r-en-ti- ~ *hrunþi- < *k̑r-n̄-ti-; PGmc. *herut- < *k̑er-u-do- (cf. Gr. *kórudos* 'tufted lark'). On the root and its derivatives, cf. Nussbaum (1986), and the review by Beekes (1989).

see also: *horn*

heroch adj. 'subject to, serf of, obedient' PIE

OFris. also *hērich*, *herech*

The forms from R show the typical suffix form *-och* where the other OFris. MSS show *-ich* (*-ech*), cf. also *-dēdoch* next to *-dēdich*, etc.

●PFRIS: **hērih*, **hēruh*

An adjectival *-ig-formation based on the stem **hōr-*, cf. s.v. *hera 1*.

Also in: OS, OHG *gihōrig* 'obedient', MHG *hōrec*, MLG (*ge*)*hōrich*, ODu. *hōrog?* (*Lex Salica*), MDu. *horich*, *-ech* 'obedient, subject to, serf of', etc.

The specific meaning 'serf (of)' has been explained as based on a calque of Lat. *cliens* that was felt to belong to the verb *clueō* 'hear', cf. de Vries (1992) s.v. *horig*; cf. also 'cliens'. This seems little probable to me.

see also: *hera 1.*, *here 1.*, *-here 3.*

herskipi subst. n. 'power' PIE

Compound of *hēra 2*. 'lord, etc.' and *-skipi* nominal suff., cf. s.vv.

see also: **hasa*, *hasskerd*, *hera 2*.

hertoga subst. m. 'duke' PIE

●PFRIS: **hertoga*

Compound of *her(e)- 2*. 'army' and *-toga* < **tugan-*, i.e. a substantival formation to *tia*, cf. s.vv.

Also in: ON *heretoga* 'army leader (← OE?)', duke (← MLG), OE *heretoga*, OS *heritogo*, OHG *her(i)zogo*, MHG *herzog-*, MLG *hērtog*, *hartog*, *hērtoge*, MDu. *hertoge*, *hertog*, *hertich*, *hartich* 'army leader, duke'.

The compound is believed to have arisen as a pendant of Gr. *stratēlátēs* for older *stratēgós* (de Vries 1992 s.v. *hertog*).

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiri 1.*, *hiribende*, *hiriferd*, *hirifolk*, *hirifona*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

het adj. 'hot' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **hēt*

ON *heitr*, OE *hāt*, OS *hēt*, OHG, MHG *heiz*, MLG *hē(i)t*, ODu. *heit*, MDu. *hceet*, *heit* 'hot, warm'; cf. also:

**haj-es-*: Goth. Dp *haizam* 'torches';

**heit-*: Goth. *heito* 'fever';

**hei-*: OHG *hei* 'barren', *gihei* 'barrenness', MDu. *hei* 'hot, dry';

**hi-t-jō-*: OE *hitt*, OS *hittia*, OHG *hizza*, MHG *hitze(ne)*, MLG, MDu. *hitte* 'heat';

**hai-t-jō-*: OE *hæte*, *-u*, OFris. *hēte* (q.v.), Du. Dial. *heit* 'heat';

**hai-t-iþō-*: MLG OFris., MDu. *hette* (or to **hitjō?*).

Perhaps the word for 'hoarse' belongs here as well; we find several formations:

**hai-sa-*: OE *hās*, OS *hēs*, OHG *heis(i)*, ODu. *heis*, MDu. *hecs*, *haes*;

**hai-rsa-*: ON *hāss*, Middle English *horse*, Du. (Kiliaen) *heersch*;

**hai-ska-*: MLG *hē(i)sch*, MDu. *heesch*, *heisch*, *haesch*.

●PGMC: **haita-*

● No IE etymology.

We only find Baltic forms with a different dental extension, cf. Lith. *kaīsti*,

Latv. *kāistu* 'become hot', Lith. *kaitrà* 'blaze' < *kait-, perhaps also OPruss. *prakāisnan* 'sweat'. This limited distribution, combined with the abundance of Gmc. formations, points to a substratum word.

see also: *hete*

heta str. vb. VII 'be called, order' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hēta

Goth. *haitan* 'call, name', OR *haite* 'be called', ON *heita*, OE *hātan* 'name, promise', OS *hētan*, OHG *heiz(z)an*, MHG *heizen*, MLG *hē(i)ten*, MDu. *he(e)-ten*, *heiten* 'be called, name, command'; cf. also:

*haita-: ON *heit*, MLG *hē(i)t* 'promise, oath'; OHG *antheiz* 'oath' (cf. also *antheizo* 'sponsor, hostage')

*haitō: MHG *heize* 'promise, command'

etc.

●PGMC: *haitanaN

● No IE etymology

This verb is usually interpreted as a dental extension *koih₂-d- to the root *keih₂- [Pokorny 1959: 538-9], cf. Gr. *kiato* · *ckineito* (Hes.), *ekíathon* (Homer) 'followed', *kínōō* 'move' < *kil₂-. However, Skt. *cyávate* 'starts to move', Lat. *cieō*, ppp. *citum* 'set in motion' directly point to *ki(-u-) without a laryngeal, whereas the Greek forms present problems (Schrijver 1991: 237-8).

Moreover, the Gmc. dental formation would be isolated. Note finally that not only the formation, but also the required semantical development 'move' > 'call, etc.' raises strong doubts as to the traditional etymology.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 246-8

hete subst. f. 'heat' Gmc.

A feminine jō-formation to *hait-, cf. s.v. *hēt*.

●PFRIS: *hēti

see also: *het*

hethin, -en adj. 'heathen' Gmc.

OFris. also *heiden*

In other MSS than R, the ending *-en* represents a weakening of original *-in. The by-form *heiden* is OWFris. and must be a loan from MDu.

●PFRIS: *hēþin

Goth. *haiþno* 'heathen woman', ON *heipiun*, OE *hæþen*, OS *hēthin*, OHG *heidan*, MHG *heid(en)isch*, *heidensch*, MDu. *heiden*, *heidi(j)n*, *hedijn* 'heathen' The word is generally believed to be connected with 'heath': Goth. *haiþi* 'field', ON *heiþr*, OE *hæþ*, OS *hētha*, OHG *heida*, MLG *hēde* 'heath'

The exact connection between the two words has been subject of dispute. de Vries (1992: s.v. *heiden* + reff.) suggests that we might be dealing with an old formation that originated in Gothic and spread north. We cannot start from a calque of Lat. *pāgānus* which is attested too late (from the 2nd half of the 4th

century onward). It is most probable that the Gmc. word *haiþana- referred to a person living on the heath, i.e. on common land, i.e. a person of one's own community. It would then be a neutral word used by heathen people in order to refer to each other rather than a Christian, negative word denoting non-Christians. de Vries loc. cit. and Lehmann (1986) s.v. *haiþno* give further references and less probable interpretations. Lubotsky suggests to me that we may be dealing with a calque of Gr. *ethnikós*.

- PGMC: *haiþana-
- No IE etymology.

The word for 'heath' can only be compared with Celtic forms, viz.

Gaul. *caeto-* in names, OWelsh *coid*, MWelsh *coed*, OCorn. *cuit*, OBret. *coet* 'woods' < *kaitos (cf. also Schrijver 1995: 219), and is most probably a substratum word common to both branches [pace Pokorny 1959: 521].

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305

heya cf. s.v. *heia* 2.

hi pers. pron. 3s, p 'he' PIE

- PFRIS: *hī

Goth. *is*, OE *hē*, OS *hē*, *hī*, *hie*, OHG *hē*, *her*, MHG *he(r)*, MLG *hē*, *hī*, ODu. *hie*, *hē*, MDu. *hī*, *he*

Most probably, Goth. reflects PIE *h₁e, enlarged with the Ns marker *-s (regularly lost in WGmc.). The prothetic *h-* of the other forms was taken from the particle *kī-, cf. s.v. *hēm-*, *hīr*. Influence of (forms containing) this particle is also suggested by the vocalism, which partially reflects expected *e (< *h₁e, forms containing *ī* may have arisen in enclitic contexts or directly represent *i, cf. Skt. As *imám* < *im-, etc.), but partially also *ē₂, which has been explained from *hē₂r 'here' < *kīr (cf. s.v. *hīr*) — if not simply representing some secondary lengthening. The expected forms without *h-* synchronically function as enclitics in several dialects, e.g. OHG *ir*, *cr*, OFris. *(e)r(e)*.

- PGMC: (contamination of *hi- and) *ez (-*iz?)

- PIE: (*kī- and) *h₁e

Skt. *ayám* < *h₁e-(i)- (not *i-), Lat. *is*; as to *kī- cf. s.v. *hīr*.

Lit: Beekes 1990: 243

see also: -cr 2., *hara*, *hem-*, *hiara*, *hir*, *se* 2.

hiara pers. pron. 'their' PIE

Gp form of *hī* serving as poss. pron., q.v.

Hiddisekker NP

-higen subst. n. pl. 'couple, married people' PIE

In: *sinhīgen*, q.v.

OFris. also *hīun(a)*, *hīon(a)* [q.v.], *hīna*, *hīnda*

The word was extensively treated by Heinertz (1915: 314-9 s.v. *heine*), who corrects Van Helten (cf. for [aspects of] his interpretations van Helten 1889: 251; van Helten 1890: 75, 92, 124, 245 [=nachtr. to 85]).

After the regular loss of *-w-/ī, *hīwun- yielded *hīun* ~ *hīon*. The form is most probably an old Gp *hīwuna < *hīwōnō that came to be used as a Np (Kock *apud* Heinertz opus cit. p. 316; van Helten started from the dual). The form *hīgen* shows a 'hiatusfüllendes' <g>. The vowel *e* may represent reduction in the second element of the sequence *i(g)u, which was entirely lost in OWFris. *hīna* (Heinertz 1915: 317). The OWFris. form *hīnda* 'servant' (in Dp *hynden*) may represent a folk-etymology after *hīndera* 'der *Hintere*' (Heinertz 1915: 318-9).

●PFRIS: *hīuna

Goth. *heiwa*[*frauja* 'master of the house', ON *hjún*, *hjóñ* 'member of the household; pl. married couple', OE *hīwan* 'family, members of a household', also *hīne* (and *hīgu*) 'domesticos', OS *hīwa* 'spouse [f.]' (actually only Ds *hīwon*, -*un*), OHG *hī(w)o* 'spouse [m.], servant', *hīwa* 'spouse [f.]', *hīhun*, *hīwen* 'married couple', MHG *hī(w)c*, *hīge* m. f., pl. n. 'spouse, member of a household', MLG *hien(c)* 'famuli, litones', MDu. m. *hīe*, *hī*, *ye* 'member of a household, spouse [m.], male (animal)', f. *hīe* 'female (animal)'; cf. also: OE, OS *hīwian*, OHG *hīwan*, MDu. *h(o)uwen* 'marry', and several other formations (e.g. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *heiwafrauja*).

●PGMC: *hīwan-

We must start from a meaning 'member of a household', which could either refer to a spouse or to a servant, i.e. the attested meanings.

●PIE: *kēino-

POKORNY: 540

To √*kēi- 'lie down', cf. s.v. *hēm-*; Skt. *śēva-* 'intimate, dear', Lat. *civis* 'citizen' < *kēiui-; Latv. *siēva* 'spouse [f.]' seems to indicate a laryngeal: *kēiH-_u-i-.

Lit: Heinertz 1915: 314-9; van Helten 1889: 251-2; corrected in van Helten 1890: 245 nachtr. 85; van Helten 1907a: 168, 361 (s.v. *warand*); Holthausen 1963: 161; Lendinara 1990: 299 see also: *hem-*, *hion(a)*, *sinhīgen*

hille subst. f. 'hell' PIE

Ofris. also *helle*

This by-form shows the expected OFris. representation of *ä; the high vowel *i* < *e < *ä is a specific feature of Riustring OFris. (e.g. van Helten 1890: x, 31).

●PFRIS: *helli

Goth. *halja* 'hell', ON *hel* 'hell, name of the goddess of death', OE *hell*, OS *helliā*, *hcl*, OHG *hella* 'hell', MHG, MLG *helle* 'concealed underworld, hell; fig.: narrow space between an oven and the wall', ODu. *hella* 'hell', MDu. *helle*, *hille*, *elle*, *hel* 'grave; hell; hidden depository [?; < *held-?]'

●PGMC: *haljō

●PIE: *kolieh₂

POKORNY: 553-4

Usually considered a feminine ieh₂-derivation to √kel- 'conceal', cf. s.v. *helde* 2.; cf. also Mlr. *luid ar cel* 'orbit' < 'went to hell', *cuile* 'storeroom, pantry'. Perhaps, the underworld as a place of the dead was indeed referred to as a 'hidden place'. This remains a rather hypothetical etymology, however (cf. Kluge 1989 s.v. *Hölle*).

It is already an old idea that the meaning 'conceal' developed from an older meaning 'bury' (e.g. Szadowsky 1950: 233, Franck et al. 1976 supplement p. 69 s.v. I *Hel*). This would make a link with the name of the dwelling of the dead more likely. I feel sympathetic towards the assumption of a semantical development 'grave' > 'place of the dead' in view of the fact that in MDu. both meanings were retained.

de Vries (1992) s.v. *hel* 1. and Lehmann (1986) s.v. *halja* reject Trier's assumption of an original meaning 'wicker-work, enclosure' rather than 'conceal' or 'bury' for √kel- (accepted in de Vries 1977 s.v. *hel*, and *passim*, however). 'Hell' as a dwelling of the dead would originate from 'family-grave', i.e. a large grave encompassed by a ring of stones or an enclosure.

Szadowsky (1950) rejects the connection with √kel- altogether and rather compares PGmc. *halljōn- 'stone', cf. ON *hella* 'flat stone', Goth. *hallus* 'stone', etc. The PIE origin of this word is unclear; it has been derived from PIE √kel- 'cut' (Pokorny 1959: 925), from √kel- 'project' (Gr. *kolōnós*, etc., cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *hallus*), and from *khl- (Lat. *callum* 'callous', etc.; cf. also Schrijver 1991: 100). Szadowsky suggests a semantical development 'stone' > 'grave-stone' > 'grave' > 'place of the dead'. This seems certainly possible.

see also: *helde* 2., *heli-*; *-brede*, *helibrede*, *helm*

hilleporte subst. f. 'entrance of hell' PIE

Compound of *hille* 'hell' and *-porte* 'gateway, entrance', cf. s.v.v.

himul subst. m. 'heaven' Gmc.

OFris. also *himel*

This by-form shows reduction of the unstressed vowel to /ə/.

●PFRIS: *himul

Goth. *himins*, ON *himinn*, OE *heofon*, OS *heban*; OS, OHG *himil*, MHG *himel*, MLG *hēmel*, *hemmel*, *himmel*, ODu. *himel*, MDu. *hem(m)el*, *himmel* 'heaven', HG Dial. *humil*.

The etymology has been subject of dispute. The formation displays several problems.

The OE and OS forms reflecting *b- could be explained by a rule *-mn- > *-b-n-, cf. also ON Ds *hifne*, pl. *hifna*. One must reconstruct a stage *-m-n- common to these three dialects: syncope in OE, OS and ON is clearly *einzel-sprachlich*. One can start from ø-grade n-stem suffix form *-n-. The other ablaut forms Goth., ON *-in-* (< *-en- in Goth., < *-cn-i in ON), OS *-an-*, OE

-on- (< PGmc. *-an- < PIE *-on-) can also be interpreted as vestiges of an earlier n-stem paradigm. Strong masculine substantives were apparently formed later, using different stem forms of the former n-stem.

It has been suggested that we can account for the different consonants of the suffix by assuming nasal dissimilation of *hemVn- to *hemVl- (e.g. Franck et al. 1976 supplement p. 69 s.v. *hemel*) rather than two different suffixes *-Vl- and *-Vn- (latter alternative preferred by de Vries 1992 s.v. *hemel*, however). One may prefer the dissimilation rule because the different vowels of the n-stem suffix can be explained from an earlier ablaut pattern, whereas the forms *-il-/-ul- cannot. Thus, *l* being secondary, one can start from an old ablauting n-stem. On the other hand, the word has no reliable IE etymology (see below). This renders an explanation presupposing IE morphological patterns unnecessary.

The root vowel of the German form *humil* may represent some secondary development such as (late) dialectal rounding of the root vowel by the *m*. It seems unnecessary to postulate ablaut or another explanation.

●PGMC: *hemVna- (-hemVla-?)

● No IE etymology.

A root-etymology has been proposed, positing a root *k^{em}- 'bedecken, verhüllen' [Pokorny 1959: 556-7]. The evidence for this root is doubtful (cf. also Lehmann 1986 s.v. *afhamon*). We only find such Gmc. words as OHG *hemidi* 'shirt', *lih-hamo* 'body [= covering of the corpse]' + cognates that would correspond with Skt. *śāmulyā-*, *śāmūla-* denoting an unknown piece of garment and with *śamī-* 'prosopis spicigera, Hülsenfrucht'. Mayrhofer (1956-82) s.vv. considers the former words 'nicht geklärt' and remarks with respect to the latter word: '...Keine Erkenntniswert hat die Wurzel-Etymologie (: idg. *k^{em} 'bedecken')...'. Alleged Celtic and Latin cognates are doubtful (cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *afhamon*); we may reconstruct a European substratum word *hamiþ- 'shirt' on the basis of OHG *hemidi* and Gmc. cognates, Welsh *hefys*, Gallo-Lat. *camisia* 'shirt'. Very doubtful also Hitt. *kammara-* 'cloud, vapour, smoke' with the Gmc. 'heaven'-word, (Tischler 1983-: 472-3, following Neumann).

The etymologies starting from the stems *k^{emen}-, *k^{emel}- as containing the [ø]-grade *k̄- (= *h₂k̄-) to the 'stone'-etymon, cf. Gr. *ákmon* have not been accepted and yield formal and semantical problems (reff. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *himins* + discussion, de Vries 1992 s.v. *hemel*).

Other comparisons must be given up because the alleged cognates themselves have no reliable etymology, viz. e.g. Skt. *kmārati* 'be crooked', Gr. *kamára* 'vault', Av. *kamarā-* 'girdle', etc. (overview in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *himins*).

himulrike subst. n. '(realm of) heaven' PIE

Compound of *himul* 'heaven' and *rike* 2. 'realm', cf. s.vv.

hine 1 pron. + adv. 'he not' PIE

Syntagm containing *hi* 'he' and *ne* 1. 'negative adv.', cf. s.vv.

hine 2 pron. + pron. 'he him' PIE

Syntagm containing *hi* 'he' and *-ne 2* = enclitic *hine 'him [Asm]' to *hi*, q.v.

hion(a) 'married couple'

cf. s.v. *-hīgen*

hir adv. 'here' PIE

●PFRIS: *hīr

Goth. *her*, ON *hér*, OE *hēr*, OS *hēr*, *hīr* (= OFris., cf. von Unwerth 1915), *hier*, OHG *hiar*, MHG *hie(r)*, MLG *hīr(e)*, MDu. *hier* 'here'

●PGMC: *hē₂r (< *hīr ?)

Rather than an */ē₂/, Ringe (1984) postulates lowering of the vowel before tautosyllabic *-r* in PGmc. *hī + /r/ (after *par, *hwar).

●PIE: *kīr (*kīh₁ ?)

POKORNY: 609-10

Either an adverbial formation in *-r* (as in Lat. *cūr*, etc.) to the particle *kī or an Is *ki-h₁ to this root that adopted the *-r* only in Gmc. (see above).

Hitt. *ki* 'this', *ki-nun* 'now', Lat. *cis* 'on this side', Lith. *šis* 'this'.

see also: *hara*, *hem-*, *hi*, *hiara*, *hiron*

hiri 1 subst. m. 'army' PIE

= *her(e)- 2.*, q.v.

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiribende*, *hiriferd*, *hirifolk*, *hirifona*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

hiri 2 pers. pron. 'her' PIE

Gsf of *hī* serving as poss. pron., q.v.

hiribende subst. n?, f.? 'criminal act of fettering' PIE

Compound of *hiri 1*. 'army' and *bende* 'tie, chain, fetter, shackle', cf. s.vv.

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiri 1.*, *hiriferd*, *hirifolk*, *hirifona*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

hiriferd subst. f. 'military campaign' PIE

Compound of *hiri 1*. 'army' and *ferd* 'journey', cf. s.vv.

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiri 1.*, *hiribende*, *hirifolk*, *hirifona*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

hirifolk subst. n. 'army' PIE

Compound of *hiri 1*. 'army' and *folk* 'people, crowd, army', cf. s.vv.

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiri 1.*, *hiribende*, *hiriferd*, *hirifona*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

hirifona subst. n. 'banner' PIE

Compound of *hiri 1*. 'army' and *fona* 'flag, ensign', cf. s.vv.

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiri 1.*, *hiribende*, *hiriferd*, *hirifolk*, *hirifretho*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

hirifretho subst. m. 'fretho for soldiers' PIE

Compound of *hiri 1*. 'army' and *fretho* 'peace, (legal) protection, safety; compensation for breach of the peace', cf. s.vv.

see also: *her(e)- 2.*, *hiri 1.*, *hiribende*, *hiriferd*, *hirifolk*, *hirifona*, *hirigong*, *northhiri*

hirigong subst. m. 'raid, campaign' PIE

Compound of *hiri* 1. 'army' and *gong* 'way', cf. s.vv.

see also: her(e)- 2., hiri 1., hiribende, hiriferd, hirifolk, hirifona, hirifretho, northhiri

hiron adv. 'herein' PIE

Compound of *hīr* 'here' and *on* 'on, in', cf. s.vv.

hirte subst. f. 'heart; core, essence' PIE

OFris. also *herte*

This by-form shows the expected stem vowel; *hirte* shows the sporadic reflex *i* for *e/_r (van Helten 1890: 7).

●PFRIS: *herti

Goth. *hairto*, ON *hjata*, OE *hcarte*, OS *hertu*, OHG *herza*, MHG *herte*, MLG *hert(e)*, *harte*, ODu. *herta*, MDu. *herte*, *harte* 'heart'

●PGMC: *hertan-

●PIE: *kērd

POKORNY: 579-80

Gmc. must show shortening under Osthoff's Law, cf. also *jung* (q.v.) < *jūnga- < *h₂iuh₁nko-.

Gr. *kēr*, Arm. *sirt* < *kērd, Lat. *cor* < *k_ṛd-, OIr. *crīde* < *k_ṛdjo-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

hirth- subst. m. 'hearth' PIE [?]

OFris. also *herth*, *hird*

The former by-form shows the expected stem vowel; *hirth* shows the sporadic reflex *i* for *e/_r (van Helten 1890: 7). The latter by-form shows the post-classical reflex *d* of *þ.

●PFRIS: *herþ

OE *heorþ*, OS *herth* 'hearth', OHG *herd*, *herda* 'firm ground serving as fire-place', MHG *hert*, MLG *hērt*, MDu. *he(e)rt*, *haert* 'hearth'; cf. also:

Goth. *hauri* 'coal-fire', ON *hyrr* 'fire' < *hurja-.

●PGMC: *herþa-

The dental formation denoting 'hearth' is only attested in WGmc.

● No IE etymology.

The evidence for a PIE root is not very strong. One might start from PIE *kerH-t- [Pokorny 1959: 571-2]. An IE origin of Skt. *kūḍayāti* 'scorches' and cognate formations is doubtful (Mayrhofer 1956-82: 385). Also uncertain seems the connection of the BS. evidence, e.g. Lith. *kūrti* 'heat' (Fraenkel 1962-1965: 223, 319); perhaps also Lat. *carbō* < ? *kerH-bh- or ? *krH-ebh- (Schrijver 1991: 194-5, 207-8). Problematic is Lat. *cremō* 'burn' < *kr-em-, i.e. without laryngeal.

hirthstidi subst. f. 'fire-place' PIE

Compound of *hirth-* 'hearth' and *stidi* 'place, dwelling, village, town', cf. s.vv.

his pron. + pron. 'he it' PIE

Syntagm containing *hī* 'he' and *-s* = enclitic *thes 'it [Gsn]' to *thī* 1., cf. s.vv.

hit 1 'it'

3s N/Asn of *hī* pers. pron. 3s, p, q.v.

hit 2 pron. + pron. 'he it' PIE

Syntagm containing *hī* 'he' and *-t* = enclitic *hit 'it [Asn]' to *hi*, q.v.

hit ne se thet conj. 'unless (that)' PIE

Originally a syntagm 'it not be that', cf. s.v. *hī*, *ne* 1., *nī* 3., *wesa* 1. and *thet* 3., respectively.

hiuse pron. + pron. 'she them' PIE

Syntagm containing *hiu* 'she' = Nsf to *hī* and *se* = Apf to *se* 2., cf. s.vv.

hiut pron. + pron. 'she it' PIE

Syntagm containing *hiu* 'she' = Nsf to *hī* and *-t* = enclitic *hit 'it [Asn]' to *hī*, q.v.

hlapa str. vb. VII 'walk, go, run; invade' Gmc.

Ofris. also *lāpa*, *lhapa*, *hliapa*

The first by-form shows the reduction of *hl-* to *l-* (Steller 1928: 33). On such spellings as *lhaphth* (IV, 79), cf. van Helten (1890: 117), Boutkan (1996: 14). von Richthofen (1840) s.v. quotes an OWfris. form 3s *hliapt* that has been suggested to be an analogical formation in addition to the *io*-preterite (cf. OWfris. pret. subj. *hliope*) existing beside the current *e*-formation (*hleþ*), cf. also Jacobs (1899: 127), also van Helten (1894: 405-6). I find no pattern that could have served for this analogy, but a transition into the str. II class in order to avoid the original deviant ablaut pattern has also been assumed for Faeroese and MHG (Mottausch 1961: 133, who, remarkably, does not mention OFris. in this connection). Another possibility seems to me that the OWfris. form is a remnant of a strong verb *hleupan- that occurred beside an intensive *hlaupjan-. Mottausch (1961: 138-9) explains the vocalism of the Gmc. verb, i.e. *hlaup- rather than *hlup- from a contamination of these two stems.

●PFRIS: *hlāpa

Goth. *us]hlaupan* 'leap up', ON *hlaupa*, OE *hlēapan*, OS *-hlōpan*, OHG *hloufan*, *loufan*, MHG *loufen*, MLG *lōpen*, ODu. *loupou*, MDu. *lo(o)pen* 'go, run'

●PGMC: *hlaupanaN

● No IE etymology

The word has been compared with a BS. form *klub- meaning 'stumble' vel sim., cf. Lith. *klūpti* 'stumble', Latv. *kluburāt* 'limp'. As noted above, the vocalism of the Gmc. verb would be secondary. Mottausch (1961: 134-6) accepts the comparison, starting from an original meaning '*sich springend (hüpfend) fortbewegen*'. The comparison has been rejected for semantical reasons, however (Seebold 1970: 260). Moreover, there are formal problems. First,

we would expect a long vowel in BS. ****klub-** < ***klub-** due to Winter's Law. The only possibility is starting from ***klub^h-** rather than ***klub-**. We also find Baltic forms that go back to ***klup-**: Lith. *klùpti*, Latv. *klupt* 'stumble', which are not compatible with ***klub-**. A further comparison of Gr. *kálpē* 'trot' is rejected by Chantraine (1968) s.v. This leaves the unclear Baltic doublet ***klub^h/p-** as the only (doubtful) inner-IE parallel of Pre-Gmc. ***klub-**. We must be dealing with a substratum word.

hlia wk. vb.1 'declare, establish' Gmc.

OFris. also *līa*, *lhīa*

The former by-form shows the reduction of *hl-* to *l-* (Steller 1928: 33). On such spellings as *lhige* (XV, 39), cf. van Helten (1890: 117), Boutkan (1996: 14). On the semantics, cf. Bremer (1893: 319), van Helten (1907a: 178-9).

●PFRIS: ***hlia**

OE *hlīgan* 'attribute', MLG *lien*, MDu. *licn*, *lihen*, *lyen* 'confess, declare'; cf. also OE *hlīsa* 'reputation'

●PGMC: ***hlījanaN**

● No IE etymology

BS. words meaning 'cry, call' have been compared, e.g. OCS *klicati* 'call, cry out', Lith. *klỹkti* 'cry out' (Pokorny 1959: 600). Apart from the fact that a BS.-WGmc. (Ingveonic) parallel can hardly be used for a PIE reconstruction (Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *belijden* suggest ***klik-** [= ***kl-i-k-**, i.e. an extension to ***kelh₁-**, cf. Lat. *calcō* 'call?']), the semantics does not fit either. Furthermore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the BS. words represent expressive formations that do not allow exact formal comparison.

see also: hli(g)ene

hlid subst. n. 'eye-lid' PIE

OFris. also *lid*, *lhīt*

The former by-form shows the reduction of *hl-* to *l-* (Steller 1928: 33). On such spellings as *lhīt* (E), cf. van Helten (1890: 117), Boutkan (1996: 14).

●PFRIS: ***hlid**

ON *hliþ* 'opening, door', OE *hlid*, OHG (*h*)*lit*, MHG *lit*, MLG *lit*, *let* (cf. also *ōgenlit*), MDu. *lit* (cf. also *oge(n)lit*, *-lct*) 'cover, lid'; cf. also:

OE, OS *hlidan*, OFris. *hlīda* 'cover, close'

●PGMC: ***hlidaN**

●PIE: ***klito-**

POKORNY: 600-2

The specific meaning 'cover' may have developed from 'lean on', which makes a connection with OE *hlinian*, *hleonian*, OS *hlinon*, OHG (*h*)*linēn* 'lean', etc. possible. These forms represent ***kl-(e)i-** 'incline', cf. Skt. *śráyati* 'lean on', Gr. *klínō*, *klínnō* 'incline, lean on', Lat. *clīnō* 'bend, incline' (cf. s.v. *-hald*). Perhaps also ON *hlíta* 'lean on, trust on' < ***klēi-d-**.

see also: bihalva, -hald, half, halve, helde 1.

hliene, hligene subst. f. 'official statement; statement of a witness' Gmc. Both forms represent spelling variants of /hlī-/ [l^hrⁱ], cf. van Helten (1890: 79). OFris. also *lhīene*, *hli(i)nge*

On the former by-form, cf. van Helten (1890: 117).

The latter by-form represents another, i.e. a feminine *-ing*-formation, cf. especially Ahlsson (1960: 235). On the semantics, cf. van Helten (1907a: 179).

A feminine substantival *-ene*-derivation (Ahlsson 1960: 10ff., 16) to *hli*, cf. s.v. *hliā*.

see also: *hliā*

hligene cf. s.v. *hliene*, *hligene*.

hod subst. m. 'hat' Gmc.

OFris. also *hath*

This by-form is only found once in E₃ (II, 38) but must be taken seriously (see below). It must be interpreted as /hat/.

●PFRIS: *hōd ~ hat

OE, OS (OFris.) *hōd*, OHG, MHG *huot*, MLG *hōt*, *hūt*, MDu. *hoet*; ON *hōttr*, OE *hætt*, OFris. *hath* 'hat'

●PGMC: *hōd ~ hatt-

● No IE etymology

The word has been compared with Lat. *cassis* 'metal helmet', which is, however, labelled as an Etruscan loan by Isidorus (Or. 8.14.1.). Furthermore, the root structure *k-d^h is impossible in PIE. The ablaut combined with consonant length (i.e. *ōC ~ aCC; jod-gemination is impossible given the lack of i-UL) is also a strange (non-IE) phenomenon, which seems to point to Kuiper's substratum layer A₂ (Kuiper 1995). I see little reason to connect OE *hceden* 'clothing', ON *hedinn* 'fur coat' < *hed-en-az (de Vries 1992 s.v. *hoed*).

see also: *hodere*

hodere subst. m. 'certain civil servant of a 'fiardandel' with military power; leader of a feud' PIE

Only found in R; original meaning usually interpreted as 'wearer of a hat' (= symbol of prestige), cf. van Helten (1907a: 253).

●PFRIS: *hōdiri

Substantival *-ere*-formation to *hōd*, q.v.

Lit: Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: 160

see also: *hod*

hof 1 subst. m. 'hoof' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *hōf

ON *hōfr*, OE, OS *hōf*, OHG, MHG *huof*, MLG *hōf*, *huf*, MDu. *hoef*, *hoof* 'hoof'

●PGMC: *hōfaz

●PIE: *kōpHo- [?]

The word only has IIr. cognates, cf. Skt. *śaphá-* 'hoof, claw', Av. *safa-* 'hoof', which reflect a normal grade **ke/opHo-*. The formal and semantical correspondence seem to safeguard a PIE reconstruction.

We may be dealing with a typical relic form that only survived in the periphery of the IE area, cf. also the s-plural of the o-stems: Ved. *-āsas* (well-established but less frequent than *-ās* and rare after the Rigveda), Av. *-āṣhō*, Pali *-āse*, Prakrit *-āhu*, *-āho* ~ PGmc. **ō*/_zez* in OE *-as*, OS *-os*, *-as*, etc. (Beekes 1989; Boutkan 1995: 187ff.).

hof 2 subst. n. 'yard, garden, premises; churchyard; court' Gmc.

•PFRIS: *hof

ON *hof* 'premises; temple', OE *hof* 'dwellings, farm', OS *hof* 'dwellings, court', OHG, MHG *hof* 'yard, dwellings, court', MDu. *hof* 'yard, dwellings, court'

•PGMC: *hufaN

• No certain IE etymology

The word has been explained as a formation **keu-p-* referring to heights, heaps, etc. (Pokorny 1959: 591-2) to **keu-* 'bend', e.g. OPers. *kaufa-* 'mountain', Lith. *kaūpas* 'heap'; cf. also s.v. *hāch*. The argument is that dwellings were built on high points in the landscape. The semantic part of this comparison has been doubted, however. The word must originally have referred to an (enclosed) piece of land, i.e. to the premises on which a building (house, temple) could be constructed (de Vries 1992 s.v. *hof*). In this connection, I also refer to such collocations as Dutch *huis en hof* 'house and yard', i.e. the building and its premises. From this semantic perspective, de Vries starts from a basic meaning 'wicker-work' (viz. of the enclosure) maintaining the traditional comparison of such forms as ON *húfr* 'lull of a ship', OE *hȳf* 'beehive', Lat. *cūpa* 'barrel', etc. (Pokorny 1959: 591 s.v. C.III *keu-p-* a.) This is semantically not compelling and yields formal problems in view of the long *ū* that cannot represent ablaut with **u* in **hufa-*.

I am tempted to start from a word more specifically referring to a piece of land. Perhaps, we can compare Dutch *hoeve* 'piece of land, farm', OS *hōba*, OHG *huoba* 'piece of land' < PGmc. **hōbō*. This word shows a strong formal and semantical resemblance to **hufa-*, but cannot represent an IE ablaut form. It only has possible cognates in Gr. *kēpos* (Doric *kāpos*) 'garden', but also *kāpus* (Hes.) 'fallow land', and Alb. *kopshtës* 'garden'. The poor evidence for an IE etymon (the sole Greek/Albanian parallel) contrasts with the abundance of formations and ablaut forms (PGmc. **hōbō* < a-st. **keh₂pā*, Gr. *kēpos* < o-st. **keh₂pos*, *kāpus* < u-st. **kHpus*; Alb. *kopshtë* < **kēp-*). This may be interpreted as an indication for a substratum origin (pace Pokorny 1959: 529, de Vries 1992 s.v. *hoeve*). Demiraj (p.c.) connects the Alb. word with Alb. *kep*, *qep* 'till (a piece of land), cultivate' to $\sqrt{(s)kch_2p-}$ 'cut, cleave' (Pokorny 1959: 931-3), cf. also Gr. *(s)kāpetos* 'hole, ditch'.

see also: *hovia*

hol subst. n. 'hole, pit' PIE

●PFRIS: *hol

(Goth. *hulundi*), ON, OE, OS, OHG, MHG *hol*, MLG *hol*, *hōl*, *hāl*, MDu. *hol(e)*, *hool* 'hole', cf. also the adjective:

ON *holr*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu. *hol* 'hollow'

●PGMC: *hulaN

●PIE: *keh₂ulo-

POKORNY: 537

Gr. *kaulós* 'stem, pole', Lith. *káulas* 'bone', Latv. *kaūls* 'stem, bone' < *keh₂ulo-, i-stem Lat. *caulis*; very doubtful is the connection of Skt. *kulyam* 'receptacle for bones left from a burnt corpse'.

This etymology takes the concept of 'hollowness' (cf. bones, stems) as a starting point for the later Gmc. meaning. This seems possible to me, although it is semantically not compelling. As de Vries (1992: s.v. *hol*) remarks, this etymology is at any rate more convincing than a connection with the root *hul- from *kel- 'conceal', cf. s.v. *helde* 2. (e.g. Feist 1939 s.v. *hulundi*). After laryngeal metathesis in *kHul- > *kuHl- > *kūl-, the vowel may have been shortened again under Dybo's rule (in this connection cf. Schrijver 1991: 535-6).

homolinge cf. s.v. *hemilinge*.

hona subst. m. 'cock, rooster' PIE

●PFRIS: *hona

Goth. *hana*, ON *hani*, OE *hona*, OS, OHG *hano*, MHG *han(e)*, MLG *hāne*, MDu. *hanc*, *haen* 'cock, rooster', cf. also

*hōn- 'fowl': OS *hōn*, OHG, MHG *huon*, MLG *hōn*, *hūn*, MDu. *hoen*;

s-st. pl. *hōn-es-: ON *hœns(n)*, *hœnsni*, OS *hōner*, OHG *huonir*, MHG *hüener*, MLG *hōner*, *hōn(e)re*, MDu. *hoenre*, Mod. Du. *hoenders* < *hōn(-d)er- + -s;

*hōn-jōn-: ON *hœna* 'hen'.

●PGMC: *hanan-

●PIE: *kh₂n-on-

POKORNY: 525-6

An n-stem formation to a root that meant 'to sing', Gr. *ēi-kanós* 'rooster' (see below), Lat. *canō*, OIr. *canid* 'sing'. The stem form *hōn- may reflect full grade: *keh₂n- (or *koh₂n-) rather than lengthened grade (Schrijver 1991: 95). For a semantical parallel cf. Skt. *uṣā-kala-* and the above cited Gr. *ēi-kanós* both '(lit.) dawn-caller = rooster'.

Lit: Darms 1978: 122-33

hond subst. f. 'hand, oath, (responsible) person, witness helping an accused by swearing an oath, family member, criminal, fine for wounding a hand' Gmc. OFris. also *hand*

The spelling variation <a,o> denotes neutralization of *a ~ *o/_n; note the common-OFris. lengthening of a, o before -nd.

●PFRIS: *hānd

see also: henda

hongia wk. vb. 2 'hang (intr.)' PIE

OFris. also *hangia*

The spelling variation <a,o> denotes neutralization of *a ~ *o/_n.

●PFRIS: *hāngia

A weak 2 verbal formation to the root *hanh- 'hang', cf. s.v. *hanzoch*.

see also: hanzoch, heinz(i)och, hwa

hop subst. m. 'ring (fig.: the ring of dikes around Frisia)' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hōp

ON *hóp* 'small curve in the sea-shore', also Mod. Icelandic *hóp* 'curve in a river-mouth', OE *hōp*, MDu. *hoep*, *hoop*, *houp*, Mod. EastFris. *hōp* 'hoop'; cf. also

MLG ° *-hop* in place-names, Mod. Du. *hoep-el* (→ American English *hoople*).

●PGMC: *hōp

The original meaning must have been 'curve, ring', cf. the ON word.

● No certain IE etymology.

The word has been connected with such BS. forms as Lith. *kabù*, *-ėti*, 'hang', with s-: OCS *skoba* 'fibula', both < *(s)kob-. The Gmc. words may have lengthened grade. However, the final consonants do not fit. Proto-BS. *(s)kob- can only reflect earlier *(s)kob^h- as original *-b would have yielded lengthening of the stem vowel due to Winter's Law. Moreover, the restricted distribution points to a substratum word.

A further connection of this root *(s)kob^h- with PIE *(s)komb-, e.g. Gr. *kómbos* 'ribbon, tie' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 918) would yield further problems in view of the nasal. An e-grade form *skemb- of this latter root is also attested, cf. Norwegian *hempa* 'strap, loop'. The semantical development is not compelling. If cognate, the pattern of prenasalisation and non-fitting root-final consonants reminds of Kuiper's substratum layer A₂ (1995: 68ff.).

The form *(s)kamb- meaning 'crooked, curved', e.g. Gr. *skambós*, OIr. *camb* 'crooked' (Pokorny 1959: loc. cit.) is possibly of non-IE origin (cf. s.v. *hemilinge*) and its connection with *(s)ke/omb- remains unclear.

hor subst. n. 'fornication' PIE

The meaning 'fornication' rather than 'adultery' (cf. the other Gmc. forms) becomes clear from such collocations as *Thu ne skalt nen hor tha nen overhor dua* (R₁ I, 28-9) 'you shall not commit fornication nor adultery' (cf. van Helten 1907a: 13, pacc von Richthofen 1840: 826).

●PFRIS: *hōr

ON *hór*, OE *hōr*, OS *hōr[hūs*, OHG, MHG *huor*, MLG *hōre* 'adultery', cf. also m. o-st.: Goth. *hors*, ON *hōrr* 'fornicator';

f. ā-/ōn-st.: ON *hóra*, OE *hōre*, OHG *huora*, MHG *huor(e)*, MLG *hōr(e)*, *hūre*,

MDu. *hoer(e)*, *hore* 'prostitute';

f. jō(n)-st.: OHG *huor(r)a*, MDu. *huerre* 'prostitute', perhaps also MLG *hōrre* 'prostitute', but this form is considered a spelling of *hōr(e)* in Lasch et al. (1933) s.v. *hōre*. Furthermore: MLG *herie*, *herge* 'prostitute' < *harjōn-, cf. also *hergensōne* (-*hōrensōne*) → ON *herjansson* 'son of a whore'.

●PGMC: *hōraN

●PIE: *keh₂r-

POKORNY: 515

A fitting parallel is Lat. *cārus* 'dear' < *keh₂r-os. OIr. *carae* 'friend', Toch. A *krant*, Toch. B *krent* 'good' < *krh₂-out- show *r* as part of the root (Hilmarsson 1986: 173; Schrijver 1991: 95).

see also: hordom

hordom subst. m. 'fornication' PIE

Compound of *hōr* 'fornication' and *-dōm* 4. adj. suffix, cf. s.vv.

horn subst. m. 'horn' PIE

●PFRIS: *horn

A substantival formation PGmc. *hurna- to √ker(h₂), see further s.v. *herne*.

see also: herne

hovia wk. vb. 2 'accommodate, lodge' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hovia

A weak 2 verbal formation to *hufa-, cf. s.v. *hof* 2.

see also: hof 2.

hrena wk. vb. 1 'smell' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *hrena

OE *hrenian* 'smell', cf. also:

*hreina-: ON *hrína* 'be fulfilled, touch', OE, OS *hrīnan*, OHG *rīnan*, MHG *rīnen*, MDu. *gerinen* 'touch';

*hrinaN: OE *gehrin* 'decoration';

*hrini-: OE *hrine* 'feeling', OFris. *hrene* 'sense of smell', q.v.

We must start from the meaning 'feel', which apparently specialised towards the meaning 'smell' in OFris., cf. especially formally identical OE *hrine* ~ OFris. *hrenc*.

●PGMC: *hrinojanaN

● No IE etymology.

The comparison of such Baltic forms as Lith. *krėnà* 'skin on milk; cream' (Pokorny 1959: 618: '... was man abstreift, abschöpft') should be given up (Seebold 1970: 271).

see also: hrenc

hrene subst. m. 'sense of smell' Gmc.

A substantival i-stem formation to *hreina-, cf. s.v. *hrena*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

see also: hrena

hropa str. vb. VII 'call, cry out' Gmc.

OFris. also *rōpa*

This form shows the well-known loss of initial *h-* before *r* (van Helten 1890: 116).

•PFRIS: *hrōpa

OE, OS *hrōpan*, OHG *ruofan*, MHG *ruofen*, MLG *rōpen*, MDu. *ro(e)pen*, *roupen*, *rucpen* 'call', cf. also

weak *hrōp-ja-: Goth. *uf]hropjan* 'cry out', ON *hrœpa* 'defame', OHG *ruofen* (Notker) 'call';

n *hrōpaN: ON *hróp* 'crying out, revilement', OE (*gc*)*hrōp* 'lamentations';

m *hrōpiz: Goth. *hrops* 'clamor', OHG *ruof* 'clamor';

etc.

•PGMC: *hrōpanaN

• No IE etymology

The possibility has been considered that the Gmc. root represents a (unique) *b*-extension to *kerH- ~ *krēH-, cf. Skt. *carkarti* 'mention with praise', Gr. *kēruks* 'herald' [Pokorny 1959: 530-31]. An attempt towards a PIE reconstruction is also found in Schrijver (1991: 95, 112). The two formations would be Skt. *kar- (< *kerH-) ~ Gmc. *kr-ōp- (*krēH-b-?). Seebold (1970: 279-80) does not accept this. Other, less convincing ideas + reff. in Lehmann (1986) s.v. *hropjan*, de Vries (1992) s.v. *roepen*.

Perhaps the complex is to be connected with ON *skrapa* 'clatter', Lith. *skrebėti* 'rustle', OCS *skrobotъ* 'noise' with mobile *s- (Noreen 1894: 206). The BS. evidence points to root-final *b^h (absence of lengthening due to Winter's Law). The pattern of sole BS. cognates with different root-final consonants points to a substratum origin.

hu adv. 'how' PIE

OFris. also *hō*

This by-form represents the OWFris. variant.

•PFRIS: *hū

OE *hū*, OS *hū*;

OS *hwo*, OHG *wuo*, MLG *wō*, *wū*, ODu. *huo*, MDu. *hoe*, *ho* 'how', cf. also:

*hwē: Goth. *hve* '(with) what', ON *hvé* 'how, why';

*hwai-: Goth. *hwaiwa* 'somehow';

*hwī: ON *hví*, OE, OS *hwī* 'how, why';

etc.

•PGMC: *hwō

Hollifield (1979), who tries to underpin a sound law PGmc. *ō in monosyllables > NWGmc. *ū, explains the forms OE, OS, OFris. *hū* (but MLG *wū* < *wō) as the regular reflexes of an old Is *h^wō (< *k^woh₁), i.e. an ablaut variant of Goth. *hve* < *k^wch₁. The forms that retain *ō, i.e. OHG *wuo*, OS

huo, OWFRis. *ho* (and MLG *wō*, ODu. *huo*, MDu. *hoe*, *ho*) would go back to *hwōⁿ, cf. Lat. *quam* 'how much, as (adv.)'. I doubt the unconditional transition of final *-ō to NWGmc. *-ū (Boutkan 1995: 44-5, fn. 16).

According to the traditional interpretation, the forms containing *ū* go back to *hwō[#]. Perhaps some accentual difference is responsible for the retention or loss of the labial element, i.e. *hwō > *hū ~ *hwō > *hō (Boer 1924: 141). The difference *h-/w-* in anlaut must have arisen before back and front vowels, respectively: *hwV^{+back} > *h-*, *hwč/ĩ > *w-*, with later spread of the *w-*, cf. *wō > OHG *wuo*, etc.

●PIE: *k^woh₁

POKORNY: 644-5

Skt. *kás*, Av. *kō* < *k^wos, Lat. *quī* < *k^wo + (deictic) *i, Lith. *kà-s*, Goth. *hva-s* 'who' etc.

Lit: Hollifield 1979

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *eider*, *eyder*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwers-sama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

Huna NP 'Hun' LW

hund subst. m. 'dog' PIE

OFris. also *hond*

This by-form is OWFRis. and shows the vowel *o* for *u* before nasal cluster.

●PFRIS: *hund

Goth. *hunds*, ON *hundr*, OE, OS *hund*, OHG, MHG *hunt*, MLG *hunt*, *hont*, ODu. *hund*, MDu. *hont*, *hond* 'dog', cf. also ON *hyndla* 'small dog'

●PGMC: *hundaz

●PIE: *k^wun-to-

POKORNY: 632-3

Skt. *śvā*, Gr. *kuōn*, OIr. *cú* < *kuōn.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

hundred card. num. 'a hundred' PIE

OFris. also *hunderd*, *honderd*

The form *hundred* only occurs in R. Both by-forms show *-erd* for *-red* which represent different weakenings of the second member of the original compound (see below). The latter by-form is OWFRis. and shows the vowel *o* for *u* before nasal cluster.

●PFRIS: *hundred

ON *hundraþ* '100, or: 120 (in multiples, cf. *tvau hundraþ* = 240)', OE *hundred*, OS *hunderod*, MHG, MLG *hundert*, MDu. (*h*)*ondert*, *honder*, *hondertich* 'a hundred'

●PGMC: *hunda-raþa-

A compound of *hund- 'a hundred', cf. Goth. *hunda*, OE, OS *hund*, OHG, MHG, MLG *hunt*, cf. also MDu. *hond* 'measure of a hundred feet (of land)' and *-raþa- 'number', cf. s.v. *rethe*.

As to the Gmc. 'Großhundert' (= '120'), cf. Frings (1960a: especially pp. 20-1), Boer (1924: 227-8), Prokosch (1939: 289-90).

•PIE: *dk̥mtom

POKORNY: 192

Skt. *śatām*, Gr. *hekatón*, Lat. *centum* 'a hundred'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 289

see also: rethe

hunger subst. m. 'hunger' PIE [?]

OFris. also *honger*

This by-form is OWFris. and shows the vowel *o* for *u* before nasal cluster.

•PFRIS: *hungir

ON *hungr*, OE *hungor*, OS, OHG *hungar*, MHG *hunger*, MLG *hunger(e)*, ODu. *hungor*, MDu. *honger*, *hunger* 'hunger', cf. also:

with gramm. change: Goth. *hūhrus* < *hunhrus, weak vb. ON *há* 'torment' < *hanhōn, etc.;

weak I verb 'hunger': Goth. *huggrijan*, ON *hungra*, OE *hyngran*, OS *gi]hungre-an*, OHG *hungaren*, MHG *hungern*, MLG *hungern*, MDu. *hungeren*, (*h*)*ongeren*.

•PGMC: *hung-raz ~ *hunh-

•PIE: *kenk- [?]

POKORNY: 565

The comparison of Lith. *keičti* 'harm', *kaukà* 'torture' is semantically possible but not compelling. The strongest argument in favour of it is the meaning of formally isolated ON *há* 'torment'. Other comparisons yield problems. Perhaps Skt. *kāṅkṣati* 'desires' belongs here, but cf. Mayrhofer (1986: I, 335 s.v. 'nicht klar'); **kákate* 'is thirsty' [Dhātup.] is not attested. Gr. *kágkanos* 'dry' has a radical *a which cannot reflect *k̥k- as we would expect *an* < **ṛ* before resonants only; on the other hand, Gr. *kégkei* 'be hungry' seems to be compatible, but Chantraine 1968 (s.v. *kágkanos*) considers the gloss uncertain.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304

hunig subst. m.? n.? 'honey' Gmc.

•PFRIS: *hunig

ON *hunang*, OSwe. *hunagh*, OE *hunig*, OS *honeg*, *huneg*, OHG *honag*, *honang*, MHG *honic*, -*ec*, *hōnic*, *hūnic*, MLG *hōnich*, *hōnich*, *honnich*, *hānich*, ODu. *honog*, MDu. *honich*, *honech*, *honinc(h)*, *huenic* 'honey'

•PGMC: *hunang- ~ *hunag-[?]

It has been suggested that the original suffix was *-ag- (cf. Finnish LW *hunaja*) that underwent influence of *-i(n)g-. This process must have been prior to i-mutation in the MHG, MLG forms, but cf. OE *hunig* without i-mutation (**hynig*, **henig*). It seems more likely that the rare suffix *-ang- was partly replaced by the more productive suffix *-ag- (Hilmarsson 1986: 35).

• No IE etymology.

The word has been connected with a stem *knH-ko- denoting yellow/brownish colours, cf. Pokorny 1959: 564-5. The only reliable forms seem to be Skt.

kāñcana- 'golden', Gr. *knēkós* 'yellowish'. This comparison is semantically possible but not compelling.

With a slight change of perspective, we can adduce Toch. B *kroñkše*, Toch. A *kroñkše*, 'bee' < *knHonk-ōn- with dissimilation of the first *n (Hilmarsson 1986: 34-7). We would be dealing with an individualizing n-stem formation beside *knHonko- > PGmc. *hunanga-. The form *hunaga- may have arisen later due to adaption of the more productive suffix *-ag-. Then, one could furthermore compare the 'yellow'-complex Skt. *kāñcana-* < *kṛHnkeno-, Gr. *knēkós* < *kṛHko- (dissimilation of *kṛHnko-?).

Especially in view of the unclear and intricate suffix variation in Gmc., one could, on the other hand, consider the possibility that PIE *meli 'honey' (Gr. *méli* etc.) was replaced by a substratum word *hun-i/ag- (~ -ing- [?]).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305

hus subst. n. 'house' PIE

Ofris. also *huis*

This by-form is the OWfris. form in which the long vowel *ū* is indicated by the spelling *ui*.

●PFRIS: *hūs

Goth. *-hūs*, ON *hús*, OE, OS, OHG *hūs*, MHG *hūs*, *hous*, MLG, ODu. *hūs*, MDu. *huus*, *hues*, *huys* 'house'

●PGMC: *hūsaN

●PIE: *kuh₁-s-

POKORNY: 953

An isolated s-extension to the root *(s)keuH- 'cover' (Pokorny 1959: 951-3), cf. Gr. *skūtos* 'skin', MWelsh *eskit* 'shoe' < *ped-skūt-, Toch. A *kāc* 'skin' < *kuHti-, ON *húp* OHG *hūt*, OFris. *hēd* etc. 'skin'; perhaps also Lat. *ob|scūrus* 'dark', OHG *skūr* 'dwelling', etc., with mobile *-s- (cf. also Noreen 1894: 204).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305; Schrijver 1991: 239-40, 246-7

see also: *husbreke*, *husfretho*, *husia*, *husi(n)g*, *huslotha*, *husmon*

husbreke subst. f. 'demolition of a house' PIE

Compound of *hus* 'house' and *breke* 'burst, crack; demolition, crime', s.vv.

husfretho subst. m. 'fretho of a house' PIE

Compound of *hus* 'house' and *fretho* 'peace, (legal) protection, safety; compensation for breach of the peace', s.vv.

husia wk. vb. 2 'house' PIE

●PFRIS: *hūsia

A weak 2 verbal formation to *hūs* 'house', q.v.

husi(n)g subst. m. 'freeman' PIE

As to the variation *-ing* ~ *-ig* cf. Boutkan (1996: 47).

●PFRIS: *hūsing

A masculine substantival *-inga-formation to *hūs* 'house', q.v.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 108fn 8., 187; Munske 1964: 79

huslotha subst. m. 'tax for a house' PIE

Compound of *hus* 'house' and *-lotha* 'tax, tribute', s.vv.

Lit: cf. Buma 1961 s.v. for ref.; Klaarbergen 1949

husmon subst. m. 'freeman' PIE

Compound of *hus* 'house' and *mon* 'man', s.vv.

hwa str. vb. VII 'hang' PIE

●PFRIS: *hwā

A strong VII verbal formation to the root *hanh- 'hang', cf. s.v. *hanzoch*.

hwana adv. 'whence' PIE

●PFRIS: *hwana

cf. further s.v. *alhwenne*, Gmc. construction nr. (4).

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *eider*, *eyder*, *hu*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasa*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

hwanat adv. + pron. 'whence it' PIE

Syntagm containing *hwana* 'whence' and *-t* = enclitic *hit 'it [Nsn]' to *hi*, q.v.

hwande conj. 'as, because, given' PIE

OFris. also *wande*, *hwante*, (*h*)*want*, *hwende*, *hwent*, *hwanne*, *hwand*

Initial *h-* could be dropped before *w* (Steller 1928: 33). Assimilation of the medial cluster yielded *hwanne*. Apocope yielded *hwand*. The forms containing *t* are problematic. One might start from a form with final devoicing of *-d to *t*. Usually, OFris. (*h*)*want*, *went* is derived from *hwan-dō (next to *hwan-dē; cf. Lat. *quando*) > *hwan-du > *hwand > *hwant*, cf. OS by-form *hwant* (van Helten 1903: 564).

The form *hwant*, whatever its origin, then influenced (*h*)*wande*, which resulted in *hwante* (van Helten 1890: 94). Since, however, the latter variant is twice attested in R₁ (I, 20; XX, 115), none of these explanations can be upheld, because in this manuscript no final devoicing of *-d to *-t* seems to be attested. I therefore start from a doublet *hwandē/*hwanþō (Verner variation) yielding *hwande*/*hwanþ, in which the latter form became *hwant* according to the phonological rule *-nþ(-) > *-nt(-)*, cf. also 3s ind. pres. (R₁) *barnt* < *barnth, *betēnt* etc. This *hwant* may have contaminated with *hwande*.

The absence of the transition *a > o before nasal (**hwonde etc.) is due to lack of sentence stress (van Helten 1890: 3). Umlaut in *hwende*, *hwent* < Ls *hwan-d-ei (van Helten 1903: 564); forms containing <a> show partly unlauded *a [æ] (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *hwāndi

hwelik indef. pron. 'each, every; which; any; whatever' PIE

OFris. also *hwelek*, *hwelk*, *hulk*, *hwek* (q.v.), *hok*, *huk*

These by-forms represent several stages of enclitic reduction.

●PFRIS: *hwelik

A *-lika-derivation based on PGmc. *hwa- < PIE *k^wo-, cf. further s.v. *alhwenne*.

Also in: Goth. *hwileiks*, *hweleiks*, ON *hwélikr*, *hwílikr*, OE *hwelc*, *hwilc*, MDu. *wc(e)lc*, *wilk*, *welic*, *wulc*, *walc*, *weilc*, *willech*, etc. 'which'.

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *eider*, *eyder*, *hu*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasa*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

hwelikera honda adv. expression 'whatever [lit.: 'of what hands' (Gp)]' PIE Collocation of *hwelik* 'whatever' (Gp) and *hond* 'hand' (Gp), cf. s.vv.

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *eider*, *eyder*, *hu*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasa*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

-hwenne conj. 'until' PIE

Second element in *alhwenne*, q.v.

OFris. also *hwanna*

The form *hwanna* (F) shows retention of *-a-* before a nasal under low sentence stress (van Helten 1890: 3) and <-a> as scribal variant for *-e* (van Helten 1890: 52 Ann. 3.; Sjölin 1970-75: 46).

●PFRIS: *hwenni

cf. further s.v. *alhwenne*, Gmc. construction nr. (3).

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *eider*, *eyder*, *hu*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasa*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

hwer adv. 'where' PIE

●PFRIS: *hwēr (P-OFris.?)

An adverbial r-formation to PGmc. *hwa- < PIE *k^wo-, cf. further s.v. *alhwenne*.

Also in: OE *hwēr*, OS *hwār*, OHG (*h*)wār, MHG *wā(r)*, MLG *wār*, MDu. *waer*; cf. also: OS *hwara*, OHG (*h*)wara, MDu. *warc* < *hwēr-; cf. also Goth. *hvar*, ON *hvar*, OS *hwar*, OHG (*h*)war < *hwar, all meaning 'where'.

Cf. furthermore Lat. *cūr* 'why' < *k^wōr, etc.

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *eider*, *eyder*, *hu*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasa*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *hwet*, *nahwedder*

hweron adv. 'whereto' PIE

Compound of *hwēr* 'where' and *on* 'on, in', cf. s.vv.

hwersa adv. 'wherever' PIE

Compound of *hwēr* 'where' and the strengthening element *sa* 'so', cf. s.vv.

Also in OE *swā hwær swā*, OS *sō hwār sō*, OHG *sō (h)wār sō*, MDu. *sowaer (so)*, etc.

hwersama adv. + pron. 'wherever one' PIE

Collocation of *hwērsā* 'wherever' and *ma* 'one', cf. s.vv.

hwet indef. pron.; rel. pron. 'what(ever); which' PIE

Neuter form (PIE *k^wo-d > PGmc. *hwa-t) of the indef. pron. *hwa, cf. s.v. *hwasā*.

see also: *ahwedder*, *alhwenne*, *cider*, *cyder*, *hu*, *hwana*, *hwanat*, *hwande*, *hwante*, *hwasā*, *hwasane*, *hwedder*, *hweddersa*, *hwek*, *hwelik*, *hwelikera honda*, *-hwenne*, *hwer*, *hweron*, *hwersa*, *hwersama*, *nahwedder*

hwit adj. 'white, shiny' PIE

Ofris. also *wit*, *whit* ~ *hwitt*-

Initial *h*- could be dropped before *w* (Steller 1928: 33), hence *wit*. The form *whit* is found in Junius' apographa from codex Unia f.22 v^o (... *and whita stenan leiden hia in liflikera sekum.*) and has been attributed to influence of English orthography, which seems utterly improbable to me. The form must have been present in the original MS, where it may have denoted a voiceless *w*-, cf. also such doublets as *lh-* ~ *hl-* < *hl- in R₁. As to the length of the vowel and the geminate *-tt-*, see below. The form in R₁ must be the one without geminate, cf. Dsn *hwita* = /hwīta/.

●PFRIS: *hwīt ~ *hwitt

Goth. *hwēits*, ON *hwitr*, OE, OS *hwīt*, OHG (*h*)wīz, MHG *wīz*, ODu. *wīt* 'white', cf. also OFris. *hwite* (*hwitt-*), MLG, MDu. *wit* (*witt-*) 'white'

●PGMC: *hweit- ~ *hwitt-

The two forms *hweit- and *hwitt- have been interpreted as the representatives of two different formations *k_ueid- and *k_uid-no- (Skt. *śvītna-* 'whitish'), respectively (de Vries 1992 s.v. *wit*).

Holthausen (1955: 201-2) gives an exhaustive discussion of the forms and concludes that, apart from OS hap. *hwitt* (in *C*, where irregular gemination is found more often) and *huite* (*Hild.*), the forms with short vowel and geminate are younger. OFris. has both forms. Holthausen assumes that the younger form arose analogically after the forms of the grades of comparison, cf. Middle English *whitter*, *whittest* beside Standard English *white* (but Scottish *whit*).

Note that the dental of Skt. *śvītna-* is *t. The Skt. form safeguards the assumption of a formation *k_uit-no- > PGmc. *hwitt- due to Kluge's Law; PGmc. *hweit- may have an analogical *-t after the 'Kluge'-form.

●PIE: *k_ueit- ~ *k_uit-no-

POKORNY: 628-9

Skt. *śvītna-* 'whitish', Av. *spačta-* < *k_uoit- 'white', Lith. *švičsti*, 1 sg. *šiečiū* < *šviet-* 'gleam'.

I

-i 1 pers. pron. 'he' PIE

Enclitic by-form of *hī*, q.v.

-i- 2 pref. '[perfective] prefix' PIE

Weakened by-form of *e- 2*, q.v.

ic cf. s.v. *ik 1*.

idle adv. 'in vain' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *idli

adj. OE, OS *īdal*, OHG *ītal*, MHG *ītel*, MLG *īdel* 'vain', ODu. *īdel*, *īdil* 'vanus', MDu. *idel* 'vain'; perhaps also ON *illr* 'bad, angry' < *īd(i)lan ?

●PGMC: *idla-

● No IE etymology.

A root etymology to *h₁ei- 'go' (Skt. *éti*, OLith. *eiti*, Lat. *īt*, cf. Pokorny 1959: 293-6) has been proposed, but this is both formally and semantically unsatisfactory. Equally doubtful is a reconstruction *aid-la- to the root PIE *h₂eidh- 'burn, lighten' (Gr. *aithós* 'sparkling', etc., cf. Pokorny 1959: 11-2), which would presuppose an unparalleled formation to this root that furthermore underwent a specific (and not very obvious) semantical development.

ik 1 pers. pron. 'I' PIE

●PFRIS: *ik

Goth. *ik*, OR, ON *ek*, OE *ic*, *ih*, OS *ik*, OHG *ih*, MHG *ich*, MLG *ik*, ODu. *ik*, *ic*, MDu. *ic* 'I'

●PGMC: *ik(aN) (~ ek?)

The variation *e* (NGmc.) ~ *i* may result from an earlier variation between an enclitic form (*ik) and a stressed form (*ek). We can also start from a PGmc. (originally enclitic) form *ik with a variant *ikaN < *h₁ekǵom that underwent a-UL: *ikaN > PNGmc. *ek.

●PIE: *h₁ekǵ(om)

POKORNY: 291

The reconstruction of PIE yields difficulties. We find several formations to *h₁ekǵ, e.g. Skt. *ahám* < *h₁ekǵ-H-om, Gr. *egó(n)* < *h₁ekǵ-oH, Lat. *egō*, etc.

-ik 2 cf. s.v. *ek*

ili 1 subst. m. 'footsole' Gmc.

Ofris. also *ile*

This form shows the weakened vowel /ə/ <c>. The R₁-form *-i* indicates that the preceding stem is short (vowel balance).

●PFRIS: *ili

OE *ile* 'footsole', MLG *ēle* 'callus'; cf. also:

*iljō: ON *il* 'footsole';

*ilja-: OE *ill* 'callus';

*iljen-: HG Dial. *illen* 'bump, bruise';

*ileþ-: MLG *ēlde*, *ēlt*, Mod. Du. *eelt* 'callus' (possibly also ON *il*).

●PGMC: *ili

● No IE etymology.

A root etymology to *h₁ei- 'go' (Skt. *éti*, OLith. *eiti*, Lat. *īt* 'go', OHG *īlen* 'run, hasten', cf. Pokorny 1959: 293-6) has been proposed, but this is semantically unsatisfactory. The older meaning may have been 'callus', which could later be broadened to footsole (de Vries 1992 s.v. *eelt*). A comparison with Gr. *ilia* (Hes.) 'female sexual organs', Lat. *ilia* 'belly' [Pokorny 1959: 499, but possibly non-IE] yields formal problems given the long vowel *ī that is clear from Lat. and may be represented in the Gr. form.

ili- 2 pref. 'foreign, other' PIE

In: *ililende*.

Ofris. also *ele-*

This by-form as well as the Riustring form *ili-* regularly represent *ali-.

In Riustring OFris., the mutated *a may appear as *i*, and the unstressed vowel was retained as *i* after a short stem (vowel balance).

●PFRIS: *īli-

This form reflects *alja- in compounds, cf. Goth. *aljīs* 'other', *alja|lciko* 'otherwise'; *alja- is a io-stem formation to *h₂ol-, cf. s.v. *al*, *alle* 1.

ililende subst. n. 'exile, the dwelling in foreign country' PIE

Compound of *ili-* 2. 'foreign, other' and *-lende* 1. 'land', cf. s.vv.

iliskredene subst. f. 'cutting in the footsole' PIE

Compound of *ili* 1. 'footsole' and *skredene* 'the act of cutting', cf. s.vv.

in prep.; pref. (and adj. in comp. *inra*, superl. *inrost*, q.v.) 'in' PIE

●PFRIS: *in

Goth. *in*, ON *í*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, ODu., MDu. *in*; cf. also

adv. *in-?: Goth., ON *inn*, OE, OS *in(n)*, OHG, MHG *īn*, MLG, MDu. *in* 'into';

adv. *innan(V): OE, OS, OHG *innan*, MHG *innen*, OFris. prep. *inna* (q.v.), etc. 'in, inside, within';

adv. *innanē: Goth. *innana*, ON *innan*, OHG *innana*, etc. 'from within';

loc. *innai: Goth. *inna*, ON, OE, OS, OHG, OFris. (q.v.) *inne*, etc. '(with)in' (Goth. and WGmc. may also reflect *-ē); etc.

On the first, unclear formation cf. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *inn* + reff. The last formation shows by-forms without geminate (i.e. *ina*) in B; these are to be explained analogically after the preposition *in*, cf. van Helten (1903: 560; 1907: 193, 194 with reff.).

●PGMC: *in

●PIE: *h₁en

POKORNY: 311-4

Gr. *en*, Lat. *en*, *in*, OIr. *i*, OPruss. *en* 'in'; also *h₁eni, cf. Gr. *éni*.

Given this PIE evidence pointing to *Hen rather than *Hin, the PGmc. form must represent weakening of *e as a result of weak sentence stress: we would expect PGmc. *en < *h₁en under stress. Alternatively, we can assume influence of the by-form *Heni > *(H)ini (cf. Gr. *éni*), but this form cannot account for the WGmc. forms because *-i would have been retained after a short syllable in this branch.

see also: *xinna*, *inne*, *inur*

indwa anom. vb. 'wound a person who fled into a house' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *dwa* 'do', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 95 fn. on semantics.

inethma subst. m. 'inhale, the entering of air into a wound' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *ethma* 'breath', cf. s.vv.

***infuchta** str. vb. III 'fight into [?]' PIE

Only attested in the emendation *...*hwasā ioldskipi infuchte*... for X, 6 ...*hwasā ioldskipun fuchte*..., cf. Buma 1961 s.v.

Compound of *in* 'in' and *fuchta* 'fight', cf. s.vv.

ingod subst. n. 'furniture' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *gōd* 3. 'goods, property', cf. s.vv.

ingong subst. m. 'entering' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *gōng* 'way', cf. s.vv.

inkoma str. vb. IV 'enter' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *koma* 'come', cf. s.vv.

inlemithe subst. f. 'internal mutilation' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *lemithe* 'paralysis, mutilation', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 214 on semantics.

inna prep. 'in, into' PIE

Adverbial/prepositional formation *innai to *in*, q.v.

inne adv. 'in' PIE

Combined with *ther* I. in XV, 65: *ther inne* 'therein'.

Adverbial formation to *inna, cf. s.v. *in*.

inra comp. adj. '(more) inside' PIE

Adjectival comparative to *in*, q.v.

inrene subst. m. 'the act of flowing into sth. (of blood)' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *-rene* I. 'flow', cf. s.vv.

inrif subst. n. '(wounding of the) intestines' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *-rif* 'belly', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 293

inrost superl. adj. 'most inside' PIE

Adjectival superlative to *in*, q.v.

inseptha subst. m. '(fine for a) deep scar, *cicatrix depressa*' PIE

Always in formula: *abel and inseptha* (V 21, 35, 123) 'erhöhte und vertiefte Narbe' (Munske 1973: 141).

Compound of *in* 'in' and *-septha* 'scar', cf. s.vv.

see also: *abel*

inskathingē subst. f. 'wound' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *-skathingē* 'mutilation, damage', cf. s.vv.

instēpi subst. m. 'entrance (entering of a weapon in the body)' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *-stēpi* 'step, going', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *instæpe* 'entrance', etc.

insteta wk. vb. I 'hit into, blow into' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *stēta* 'hit, blow', cf. s.vv.

inur prep.; adv. 'over, in(side), through, into' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *ur 1.* 'about', cf. s.vv.

inwerdene subst. f. 'internal mutilation' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *werdene 1.* 'mutilation, damage', cf. s.vv.

inwetir subst. n. 'inland waterways' PIE

Compound of *in* 'in' and *wetir* 'water', cf. s.vv.

irthbivinge subst. f. 'earthquake' PIE

Compound of *irthe* 'earth' and *-bivinge* 'tremor', cf. s.vv.

Also in: OE *eorþbeofung*, *-bifung*, OS *erðbibunga*, OHG *erdbibunga*, ODu. *bivonga*, MHG *ertbibunge*, MLG *ērtbēvinge*, MDu. *erdbevinge* 'earthquake'. Appears next to an *ā*-stem formation OHG *erdbiba*, MHG *ertbibe*; cf. also MLG *ērtbēven*.

irthe subst. f. 'earth' Gmc.

OFris. also *erthe*, *erde*

The form *irthe* shows the typical Riustring raising of *e before -rD (e.g. Buma 1961: 47); *erde* shows the later form *d* for *th* < *þ.

●PFRIS: *erþi

Goth. *airþa*, ON *jørþ*, OE *eorþe*, OS *ertha*, OHG *erda*, hap. *ero* (Wessobrunner *Gebet*), MHG *erde*, MLG *ērde*, ODu. *ertha*, MDu. *e(er)de*, *aerde* 'earth'

●PGMC: *erþō

● No IE etymology.

The OHG hap. (scribal error?) *ero* (*Wessobrunner Gebet*) has been compared with Gr. *érā* 'earth' (Pokorny 1959: 332), but the stem formations do not correspond (OHG cannot be an \bar{a} -stem!). The remaining Gmc. forms show a dental formation. A further formation would be Celtic $*er\text{-}u\text{-}$, cf. Welsh *erw* 'field'. The only possible Gmc. parallel for this formation would be the disputed NL *Iprovala* (de Vries 1977 s.v.).

Arm. *erkir* 'earth' has also been compared, but the form yields formal problems as it cannot contain $*u$. Thus, the reconstruction of an IE etymon would require three different formations in three (four?) different branches, i.e. $*h_1er\text{-}$, $*h_1er\text{-}t\text{-}$, $*h_1er\text{-}u\text{-}$. I strongly suspect a substratum word.

irthfal subst. m. 'throwing somebody to the ground' PIE

Compound of *irthe* 'earth' and *fal* 'fall', cf. s.vv.

irthking subst. m. 'king of the earth' PIE

Compound of *irthe* 'earth' and *king* 'king', cf. s.vv.

irthrike subst. n. 'earth' PIE

Compound of *irthe* 'earth' and *rike* 2. 'realm', cf. s.vv.

is

3s ind. pres. (PGmc. $*esti$ < PIE $*h_1esti$) of *wesa* I., q.v.

see also: se 3., send, son

isern subst. n. 'iron' Gmc.

OFris. also *īscr*, *īsrn*, *irsēn*, *irser*

The forms *īsern* ~ *īser* represent an old doublet, see below. The by-form *īsrn* shows the generalised syncopated stem form; *irsēn* shows sr-metathesis in $*isren\text{-}$ (van Helten 1890: 81; van Helten 1907a: 197); *irser* is a contamination form of this form *irsēn* and *īser*.

●PFRIS: $*iser(n)$

Goth. *eisarn*, ON *ísarn* (← WGmc., cf. de Vries 1977: s.v.), *járn* (← Celtic),

OE *īsern*, OS, OHG *īsarn*, MHG *īsērn*, MLG *īser(e)n*;

OE *īrcn*, OHG *īsan*, *īzan*, MHG, MLG (late/Dial.) *īscn*, MDu. *isen*;

OS *īsan*, MHG, MLG *īser*, MDu. *iser* 'iron'

●PGMC: $*isarn \sim *isan \sim *īsar$

● No IE etymology.

The word is considered to be of Celtic origin (cf. Gaul. *īsarno*; e.g. Marstrand 1911: 204) which was borrowed at several stages, but there is room for doubt (discussion and many refl. can be found in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *eisarn*; also on the difficulties concerning the Celtic source form).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

isi vb. + pron. 'is he' PIE

Syntagm containing *is* 'be' and *hi* (encl. Nsm -i) 'he', cf. s.vv.

israhelisk adj. 'Israelian' LW

ist vb. + pron. 'is it' PIE

Syntagm containing *is* 'be' and *hi* (encl. Nsn -*t*) 'he', cf. s.vv.

itsil subst. m. 'spur' LW

Ofris. also *e(e)tsel*, *ezel*, -*il*, *e(e)tzil*, -*el*, *eitzel*, *ethzel*

The form containing *i*- shows the typical Riustring reflex of *i*-mutated **a*. The medial palatal /-č-/ is written *ts*, *tz*, *thz*, *z*. The vowel of the unstressed syllable may be weakened to *e* /ə/. The form *eitzel* (E₃) shows a development of *e* (< **ä*) to *ei* that is typical for this MS (van Helten 1890: 31). It is also found in D, however. I assume that it represents a long vowel (in open syllable) there, as in its by-form *eetsel* (D) and in *eetzel*, *eetzil* (J).

●PFRIS: *ičil

From Lat. *aculeus* 'prickle, spur' with replacement of the suffix *-ul- by *-il- (suggestion by Krook 1964: 65). The identification of the Latin source word has yielded difficulties.

The current derivation seems to be that from **aciale* 'steel' (actually only attested as *acuale*, cf. Krook 1964: 65). Holthausen and Hofmann 1985 s.v. *etzil*, *itzil* derive the form from an alleged Lat. *acīle*, which seems to be a reconstruction rather than an attested form (Krook 1964: 65). In Holthausen 1921 s.v. *ezil*, *izil* (sic), we find *aciālis*, which is equally untraceable. Wollmann (1990: 532) quotes '*acialis*', but cf. fn. 75 ('*aciale*').

Krook (1964: 64) gives a short overview of the earlier explanations. He explains the form from a Gmc. etymon **hakil-* (OHG *hechel*, etc.); this leaves the absence of **h-* unaccounted for, however. Sjölin (1963: 79-81, 186 + reff.) favours Krook's explanation and explains the loss of **h-* through a folk etymology after a verb **etta*, cf. ON *etja* 'incite' and the first element of OFris. *etgēr* 'spear'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *ezil izil* (sic); Wollmann (1990: 532 fn. 75 + reff.)

iven, ivin adv.; pref. 'equally' Gmc.

Ofris. also *ewen*, *evene*, *evna*, *efne*

The R₁-doublet *-in* ~ *-en* points to a neutralisation of the opposition between unstressed /*e*/ and /*i*/ before /*n*/.

Elsewhere *-en* represents the weakening of **-in*. The forms in *-e*, *-a* represent other adverbial formations; *efne* shows syncope and subsequent final devoicing of /*v*/ to /*f*/; *ewen* shows the late-Ofris. development of *-v-* to *-w-*. The first vowel is etymological **e*, which appears as *i* before the following *i* in R.

●PFRIS: *evin

adj. Goth. *ibns* 'even, level, flat', ON *jafn*, *jamn*, OE *ef(e)n*, *emn*, OS *eban*, OHG *eban*, MHG *eben(e)*, MLG *eben(e)*, *effen*, MDu. *even*, *effen* 'even'

●PGMC: *ebna-

● No IE etymology

The word has been compared with Skt. *yam-* 'control' < PIE **ǵem-* 'hold together' (Pokorny 1959: 505). Other, equally improbable proposals in de Vries 1992 s.v. *effen*, Lehmann 1986 s.v. *ibns*.

see also: *ivenes*, *ivenia*

ivenes adv. 'equally' Gmc.

An adverbially used Gs of the adj. *iven* 'equal', cf. s.v. *iven*, *ivin*.

ivenia wk. vb. 2 'make even' Gmc.

Weak verbal formation to adj. *iven* 'equal', cf. s.v. *iven*, *ivin*.

ivenetha subst. m. 'fellow lawyer, colleague, lit. fellow sworn' Gmc.

Compound of *iven*, *ivin* pref. and *-ētha* '(a) sworn etc.', cf. s.vv.

iven-, ivinkerstena subst. m. (subst. adj.) 'fellow man' Gmc.

Compound of *iven*, *ivin* pref. and *-kerstena* 'christian', cf. s.vv.

ivinkniling subst. m. 'relative of the same degree' PIE

Compound of *iven*, *ivin* pref. and *-kniling* 'christian', cf. s.vv.

J

ja 1 str. vb. V 'confess, recognize, admit' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **jā*

OS *gehan* 'state, confess', OHG *jehan*, *gehan*, *jehen*, MHG *jehen*, *jēn* 'say, state, admit', MLG *jēn*, *gēn*, ODu. *-gian* 'confess', MDu. *gien* 'declare, confess'; cf. also:

weak 2. **jeh-o-*: ON *já* 'confess, say 'yes'', but hap. str. pp *jáenn*;

**jeh-t-ō-*: OFris. *jechta* (s.v. *jechta* 1.) 'confess';

f. **jeh-tiz*: OHG *jiht*, *bi|gicht* 'statement, confession, praise', OFris. *jecht*, *-jicht* 'confession';

f. **jehō*: MHG *jehē* 'statement';

m. **jeh-t-an-*: OFris. *jechta* (s.v. *jechta* 2.) 'situation beyond doubt, confession';

weak 1. **jeh-t-j-*: OHG *jihten*, MHG *gihten* 'confess', MLG *gichten*, MDu. *gichten*, *jechten* 'declare';

adj. **jeh-t-ih-*: OHG *jihtig*, MHG *gihtic* 'confessing', MLG *jichtich*, *gichtich* 'confessing, obvious', OFris. *jechtich* 'proven, to be paid after a confession', MDu. *gichtich*, *yechtich* 'confessing';

etc.

●PGMC: **jehanaN*

● No certain PIE etymology

A root PIE **ǵek-* [Pokorny 1959: 503-4] has been assumed, but the only certain cognates are found in Italic-Celtic, which suggests a substratum word. Lat. *iocus* '(word)joke', Welsh *iaith* 'language' (cf. Schrijver 1995: 106-7).

Skt. *yācati* 'ask, beseech' probably has a long vowel due to a laryngeal: * $\hat{y}eHk-$, cf. also *yā-* 'implore'. This makes a comparison with the above forms impossible. Toch. B *yāsk-* 'beg' has $\bar{a} < *H$.

Lit: reff. Buma 1961 s.v.; Lendinara 1990: 290; Seebold 1970: 286-7

see also: *jechta* 1., 2., *jechtich*, *jechtichlike*

ja- 2 adv. 'always' PIE

Original compound of **gi-* (= e- 2.) pref. and \bar{a} 3. 'ever etc.', cf. s.vv.

Ofris. also has *jāweder* < **gi* + **āhwedar* (van Helten 1890: 199).

see also: *ahwedder*

jahwelik indef. pron. 'every' PIE

Compound of *jā-* 2. 'always' and *hwelik* 'every, each, etc.', cf. s.vv.

jechta 1 wk. vb. 2 'confess' PIE

Weak 2 verbal formation to **jecht-*, cf. s.v. *jā* 1.

jechta 2 subst. m. 'situation beyond doubt, confession' PIE

Weak substantival formation to **jecht-*, cf. s.v. *jā* 1.

jechtich adj. 'proven, to be paid after a confession' PIE

Adjectival *-ig-formation to **jecht-*, cf. s.v. *jā* 1.

jechtichlike adv. 'proven' PIE

Adverbial formation to *jechtich*, cf. s.v. *jā* 1.

jef conj. 'if; or' PIE

Ofris. also *gef*, *cf*, *iof*, *of*, *ieft*

The abundance of forms is difficult to assess. Apparently, *gef* and *jef* are variant spellings of a form containing /j-/. The OWfris. form *jeft* may represent the weakened form *jefta* 'or', q.v., that was confused with this etymon as it was in Dutch (de Vries 1992 s.v. *of* 1., 2.) The rest of the forms appear to be different formations, see below.

●PFRIS: **jef*, *ef*, *jof*, *of*, *jeft*

OE *gief*, *gif*, cf. also:

**jub-*: OFris., MDu. (← OFris.??) *jof* 'if';

**ab-*: OS *af*, OHG *avo*, MLG *af* 'if';

**ub-*: OS *of*, OHG *ubi*, *ube*, *oba*, MHG *ob(c)*, *ob*, MLG *of*, OFris. *of*, ODu. *of* 'if', MDu. *of* 'whether; or';

**cb-*: ON *cf*, OS, MLG *ef*, OFris. *ef* 'if';

**ebō-*: Goth. *iba*, OHG *ibu* 'if';

**ebō-i*?: Goth. *ibai* interrogative part.;

**jabō-i*?: Goth. *jabai* 'if';

Probably, some forms are contaminations of others, e.g. **jub-* of **ub-* and **jeb(-)*.

●PGMC: **jeb-*

• No clear IE formation

At least part of the above Gmc. forms can be explained from the deictic elements (demonstrative) *e- and (relative) *io- enlarged with the emphasizing particle *b^hě ~ *b^hō, cf. Av. *bā* [Pokorny 1959: 113], but Gmc. *(j)ub- (with possible *u > o through a-mutation) remains unexplained.

jefma conj. + pron. 'if one' PIE

Collocation of *jef* 'if' and *ma* 'one' [indef. pron.], s.vv.

jef subst. f. 'gift, privilege' Gmc.

OFris. also f. *icfte*, m. *jef*, m. *icfta*

The word also shows weak fem. forms such as As *jefta* (~*jeft*), hence the first by-form f. *icfte*. The word may also occur as masc. *jef*. The by-form *icfta* represents a further OWFris. transition of this form into the weak masc. inflexion. There is no reason to assume forms with neuter gender (van Helten 1907a: 191).

•PFRIS: *géft

A feminine *-ti-abstract *geftiz to the root *geb- 'give', cf. s.v. *have*.

Also in: Goth. *frajgifts* 'gift, grant', ON *gift*, *gipt*, OE *gift*, *gyft*, OHG, MHG *gift*, MLG *gift(c)*, MDu. *gift(c)*, *gichte* 'gift'; cf. also:

str.v. *gebanaN: cf. s.v. *have*;

fem. *gebō: Goth. *giba*, ON *gjǫf*, OE *gi(c)fu*, OS *goba*, OHG *geba*, MHG *gebe*, MLG *gēve*, OFris. *jeve* (q.v.), MDu. *gēve* 'gift';

etc.

see also: *geve*, *have*, *hebbā*, *hef*, *heftness*, *jeva*, *jeve*

jeftha conj. 'or' PIE

OFris. also *ioftha*, *oftha*

We are dealing with a compound, the first element of which is *jef*, q.v., of which *iof* and *of* are by-forms. von Richthofen (1840) quotes many more by-forms, but these either represent other formations, e.g. *ieva* = *jef* + *ā* (= *ā* 3., q.v.); Lühr 1976: 85 rather assumes -a after *þau = *thā* 3.B., -*tha* 4., q.v.) or forms of *jef*, which etymon was confused with *jeftha* and came to serve in its place (as in Dutch). The hapax *iftha* (R₁, VI, 1) must be a scribal error.

•PFRIS: *jeftha

Compound of *jef* 'if' and (*thā* 3.B.) -*tha* 4., s.vv.

The actual origin of the compound must be a contamination of original *eþþa 'or' (Goth. *aipþau*, ON *cpa*, OE *cpþa*, OS *eddo*, etc.) and *jef* (Steller 1928: 30; also Lühr 1976: 85). The retention of -th- (for which we would expect -t-) must be ascribed to influence of *thā* 'or' (Goth. *þau*, cf. *thā* 3.B.; only retained as an independent word in R). Note that van Helten (1907a: 191) falsely interprets -*tha* as *than, i.e. *thā* 1., 2., 3.A., q.v. (also Lühr 1976: 93 fn. 42).

Also in: OE *ofthe*, OS *eftho*, *eftha*, *ofthc*, MLG *gift(c)*, *gicht*, *ift*

jeld subst. m. 'money, recompense (*wergild*)' Gmc.

Ofris. also *geld*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of **g* and **j* before front vowels.

●PFRIS: **ǵeld*

Goth. *gild* 'tax', ON *gjald* 'payment, recompense', OE *gield* 'substitute, sacrifice', OS *geld*, OHG, MHG *gelt* (m), MLG *gēlt*, MDu. *geld, gelt, gilt, gult* 'recompense, payment'; cf. also

**geldanaN*: Goth. *fra|gildan-* 'restore', *us|gildan* 'requite', ON *gjalda*, OSwe. *gjalla*, OE *gielðan*, OS *geldan*, OHG *geltan*, MHG *gelten*, MLG *gēlden*, OFris. *jelda* (q.v.), MLG *gelden* 'pay, recompense';

**geldja-*: ON *gildi*, MLG *gilde* (, *gelde, gülde*), OFris. *jelde, jole* (q.v.), MDu. *gilde* (, *gulde*) 'guild, fraternity'.

The concept of a 'guild' is in OE expressed by *gield*; in Du., we find ODu. *gelda* 'collecta', *gildonium* 'confederacy', etc.

It is probable that the root underwent a semantic shift under the influence of a change in Gmc. society (discussion + ref. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *gild*, also de Vries 1992 s.v. *gilde*).

The earliest reference was to sacred banquets (Tacit: *Germania* 21-2) for which a contribution had to be paid, and which furthermore accounts for the meaning 'fraternity' of the formation **geldja-*. In mediaeval times the economically oriented fraternities, the guilds, adopted this word, but it could still be used in reference to religious fraternities, cf. s.v. *jeldebröther, -swester*. The contribution to the banquets, **gelda-*, acquired a legal meaning 'recompense', but also the meaning 'money, currency' in general.

●PGMC: **geldanaN*

● No IE etymology.

This complex can only be compared with OCS *žlědŏ* 'pay, recompense', but the comparison is not entirely certain (Seebold 1970: 221-2, Pokorny 1959: 436).

The word can be a loan from Gmc., and the final dentals do not correspond: Gmc. **gelþ-* (e.g. OSwe. *gjalla*) ~ **geld-* < PIE **g^hel-t-* beside OCS *žlědŏ* < PIE **g^hel-d^(h)-*. This alternation, as well as the limited distribution, rather suggest a substratum origin.

Note furthermore that the concept of the sacred banquets represents a typical feature of early Gmc. society, probably of non-IE origin.

see also: *jelda, jelde* - 1., 2., *jeldebrother, jeldeswester, jeldlas, jeldmerk, jold(e), joldfretho, joldskipi, urjeld, withirjeld*

jelda str. vb. III 'pay, recompense' Gmc.

Ofris. also *gelda*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of **g* and **j* before front vowels.

●PFRIS: **ǵelda*

Cf. s.v. *jeld*.

see also: jeld, jelde- 1., 2., jeldebrotter, jeldeswester, jeldlas, jeldmerk, jold(e), joldfretho, joldskipi, urjeld, withirjeld

jelde- 1 subst. f. 'fraternity, religious guild' Gmc.

OFris. also *iold-*

It has been assumed that Riustring *jold(e)-* in (X, 7) *ilod fretho* = *iold fretho and in (X, 6) *sa hwas*a* ioldskipun fiuchte* is a variant of *jelde-* (cf. Buma 1961 s.vv.). However, as van Helten (1889: 259) convincingly pointed out, the required vocalic variation *je- ~ jo-* would be unparalleled. He takes *ilod fretho* seriously, and interprets the first member *ilod* as a cognate of OE *geloda* 'contubernalis, frater', i.e. as a representative of *gelod-; so, *ioldskipun* would be the actual scribal error. Buma 1961 s.v. suggests a further emendation of *-skipun fiuchte* to **-skipi unfiuchte*, which seems attractive as well.

The actual reading of the string (X, 6) *sa hwas*a* ioldskipun fiuchte* must therefore be: **sa hwas*a* ilodskipi unfiuchte* 'whoever fights a fraternity'.

●PFRIS: **ǵeldi-*

Cf. s.v. *jeld*.

see also: jeld, -jelde 2., jeldebrotter, jeldeswester, jeldlas, jeldmerk, jold(e), joldfretho, joldskipi, urjeld, withirjeld

-jelde 2 adj. suff. '-fold' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **ǵeldi*

A io-stem adjectival formation to **ǵeld-*, cf. s.v. *jeld*.

see also: jeld, jelde- 1., jeldebrotter, jeldeswester, jeldlas, jeldmerk, jold(e), joldfretho, joldskipi, urjeld, withirjeld

jeldebrotter subst. m. 'brother in a religious guild' PIE

Compound of *jelde-* 1. 'fraternity, religious guild' and *brōther* 'brother', s.vv.

jeldeswester subst. f. 'sister in a religious guild' PIE

Compound of *jelde-* 1. 'fraternity, religious guild' and *swester* 'sister', s.vv.

jeldlas adj. 'without (the obligation to pay) *wergild*' PIE

Compound of *jeld* 'money, recompense, *wergild*' and *-lās* 2. '-less', s.vv.

jeldmerk subst. f. 'certain currency' Gmc.

Compound of *jeld* 'money, recompense, *wergild*' and *merk* 'certain currency', s.vv.

The equation of this currency and the *skilling wichtgoldis* is given in the manuscript itself (R₁ XVI, 1-2): '... *Thiu ield merk thiu is en schilling wicht goldis...*'

It contained 40 *scillingar cona* (van Helten 1907a: 274, after Jaekel).

There has been discussion as to further equations of the *jeldmerk*. His (1907: 439-40; after Heck) states that the blinding of an eye is fined with 100 *scillingar*, but the complete loss of an eye with 20 *ieldmerk*.

We know that in Frisia the fine for the latter crime was twice that of the former.

Thus, we can establish a value of 10 *scillingar* for the *ieldmerk*. However, Jaekel (1906a: 291) assumes that *hundred* always meant '120' rather than '100', which would yield a correct value of 12 *scillingar*. This was challenged by His (1907: 440), who shows that this hypothesis cannot be maintained for the *General Register of Fines*.

Lit: Bremer 1893: 321

-jen s.v. *-bijen*

-jenna cf. s.v. *-bijenna*

jer subst. n. 'year' PIE

Ofris. also *ger, iār*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of *g and *j before front vowels; the latter (OWFris.) by-form shows the low reflex of *ē₁ that is also found in Dutch.

●PFRIS: *jē₁r

Goth. *jer*, ON *ár*, OE *ge(a)r*, *ier*, OS *jār*, *gēr*, OHG, MHG, MLG *jār*, ODu. *iār*, MDu. *jaer* 'year'

●PGMC: *je₁r

●PIE: *(H)ieh₁r-

POKORNY: 296-7

Av. *yārə* 'year', Gr. *hōros* 'time, year', cf. also Lith. Dial. *jēras* 'lamb' (< 'yearling'). If it belongs to the root *h₁ei- 'go', we must start from *h₁i-ch₁-. This is not very probable because we already must assume *h₁ei- (Gr. *eīni* 'go') and *h₁i-eh₂- (Lat. *iānua* 'entrance', Lith. *jóti* 'ride'). If cognate with *jer-, MHG *jan*, Swe. Dial. *án* 'sequence' point to a former r/n-stem.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 297

see also: er 1., *jerfeste*, *jeroch*

jerde subst. f. 'yard, virga' Gmc.

In: *allera ierdik* = *allera ierda ik = '(lit.) of all yards each' (van Helten 1890: 197).

●PFRIS: *jerdī

OE *gierd*, *gyrd*, *gerd*, OS *gerd(i)a*, OHG *gardea*, *gerta*, MHG *gerte*, MLG *garde*, ODu. *gerda*, MDu. *gaerde*, *geerde* 'rod (unit of measure)', cf. also:

*gazda-: Goth. *gazds*, ON *gaddr*, OS *gard*, OHG, MHG, MLG *gart*, MDu. *gaert* 'sting'.

●PGMC: *gazdjō

● No IE etymology

The only probable cognates are found in Italo-Celtic, which points to a substratum origin (pace Pokorny 1959: 412-3). Lat. *hasta* 'spear', Mir. *gat* < *g^hasdh^h- 'osier, withe', but cf. also *gas* 'sprout' < *g^hasto-.

A remarkable similarity is found in Gmc., Gr., Arm. words meaning 'branch' without initial obstruent (Kortlandt p.c.), cf. PGmc. *asta- in Goth. *asts*, OS,

OHG *ast*, ablauting *ōst- in OE, MLG *ōst* 'knot', cf. Gr. *ózos* 'branch', Arm. *ost* 'twig' [Pokorny 1959: 280, 887].

jerdik cf. s.v. *jerde*

jerfeste subst. f. 'yearly fasting' PIE

Compound of *jer* 'year' and *feste* I. 'fasting (also as a [religious] punishment)', s.vv.

jeria wk. vb. 2 'desire, want' PIE

OFris. also *geria*, *iaria*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of *g and *j before front vowels. The by-form *iaria* is OWFris. and shows the same *a*-vocalism in the stem as does the MDu. by-form (see below). I assume a spread of the vowel of the form *garn- < *gern- that remained restricted to the Dutch/WFris. area (cf. Du. *gaarne*, see below).

●PFRIS: *géria

OS *geron*, OHG *gerōn*, *gerēn*, ODu. *geron*, MHG (*be*)*gern*, *begirn*, *begirden*, MLG (*be*)*gēren*, MDu. (*be*)*geren* 'desire', cf. also:

f. *ger-n-i: Goth. *gairnei* 'wish, desire', OHG *germī* 'greed';

adj. *ger-n-: Goth. *faihu|gairns* 'avaricious', ON *gjarn*, OE *gcorn*, OS. OHG *gern* 'desirous';

adv.: ON *gjarna(n)*, OE *georne*, OS, OHG *gerno* 'desirous', MHG *gern(e)*, MLG *gēr(n)e*, *gēr(n)en*, OFris. *jerne* (q.v.), *gerne*, MDu. *ge(e)rne*, *gacrne*, *geren* 'gladly';

weak vb. *ger-n-: Goth. *gairnjan*, ON *girna*, OE *giernan*, OS *girnian* 'desire';

adj. *ger-: OHG *ger*, *giri* 'desirous';

f. *ger-i: OS *fehu|giri* 'avarice', OHG *giri*, *gerī* 'greed';

adj. *ger-Vg-: OS *gerag*, OHG *girig*, MDu. *gi(e)rich* 'greedy'.

etc.

●PIE: *g^her-

POKORNY: 440-41

Skt. *hāryati* < *g^her-*ic*-ti 'likes, desires', Gr. *khaírō* < *g^her-*i*- 'rejoice'; probably not Goth. *gredus* 'hunger' < *g^hreh₁-d^hu-, OIr. *grád* 'love, affection' < *g^hr(o)h₁-d^hu-, with seeming *Schwebeablaut* and laryngeal.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *jerne*

jerne adv. 'gladly' PIE

OFris. also *gerne*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of *g and *j before front vowels.

●PFRIS: *gěrnī

Adverbial formation to the stem *ger- < PIE *g^herh₁-, cf. s.v. *jeria*.

see also: *jeria*

jeroch cf. s.v. *-geroch*

jest- subst. m. 'spirit' PIE

In: *jēstlik* 'spiritual'

Ofris. also *gēst-*, *gāst*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of **g* and **j* before front vowels. The latter by-form shows the monophthongisation product *ā* of **ai* and hence no palatalisation of the initial consonant.

●PFRIS: **ġēst-*, *gāst-*

OE *gāst*, *gāest*, OS *gēst*, OHG, MHG *geist*, MLG *gē(i)st*, MDu. *geest* 'ghost, spirit', cf. also:

**gaistjanaN*: OE *gāestan* 'frighten';

without dental:

**gaisjanaN*: Goth. *usgaisjan* 'frighten';

**geisnanaN*: Goth. *usgeisnan* 'be astonished';

**gais-k-*: Mod. Icelandic *geiski* 'fear', also *geiskafullr* 'full of fear'.

The noun **gaista-* is restricted to WGmc. and may initially have indicated a (frightening) ghost or demon. In christian times, the word came to be used for the (inner) spirit of man. Anglo-Saxon missionaries introduced it to the continent. There it may have replaced the use of the word 'breath' in order to refer to the spirit of man (as a calque of Lat. *spiritus*), cf. ON *andi*, Southern OHG *ātum*.

Discussion and reff. in de Vries (1992) s.v. *geest*.

●PIE: **ǵ^hois-d^ho-* / **ǵ^hois-to-*

POKORNY: 427

From a semantic point of view, Gmc. only has a clear Ilr. parallel, cf. Av. *zaēša-* 'horrible'. A comparison with words meaning 'rage' has been proposed, e.g. Skt. *hīḍ-* 'be angry' [Pokorny 1959: 427], but this is not compelling. The form *gheis* in the header of Pokorny's lemma must be a printing error for *ǵheis* as none of the forms quoted requires a velar rather than a palatal consonant.

A further relation to a root **ǵ^hei-* 'move vigorously', **ǵ^hei-s-* 'wound' has been suggested [Pokorny 1959: 424-5], cf. Skt. *hēṣas-* 'projectile' (not to PGmc.

**gaisa-* 'spear', cf. s.v. *-gēr*), Lith. *žeidžiù*, *žėisti* < **ǵ^hei-s-d-* 'wound'. This seems quite gratuitous from a semantic point of view.

jestlik subst. m. 'spiritual' PIE

Ofris. also *gāstelik*, *gāstlik*

The by-forms show the monophthongisation product *ā* of **ai* and hence no palatalisation of the initial consonant. The former form shows an intrusive medial vowel, cf. the other WGmc. evidence cited below.

●PFRIS: **ġēstlik*, *gāstlik*

Adjectival *-*lika*-formation to *jēst-*, q.v.

Also in: OE *gāstlic*, OS *gēstlik*, OHG *geistlih*, MHG *geistlich*, MLG *gē(i)stlik*, MDu. *geest(e)lijc*, *gest(e)lijc* 'spiritual'

jeva str. vb. V 'give' Gmc.

Ofris. also *geva*, *iova*, *iān*, *iā*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of **g* and **j* before front vowels. It may have spread analogically to other positions, e.g. to *iova*, which form furthermore shows the late OWFr. development **eve* > **ēve* > *io*, cf. also *iound* < **evend* 'evening'. The forms *iān*, *iā* are problematic. van Helten (1894: 391-2) assumes analogy after the pattern of such verbs as *gaen*, 3s *geet(h)*. We can start from 3s **gewiþ* > **gēþ* (regular loss of *-w- before **i*) that gave rise to an infinitive **gān*, **jān* (with analogical *j-*, see above). The form *iā* must represent a contamination of *geva* and *iān* (van Helten 1894: 392).

Cf. s.v. *hebbā*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

see also: *geve*, *have*, *hebbā*, *hef*, *heftnese*, *jeft*, *jeve*

jeve subst.f. 'gift, privilege' Gmc.

OFris. also *geve*

The variation *g-/j-* is due to the merger of **g* and **j* before front vowels.

A feminine noun to the stem **gev-* 'give', cf. s.v. *hebbā*.

see also: *geve*, *have*, *hebbā*, *hef*, *heftnese*, *jeft*, *jeva*

jold(e) cf. *jelde- 1*.

joldfretho subst. m. 'fretho for a guild' PIE

Compound of *jold(e)-* 'guild' and *fretho* 'peace, (legal) protection, etc.', cf. s.vv.

see also: *jelde- 1*.

joldskipi subst. m. 'guild, religious fraternity' PIE

Compound of *jold(e)-* 'guild' and *-skipi* nom. suffix '-ship', cf. s.vv.

see also: *jelde- 1*.

Jotha subst. m. 'Jew' LW

•PFRIS: **jōþa*

From Lat. *judaicus* 'jew'.

Lit: not in Holthausen 1921; not in Wollmann

jung adj. 'young' PIE

OFris. also *iong*

This OWFr. by-form shows the current spelling <o> for **u* before nasals.

•PFRIS: **jung*

Goth. *juggs*, ON *ungr*, OE *geong*, OS, OHG *jung*, MHG *junc*, MLG *junc*, (west:) *jonc*, MDu. *jonc* 'young'

•PGMC: **junga-*

•PIE: **h₂iuh₁nko-*

POKORNY: 510-1

On the analysis as **h₂iu-h₁n-ko-* (root + 'Hoffmann-suffix' + *ko-*suffix), e.g. Schrijver (1991: 321). Skt. *yuvaśā-* 'young', Lat. *iuvencus* 'young cow', OIr. *óac*, Welsh *ieuanc* < **h₂iuH₁ko-*, cf. also Lat. *iuvenis* 'young man' < **h₂iu-*

$h_1(e)n-i-$, Lith. *jáunas* < *ieuHno- 'young'. Note that one expects a long vowel ** \bar{u} < *-uHin Gmc.; apparently, shortening under Osthoff's Law has taken place.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

K

kalde subst. f. 'cold, (fine for) senselessness for cold' PIE [?]

OFris. also *kelde*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: **kældi*

OHG *chaltī*, MHG *kelte*, *kalte*, MLG *kelde*, *kōlde*, *kōlde*, *kōlde*, *kalde*, MDu. *celde*, *coude*, *calde*, *colde* 'cold', cf. also:

*kulpjōn-: ON *kūldi*, MLG *külde(ne)*, Mod. HG Dial. *kulde* 'cold';

str.vb. V *kal-: ON *kala* 'freeze, make cold', OE *calan* 'cool down';

with pp *kalpa-: Goth. *kalds*, ON *kaldr*, OE *ceald*, OS *kald*, OHG, MHG *kalt*, MLG *kōlt*, OFris. *kald*, MDu. *cout*, *caut*, *cold* 'cold';

adj. *kōl-: OE *cōl*; OHG *chuoli*, MDu. *coel(e)*, *colc*, *cuel* 'cool';

weak 1 *kōlejanaN: ON *kœla*, OE *cēlan*, OHG *kuolen*, OFris. *kela* (q.v.), MDu. *co(e)len*, *coulen*, *cuelcn* 'cool down';

Weak 2: OE *cōlian*, OS *kōlon* 'id.';

etc.

●PGMC: **kaldjōn-*

Note that the lengthened grade forms are curious; this ablaut grade is not to be expected in an adjective. The pattern reminds of **gad-* ~ **gōd* 'good', cf. s.v. *gōd* 2, which is of non-IE origin.

●PIE: **ǵol-* [?]

POKORNY: 365-6

We only find (alleged) European cognates, of which only Lat. *gelū* 'ice', *gelidus* < **ǵel-* is certain (Schrijver 1991: 433). Perhaps also OCS *golotъ*, Russ. *gólót* 'black ice' which requires depalatalisation of **ǵ-* before resonants (Kortlandt 1978) and OCS *žlědica* 'frozen rain' < **g^(h)eld-*.

Lith. *gėlmenis* 'severe cold' rather points to **gelH-* and can be connected with *gėlti* 'pick, stab'. The glosses Osc *gēla* 'cold' and Gr. *gelandron psukhrón* 'cold' (Hesychius) are doubted, but may be cognate. Note furthermore Gallo-Roman *gelandron* 'frost'. Gr. *khálaza* 'hail' < **g^hlh₂ed-*.

Interestingly, we find a well-attested root **kel-* 'freeze, cold; warm (through 'burning')' [Pokorny 1959: 551-2, s.v. *kel-* 1.], cf. Av. *sarəta-* 'cold' (but Skt. *śísira-* 'cool, cold', etc. cannot be connected because of the *i*-vocalism).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296; Seebold 1970: 288-9

see also: *kela*

kampa subst. m. 'fighter, champion' LW

Ofris. also *kempa*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *kæmpa

According to Holthausen (1921: s.v. *kempa*, *kampa*) from Vulgar Lat. *campio* 'fighter', which occurs in the Lex Frisionum (von Richtshofen 1840 s.v. *kampa*, *kempa*) It may also be a later formation to the loan *komp* 'field' (← *campus*), q.v. (thus Wollmann 1990: 532).

Also in: OE *cempa*, MLG *kampe*, *kempe*, MDu. *kemp(e)*, *k(e)impe*; *campioen* 'fighter, champion', etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kempa*, *kampa*; *kamp*; Wollmann 1990: 532

see also: *komp*

-kanna wk. vb. 1 'know' PIE

In: *bikanna* 'recognize; acknowledge, pay (compensation)', q.v.

Ofris. also *kenna*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *kænna

Goth. *kannjan* 'make known', ON *kenna* 'become acquainted, try', OE *cennan* 'show, make clear', OS *ant|kennian* 'recognize', OHG *in|kennen* 'know', MHG *kennen* 'know, recognize', MLG *kennen* 'know', MDu. *kennen*, *kinnen* 'know', cf. also:

pret.-pres.: Goth., ON *kann*, OE, OS *can*, OHG *kann*, MHG *kunnen*, *künnen*, MLG *künnen*, *können* 'know', MDu. *cunnen*, *connen*, *conen* 'know; can';

weak 2: ON *kanna* 'prove';

weak 3: Goth. *gakunnan* 'subject oneself', OE *cunnian* 'try', OS *gikunnon* 'recognize', OHG *chunnēn* 'learn';

*kunþa-: Goth. *kunþs* 'known', *frakunþs* 'despised', ON *kúþr*, *kunnr*, OE *cūþ*, OS *kūth*, OHG *kuud*, MHG, MLG *kunt*, OFris. *kūth* (q.v.), ODu. *kund*, MDu. *cont* 'known';

*kunþejanaN: Goth. *gaswi|kunþjan*, ON *kynna*, OE *cýþan*, OS *cūðian*, OHG *kunden*, MHG *küenden*, *kunden*, MLG *kündigen*, OFris. *kētha* (q.v.), ODu. *cundon*, MDu. *conden* 'make known';

*kunst-: OS *cu(n)st*, OHG *kunst*, OFris. *kenst*, *kunst*, *konst*, MDu. *cunst(e)*, *const(e)*, *coust*, *coest* 'art';

etc.

●PGMC: *kannjanaN

●PIE: *ǵonh₃-

POKORNY: 376-8

Skt. *jānāmi* 'know', Gr. *gignōskō* 'get to know' < *ǵi-ǵnh₃-sk-, cf. Lat. *nosco* 'get to know' < *ǵnō-sk-o with analogical stem vowel.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 289-90

see also: bikanna, ketha, -kuth

kap subst. m. 'sale' LW

●PFRIS: *kāp

According to Holthausen (1921: s.v. *kāp*), to Lat. *caupo*, with doubt. According to de Vries (1992) s.v. *kopen*, Lat. *caupo* 'pedlar' was borrowed as **kaupōn* in Gmc. (cf. OHG *koufo* 'merchant') in the first century AD. In addition, the Lat. verb *caupōnāri* 'haggle' gave rise to two different verbal formations, viz.: weak 2: Goth. *kaupon* 'trade', ON *kaupa* 'trade, buy', OE *cēapian* 'trade', OS *kōpon* 'buy', OHG *koufōn* 'trade', do business, MHG *koufen*, *keufen* 'trade', MLG *kōpen* 'trade', MDu. *copen* 'buy';

weak 1: OE *cēpan*, OS *kōpian* 'sell', OHG *choufen* 'trade'.

The noun *kāp* must be a later formation to this complex.

Also in: ON *kaup*, OE *cēap*, OS *kōp* 'trade', OHG *chouf*, *cauf* 'sale', MHG *kouf* 'trade', MLG *kōp* 'sale', MDu. *coop* 'trade'.

Lit: Beekes 1996 on the non-IE origin of the source form; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kāp*; not in Wollmann.

see also: kapia, kaplond

kapelle subst. f. 'chapel; small non-parish church' LW

●PFRIS: *kāpilli

From Lat. *cappella*, i.e. the diminutive of *capa* 'cloak'. The use of the word for a small sanctuary for intimate religious practice can be traced back to the Frankish use of travelling around with St. Martin's cloak as a relic in a sanctuary (de Vries 1992 s.v. *kapel*).

Also in: ON *kapella* (← MLG, OHG *kapella*, MHG *kappel(le)*, *kapelle*, MLG *kappel(l)e*, *kapelle*, MDu. *capelle* 'chapel')

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kapelle*; not in Wollmann

kapia wk. vb. 2 'buy, pay, compensate' LW

cf. s.v. *kāp*

kapittel subst. n. 'chapter, religious congregation' LW

●PFRIS: *kāpittil

From mediaeval Lat. *capitulum*, a derivation from *caput* 'head'.

Also in: ON *kapituli*, OE *capitol*, *capitula* 'chapter', MHG *kapitel* 'congregation', MLG *kapit(t)el*, *kappit(t)el*, MDu. *capit(t)el*, *cappit(t)el*, *capetel* 'chapter'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kapittel*; not in Wollmann

kaplond subst. n. 'bought land' PIE

Compound of *kāp* 'sale' and *lond* 'land, etc.', cf. s.vv.

Also in MLG *kōplant* ← OFris.

kar- subst. f. 'affliction, sorrow, mourning, penitence' Gmc.

In: *karfestere*, q.v.

●PFRIS: *kar-

Goth. *kara* 'care', ON *kǫr* 'sickbed', OE *cearu*, OS *kara* 'care, mourning, sorrow', OHG *chara* 'mourning', MHG *kar* 'sorrow, mourning', cf. also weak 2: Goth. *gakaron* 'care for', OE *cearian*, OS *karōn*, OHG *charōn* 'mourn', etc.

adj.: OE *cearig* 'worried', OS *mōd|karag*, OHG *charag* 'sad';

etc.

●PGMC: *karō

● No IE etymology.

One could start from PIE *ǵor(h₁)eh₂ (*ǵar[h₁]eh₂) [Pokorny 1959: 352, 383-5] to an expressive root *ger(-h₁-) [Pokorny 1959: 383-5]. Pokorny quotes similar forms with radical *ǵ*, such as Gr. *gērus*, *gārus* 'voice', OIr. *gáir* 'cry', separately [Pokorny 1959: 352]. We may indeed be dealing with a different formation *geh₂r-. Some forms containing *ǵ*-vocalism may actually be grouped under *ger(-h₁-), however, cf. Lat. *garrīre* 'babble' < *grh₁-ie/o- with expressive geminate, cf. also OHG *krāen* 'crow' < *grh₁-. In general, it is difficult to analyse and group such (partly) expressive and onomatopoeic formations. Note that the word for 'crane' is usually compared as well, but requires a *h₂, cf. Lith. *gėrvė*, Gr. *géranos*.

At any rate, I see semantic difficulties with respect to the Gmc. etymon under discussion here, because an expressive formation would only be compatible with the specific meaning 'sorrow, mourn'. This meaning seems secondary to me. The meaning 'care (for)' may be the original one in Gmc. and is not really compatible with a 'Schallwurzel'. I rather start from a substratum root *kar-'care' > 'care, mourning'.

Lit: Kluge 1989 s.v. *karfreitag*

see also: *karfestere*

karfestere subst. m. 'fasting penitent, *pocnitentiarius*' PIE

Compound of *kar-* 'affliction, sorrow, penitence' and *-festere* 'fasting person', s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 198

see also: *kar-*

karine subst. f. 'fasting for a period of 40 days' LW

●PFRIS: *karini

From mediaeval Lat. *carēna* < *quādraginta* '40'. Late LW in view of the absence of i-UL of a to *e (van Helten 1907a: 198, pace van Helten 1890: 30). Also in: MLG *karēn(e)*, *karīn(e)*, MDu. *carine* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *karīne*; not in Wollmann

kasma vb. + pron. 'chose one' PIE

Collocation containing *kās* 'chose' = preterite of *kiasa*, q.v., and *ma* 'one' (indef. pron.), q.v.

Kawing NP

ked(de) subst. m. 'crowd' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *ked(di)

OHG *kutti* 'flock, crowd', MHG *kütte*, MLG *küdde*, MDu. *cudde*, HG Dial. *kütte*, *kitte* 'flock', HG *kette* 'a flock of partridges'

●PGMC: *kuddja- [P(W)Gmc.]

● No IE etymology.

The only possible parallel is Lith. *guótas* 'flock', although both the ablaut grade and the stem formation differ. Moreover, the acute intonation suggests a laryngeal. Fraenkel (1962-1965) s.v. assumes that the Lith. form must be compared to Gr. *bóskein*, which must reflect *g^wh₃-sk-; the root is cognate with the word for 'cow', cf. Gr. *boūs* < *g^weh₃us.

We may perhaps assume *g^weh₃(-u)to-. In that case, the Gmc. words cannot be compared (*g^wh₃-u- would have yielded PGmc. *kū-). The Lith. and Gmc. words may both reflect a substratum word, however.

Pace Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *kudde*, Lith. *gaujà* 'flock' and *giñti* 'herd' do not belong here, cf. Fraenkel (1962-1965) s.vv. Pokorny (1959: 394) with hesitation.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

keiser subst. m. 'emperor' LW

OFris. also *kaisar*

The diphthong *ci* ~ *ai* points to a loanword from German (van Helten 1890: 24).

●PFRIS: *keisir

From Lat. *caesar* 'emperor (orig. NP)'. Apparently an indirect loan through OHG in view of the retention of the diphthong (cf. also de Vries 1992 s.v. *keizer*).

Also in: ON *keisari*, OE *cāserc*, OS *kēsar*, *kēsur*, OHG *keisar*, *keisur*, MDu. *keiser*, etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *keiser*; Wollmann 1990: 509

see also: *keyser*

kela wk. vb. I 'cool down, compensate' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *kēla

cf. s.v. *kalde*.

-keme subst. m. 'coming, entrance, penetration' PIE

OFris. also *kimi*

This by-form is typical for the Riustring dialect and shows the high reflex *-i-*

of *ä as well as the ending -i for -e through vowel balance.

●PFRIS: *-kmi

Goth. *qums*, OE *cyme*, OS *kumi* 'coming', OHG *fona uf|chume* 'from the beginning', cf. also:

str. V: *k^wema-: Goth. *qiman*, OHG *quemān*, MHG *quemen*, *kemen* 'come';

str. V *k^wuma-: ON *koma*, OE *cuman*, OS *kuman*, OHG *koman*, *kuman*, MHG *komen*, *kumen*, MLG *kōmen*, OFris. *koma*, *kuma* (q.v.), ODu. *cuman*, MDu. *com(m)en* 'come';

*k^wumdiz: Goth. *ga|qumþs* 'synagogue, assembly, assembling', ON *sam|kund* 'feast, assembling', OHG *cumft*, MHG *kumst*, *kumft*, *kunft*, MLG *kum(p)st*, *komst*, *kunst*, OFris. *komst*, MDu. *comst(e)*, *coomst(e)* 'arrival';

etc.

●PIE: *g^wem-

POKORNY: 463-5

Skt. *gáčhati* < *g^wm-sk- 'go', Gr. *baínō* 'go', Lat. *veniō* 'come' < *g^wm-ic/o-; *k^wumdiz < *g^wṛpti-, cf. Skt. *gáti-* 'going', Gr. *básis* 'step', etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Seebold 1970: 315-7

see also: -kini, koma, kuma

ken subst. n. 'kin, family' PIE

OFris. also *kin*, *kon*

These WFrís. by-forms show *i* for *e* before nasal and MDu. influence, respectively.

●PFRIS: *ken

Goth. *kuni*, ON *kyn*, OE *cynn*, OS, OHG *kunni*, MHG, MLG *künne*, ODu. *cunni*, MDu. *cunne*, *conne*, cf. also

*kuninga- 'king': ON *konungr* (← WGmc.), OE *cyn(in)g*, OS *kuning*, OHG *chuni(n)g*, MHG *künic*, *koni(n)g*, MLG *kōninc*, *kōnninc*, *kōn(n)ich*, *kōn(n)ich*, *kōnni*, OFris. *kini(n)g* (q.v.), *keni(n)g*, ODu. *cuii(n)g*, MDu. *coninc*, *cucininc*;

*kinda- 'child': OS *kind*, OHG *chind*, *kind*, MHG, MLG *kint*, OFris. *kind* (q.v.; ← High German, cf. Bammesberger 1968 + reff.), ODu., MDu. *kint*, Norw. Dial. *kind*;

●PGMC: *kunja-

On the rise of the term *kuninga- in WGmc. in order to denote the king as a descendent of a divine race, cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *koning*.

●PIE: *g^{en}h₁-

POKORNY: 373-5

Skt. *jánati* 'beget', Gr. (aorist) *egéncto* 'he was born', Lat. *gignō* 'beget'; s-stem noun Skt. *jánu-*, Gr. *génos*, Lat. *genus* 'race', etc.; PGmc. *kinda- < *g^{en}h₁-to- (Lat. *genitum*) with morphological problems, cf. Bammesberger 1968: 134-5, also fn. 7.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

see also: kind, kinds-, kindiskind, kinigrike, kini(n)g, kyning

kenep subst. m. 'moustache' Gmc.

OFris. also *kanep*, *knep*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX). Apparently, stress shifted to the second syllable after which the stem vowel was syncopated in *knep*.

●PFRIS: *kænip

ON *kampr*, OE *cenep* 'moustache', not to be separated from:

*knabil-: ON *knefill* 'cross-beam, stick, stake, pile', OHG *chnebil*, *knebil*, MHG *knebel* 'moustache', MLG *knēvel* 'twisted tip of a moustache, small cross-beam'.

This complex is probably to be connected with 'boy, young man' (on semantics ['piece of wood' > 'boy'], cf. e.g. de Vries 1992 s.v. *knaap*; forms partly from Kuiper 1995: 70):

*knab-: OE *cnafa* 'boy, male servant', OHG *knabo*, MHG *knabe* 'young man';

*knabb-: OHG *knappo*, MHG *knappe*, Norw., Swe. Dial. *knabbe* 'young man';

*knap-: ON *knapi* ← MLG OE *cnapa*, MLG *knāpe*, OFris. *knapa*, ODu. *knapo*, MDu. *cnape*, *cnæp(t)* 'young man', Mod. Du. *knaap* 'young man', *knaapje* 'wooden clothes hanger';

*knapp-: OFris. *knappa*, MDu. *cnappe* 'young man'.

Furthermore perhaps:

*kanVbō: MLG *kenneve* 'wooden block around the neck', MDu. *kennewe* 'sort of wooden collar', also MDu. *caneve* 'cheek', perhaps also *caneveben* 'cheek-bone [?]'.
 ●PGMC: *kanipa-

● No IE etymology.

An IE etymology is improbable (cf. also Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *knevel*) given the geographical restriction of this word to Gmc. [Pokorny 1959: 378-9 s.v. *genbh*, *genobh* 2.]. Furthermore the Gmc. stem formation CVCVC showing unusual ablaut patterns (involving *a), the variants with initial *kn-*, and the variation of root final consonants point to a substratum word belonging to Kuiper's layer A2 (Kuiper 1995: 68ff., especially 70 on 'boy').

kera wk. vb. 1 'turn, convert' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *kēra

OS *kērian*, OHG *kēren*, *kēran*, *cherran*, MHG, MLG *kēren*, ODu. *kēran*, *-on*, MDu. *ke(e)ren*, *kieren* 'turn', cf. also ON *keisa* 'fold, bend', etc.

●PGMC: *kaizjan

● No IE etymology.

We can hardly start from PIE *geis- [Pokorny 1959: 355]. The only cognates would be Arm. *kikel* 'bend' with unclear formation, and Russ. Dial. *zixat* 'tend to'. The Gmc. form seems isolated. This makes the assumption of an s-extension to a root *gei- 'turn, bend' [Pokorny 1959: 354], which is, moreover, only attested in different alleged root extensions, the more unattractive.

see also: *bikera*

kere subst. m. 'choice, statute' PIE

●PFRIS: *keri

OE *cyre*, OS, OHG *kuri*, MHG *kūr(e)*, MLG *kōre*, *kūr(e)*, MDu. *co(i)re*, *cuere*, *keure*, *coor*, *coir* 'choice', cf. also

str. II: Goth. *kiusan* 'test', ON *kjósa*, OE *cēosan*, OS, OHG *kiosan*, MHG *kiesen*, MLG *kēsen*, OFris. *kiasa* (q.v.), MDu. *kiesen* 'choose';

Weak I: Goth. *kausjan* 'experience', OFris. *kēra* 'choose';

f. *kusti-: Goth. *gakusts* 'test', OE *cyst* 'preference', OS *kust*, OHG *chust*, *kust*, MHG, MLG *kust* 'choice', OFris. *kest(e)* 'choice, statute', MDu. *cust* 'choice, wish';

*kustu-: Goth. *kustus* 'proof'; ON *kostr* (i/u-st.) 'selection', OE *cost*, OS *kust* 'excellence', OHG *chost* 'estimate, selection';

etc.

●PGMC: *kuziz

●PIE: *ǵeus-

POKORNY: 399

The original PIE meaning must have been 'taste', which developed towards 'test' in Gmc. (and Celtic), cf. Skt. *juṣáte* 'enjoy', Gr. *geíomai* 'taste', OIr. *do-goa* 'choose, pick out'; also Lat. *gustus* 'tasting' ~ PGmc. *kustu-, Skt. *júṣṭi-* 'favour' ~ PGmc. *kusti-.

Lit: van Helten 1906: 286 on semantics; Seebold 1970: 293-4

see also: *kest*, *-keste*, *kestfríond*, *kiasa*

Kerl NP

Kerlemon NP

kersoma subst. m. 'holy chrim' LW

OFris. also *kresma*, *krisma*

These by-forms do not show r-metathesis nor the intrusive medial vowel that is found in the R₁ form.

●PFRIS: *kersuma

From Lat. *chrīma* 'id.', in its turn a loan from Greek *chrīma*.

Also in: ON *krisma*, OE *crisma*, OHG *chrisamo*, MDu. *c(a)risma*, *crisme* 'id.', etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kersoma*, *kresma*, *krisma*; Wollmann 1990: 525, fn. 56

Kerst NP 'Christ' LW

see also: *kersten*, *kerstena*, *kerstendom*, *kerstenede*, *kerstestid*

kersten adj. 'christian' LW

OFris. also *kristen*

This by-form does not show the r-metathesis and lowering of *i* (/ _r) that is found in the form of R₁.

●PFRIS: *kristin ~ *kerstin

From Lat. *christianus* 'id.'

Also in: ON *kristinn* ← OE *cristen-*, MDu. *cristen*, *kerstijn*, *kersten(t)*, *kirsten* 'id.', etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kersten*, *kristen*; Wollmann (1990: 525, fn. 56)

see also: Kerst, kerstena, kerstendom, kerstenede, kerstestid

kerstena subst.m. [= substantivised adj.] 'christian' LW

Cf. s.v. *kersten*.

see also: Kerst, kersten, kerstendom, kerstenede, kerstestid

kerstendom subst.m. 'christianity' PIE

Compound of *kersten* 'christian' and *-dom* 4. adj. suffix, cf. s.vv.

see also: Kerst, kersten, kerstena, kerstenede, kerstestid

kerstenede subst. m. 'christianity' LW

OFris. also *kristenēde*, *kristenhēde*

The *h* of the suffix *-hēde* could apparently be dropped.

●PFRIS: *kerstenede ~ *kristenede

A feminine substantival *-hēde*-derivation of *kersten* 'christian', q.v.

Also in MDu. *kerstijnheit*, *kersten-*, *carsten-*, etc.

see also: Kerst, kersten, kerstena, kerstendom, kerstestid

kerstestid subst. f. 'Christmas time' PIE

Compound (originally a syntagm of Gs + subst.) of *Kerst* NP and *tid* 'time', cf. s.vv.

see also: Kerst, kersten, kerstena, kerstendom, kerstenede

kerva str. vb III 'cut, carve' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *kerva

OE *coorfan* 'cut off', MHG *kerben*, MLG, MDu. *kerven* 'carve', cf. also

Norw., Swe. *karva* ← MLG *karven*

●PGMC: *kerbanaN

The *a*-vocalism of Norw., Swe. *karva* ← MLG *karven* is to be explained as ablaut (de Vries 1992 s.v. *kerven*).

● No IE etymology.

The word has been connected with Gr. *gráphō* 'carve, write' < *grb^b- [Pokorny 1959: 392], but this is uncertain. Seebold (1970: 292-3) doubts an IE etymology altogether. de Vries 1992 s.v. *kerven* mentions Kuhn's direct comparison of OIr. *cerbaim* 'cut' under assumption of a substratum word with initial *k- that was not shifted to *h- (anymore) in Gmc.

This seems the most attractive solution to me. The OIr. form is connected with *(s)ker- 'cut' [Pokorny 1959: 938-47, especially 943].

Lit: Seebold 1970: 292-3

kest subst. f. 'choice, statute' PIE

●PFRIS: *kest

cf. s.v. *kere*.

see also: *kere*, *-keste*, *kestfriond*, *kiasa*

-keste subst. f. 'statute' PIE

In: *liodkeste*, q.v.

●PFRIS: *kesti

cf. s.v. *kere*.

see also: *kere*, *kest*, *kestfriond*, *kiasa*

kestfriond subst. m. 'chosen relative' PIE

Compound of *kest* 'choice, statute' and *fri(o)nd* 'relative', cf. s.vv.

see also: *kere*, *kest*, *-keste*, *kiasa*

ketha wk. vb. I 'announce, proclaim' PIE

OFris. also *keda*,

This OWFris. by-form shows the later OFris. transition of *-þ- to *-d-*.

cf. s.v. *-kanna*

see also: *bikanna*, *ketha*, *-kuth*

keyser cf. s.v. *keiser*

kiasa str. vb. II 'choose, establish (a statute)' PIE

OFris. also *tziessa*

This by-form shows the regular palatalisation of the initial velar and the later OFris. transition of *ia* to *ie*.

●PFRIS: *kiasa

cf. s.v. *kere*

see also: *kere*, *kest*, *-keste*, *kestfriond*

-kimi subst. m. 'coming, entrance, penetration' PIE

In: *onkimi*, q.v.

OFris. also *keme*

On this form, cf. s.v. *-keme*.

●PFRIS: *-kimi

Cf. s.v. *keme*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

kind subst. n. 'child' PIE

●PFRIS: *kind (but ← High German)

Cf. s.v. *ken*.

Lit: Bammesberger 1968: 134-5 + ref. on the borrowing from High German (after Simon);

Lendinara 1990: 294; Meijering 1985

see also: *ken*, *kindes-*, *kindiskind*, *kinigrike*, *kini(n)g*, *kyning*

kindes-, **kindiskind** subst.n. 'a child' PIE

Syntagm containing a Gs and a Ns of *kind*, q.v.

Also in: MHG, MLG *kindeskint*, MDu. *kintskint* 'id.'

see also: ken, kind, kinigrike, kini(n)g, kyning

kinigrike subst. n. 'kingdom, realm' PIE

Compound of *kini(n)g* 'king' and *-rike* 2. 'realm, kingdom', cf. s.vv.

see also: ken, kind, kindes-, kindiskind, kyning, kini(n)g

kini(n)g subst. m. 'king' PIE

OFris. also *keni(n)g*, *kene(n)g*, *koni(n)g*, *kyning*

On the variation *g* ~ *ng*, cf. Boutkan (1996: 47). The vowel of the suffix could be weakened, hence *-e(n)g*. As to the stem vowels, we must assume original **ü* that was unrounded to *i* in R Buma (1961: 48), to *e* elsewhere. The almost exclusively OWFris. spelling *koni(n)g* must be due to Dutch orthographical influence as Middle and Modern Frisian *kening* unambiguously indicates that the unrounded vowel is to be expected. The by-form *kyning* is merely orthographical for *kening*.

●PFRIS: **kening* ~ **kining*

Cf. s.v. *ken*.

see also: ken, kind, kindes-, kindiskind, kinigrike, kyning

klagi subst. f. 'charge, complaint' Gmc.

OFris. also *klage*

The ending *-i* for *-e* that appears in R is due to vowel balance.

●PFRIS: **klagi*

ON *-klagan* ← MLG OS *klaga*, OHG *chlaga*, MHG *klage*, MLG *klāge*, MDu. *clage*, *clacch* 'id.', cf. also

denom. weak 2: OS *klagon*, OHG *chlagon*, *-en*, MHG *klagen*, MLG *klāgen*, OFris. *klagia*, MDu. *clagen* 'complain';

nomen agentis: OHG *klagari*, MHG *klager*, *kleger*, MLG *klēgēre*, *klēger*, *klāger*, MDu. *clager* 'accusor'.

●PGMC: **klagō* [Proto-contin. WGmc.]

● No certain IE etymology.

The connection with such Iir. forms as Skt. *garhati* 'complains', Av. *garəza-* 'complaint' can hardly be maintained (Mayrhofer 1956-82: I, 6: 475-6 s.v. GARH-; pace Pokorny 1959: 350-1).

We are probably dealing with a substratum word. Note its limited distribution within Gmc. already: the word and the derivations are restricted to continental WGmc. A connection with Mlr. *glám* < **glā(K^[h])-mā* 'cry, curse' seems possible. If the two words are to be connected, we may be dealing with a common substratum term rather than an inherited PIE word.

Interestingly, Gmc. has forms showing prenasalisation and variation in the root-final consonant, e.g. OHG *klingan* 'sound' and cognates beside OHG *klinkan* 'id.' (OFris. *klinga*). This may point to an origin from Kuiper's category A₂ of substratum words (Kuiper 1995: 68ff.).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290 on *klinga*

see also: *klagia*, *klagire*

klagia wk. vb. 2 'charge, complaint' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **klagia*

Cf. s.v. *klagi*.

see also: *klagi*, *klagire*

klagire subst. m. 'accusor' Gmc.

OFris. also *klagere*

The medial vowel *-i-* in the Riustring form is due to vowel balance.

●PFRIS: **klagiri*

Substantival *-ere-*formation to **klag-*, cf. s.v. *klagi*.

see also: *klagi*, *klagira*

klaster subst. n. 'monastery' LW

●PFRIS: **klāstir*

From Lat. *claustrum*.

Also in: ON *klaustr(i)* ← OE *claustr*, OHG *chlōster*, MLG *klōster*, MDu. *clooster* 'id.', etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *klāster*; not in Wollmann

klath subst. n. 'cloth; pl. clothes' Gmc.

OFris. also *klād*, *klēth*

The former *by-*form shows the later-OFris. transition of *th* to *d*; the latter *by-*form shows the monophthongisation product *ē* of **ai* (cf. especially van Helten 1906: 194, Heinertz 1912: 328).

●PFRIS: **klāþ*, **klēþ*

ON *klaxdi* ← OE (?), OE *clāþ clāþ*, MHG *kleit*, MLG *klēit*, MDu. *cleet*, *cleed*, *cleit* 'cloth'

●PGMC: **klaiþa-*

● No certain IE etymology.

The word has been connected with the 'clay'-etymon ($\sqrt{\text{glei-}}$ 'stick', Pokorny 1959: 362-4, especially 364, Gr. *glía* 'glue', etc.), which is not convincing from a semantic point of view.

The possibility of a substratum word cannot be excluded, also in view of the semantical field to which it belongs (concrete material). We can perhaps add the argument of limited geographical ditribution, although it is unclear whether the ON word is a loan.

klene adj. 'small' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **klēni*

OE *clāne* 'clean, pure, innocent' (?), OS *klēni* 'small; smart', OHG *chleini* 'little; pure, beautiful', MHG *klein(e)* 'small, little; pure, beautiful', MLG *klē'n(e)* 'small; pure', MDu. *cle(i)nc*, *clein*, *cleen* 'small; fine, beautiful'

- PGMC: *klainja-
- No IE etymology.

There are several problems that make a substratum origin very probable.

I doubt the current assumption of one Gmc. etymon that developed from a meaning 'shining' (*gelH-, see below, or $\sqrt{\text{glei-}}$, cf. s.v. *klāth*) through 'fine' to 'small' (i.e. of size). Why not assume a set of two homonyms, i.e. a word 'clean, shining, etc.' beside 'small'? Note the limited geographical distribution of both meanings. Moreover, the 'clean'-word has unclear by-forms showing *ī, cf. Swiss German *chlī* beside *chlei*.

As to the IE etymology, only a Gr. gloss *glainof tã lamprūsmata*, i.e. 'shining things, beauty' can formally be compared, with the 'clean'-etymon. This is too meagre and unreliable evidence for an IE etymology (especially Frisk 1960-1972 s.v.). This word has been derived from a root *gelh₂-, but this root is only Arm./Gr. and has the specific meaning 'laugh', cf. Arm. *calr* 'laughter', Gr. *gelāō* 'laugh' [Pokorny 1959: 366-7]. At any rate, a root *gl(e)in- vel *sim*. violates the IE rules for root formation (two final resonants).

Thus, I think that *klainja- 'small' and *klainja- 'clean' represent two substratum words.

kletsie subst. f. 'spear' Gmc.

The meaning of the word becomes clear from MLG texts such as '...kletze, dat ein lang spitzsen...' (von Richthofen 1840 s.v.; also other examples).

- PFRIS: *klečí

Mod. Swe. *klyka*, Dial. (Finland) *klýtjo* 'split stick used as an implement for holding or gripping', cf. perhaps also OE *clyccan* 'grip'

- PGMC: *klukjō [?]

- No IE etymology

Pokorny (1959: 357-8) tentatively starts from a velar extension to a PIE root *gel- 1. '(sich) ballen', but this yields formal problems because we would expect *kul-k- rather than *klu-k- < *gl-g-. Moreover the semantics are not obvious. I therefore agree with Pokorny, who states: '...Die folgenden nur germ. (und kelt.?) Wortgruppen (idg. *gleg*, *glog* ?) mit ihren expressiven Verschärfungen und Nasalisierungen machen keinen idg. Eindruck...' We can collect evidence in favour of a Gmc.-Celt. stem *klV(n)K- 'grip, etc' from the material that Pokorny subsequently quotes, e.g. OE *clingan* < *kle/ing- 'cling', OE *beclencan* 'keep, hold', OHG *klenken* 'bind' < *klank-, MHG *klinke*, MDu. *clinke* < *klink- 'door-handle', OIr. *glacaim* 'take'?; without nasal OE *clyccan*, etc. This pattern, i.e. prenasalisation and variation in root-final consonants, is in accordance with Kuiper's category A₂ of substratum words (Kuiper 1995: 68ff.).

Lit: Holthausen 1963 s.v. *clyccan*

klipskelde subst. f. 'certain tax, tribute in cash' Gmc.

On the origin of this tax, paid with 'sounding coins' (*klingende Angabe*), cf.

von Richthofen 1840 s.v.

Compound of *klip-* and *skelde* 'tax, tribute, debt, guilt', q.v.

klip- subst. m. (?) 'sound-' Gmc.

Ofris. also *klep*

The difference *e* ~ *i* must be interpreted as a pattern resulting from old ablaut, viz. *ä ~ *e/_i, j, i.e. WGmc. i-umlaut of *a beside 'PGmc.' i-umlaut of *e (discussion in van Helten 1907a: 248 s.v. *nette, nitte*, fn. 2). The Riustring form is ambiguous because in this dialect *i* may represent both *ä and *i* < *e/_i, j.

•PFRIS: *klepp-, *klipp-

ON *klapp* 'beat', OHG *ana]claph* 'collision', MLG *klap* 'blow', MDu. *clap* 'chat, rattle', cf. also

ON *klappa* 'beat, knock', OE *clappian* 'make noise', OHG *chlaphōn, klaffōn* 'rattle, make noise', MHG *klaffen* 'chat', MLG *klappen, klāpen, kleppen*, abl. *klippen* 'make a loud noise', MDu. *clappen* 'knock, chat, flap', *cleppen* 'flap', abl. *clippen* 'flap', etc.

•PGMC: *klapp-, *klepp-

• No IE etymology.

This is a typical onomatopoeic formation, that may have arisen at any stage and can hardly be etymologised.

kni subst. n. 'degree of kinship' PIE

Ofris. also *knē*

According to van Helten (1890: 134,) we find *knī* < *kniwi ~ *knē* < *knewe (H, OWfris.). Thus, we are dealing with two forms originally belonging to one paradigm.

•PFRIS: *knī, *knē

The current etymology is that we are dealing with the word 'knee', used with special meaning, probably under influence of late-Latin *genu* 'degree of kinship': Goth. *kniu*, ON *knó*, OE *cnēo(w)*, OS, OHG *kneo, knio*, MHG *knie, kniu*, MLG *knē*, MDu. *cnie*

As far as I can see, the use of the meaning 'degree of kinship' is restricted to ON, OE, OFris., MLG (but only Westfalian *kni*?) and MDu.; cf. also OFris. *ivinkniling* (q.v.), OWfris. *cvenknē*, MDu. *evencnie* 'relative of the same degree'

•PGMC: *knewa-

•PIE: *ǵneuo-

POKORNY: 380-1

Skt. *jānu-* 'knee' < *ǵonu, Gr. *gónu*, Gs. *gounós* < *ǵonu, *ǵonuos, Lat. *genū* < *ǵenu-. The Gmc. formation *ǵn-cu- must reflect ausgleich of paradigmatical ablaut forms of both root and suffix, followed by a transition into the neuter (u)o-stems: *ǵn-cu-o-.

An alternative etymology, which seemed more straightforward (from a semantic point of view) was that we are actually dealing with a formation to the

root *genh₁- 'beget', Gr. *génos*, etc. [Pokorny 1959: 373-5], cf. s.v. *ken*. In that case, we have to deal with formal problems, however. We must start from a form without a laryngeal, because *ǵnH-uo- would have yielded PGmc. **gunwa-, cf. Goth. *kaurus* < *kuru- < *g^(w)rHu-, Gr. *barís* < *g^wrh₂u-, Lat. *gravis* < *graus < *g^wreh₂u-. Only some problematic forms seem to indicate the existence of this required variant without laryngeal, e.g. Lat. *gēns* 'clan' < *ǵen-ti- (but cf. Schrijver 1991: 330).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291, 299

see also: knia, -knili(n)g

knia wk. vb. 2 'establish the degree of kinship' PIE

OFris. also *knīāia*

This form must represent a denominative verb to *knīā* 'relative', cf. van Helten (1907a: 204).

●PFRIS: *knīā

Denominative verb to *knī*, q.v.

Cf. also MLG *knēen* 'be kindred'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299; van Helten 1907a: 203-4

see also: kni, -knili(n)g

-knili(n)g subst. m. 'relative' PIE

In: *ivinknīling* 'relative in the same degree', *thrēdknili(n)g* 'relative in the third degree'.

OFris. also *knīlcg*

The vowel of the final syllable could be weakened to /ə/ <e>; as to the variation *g* ~ *ng*, cf. Boutkan (1996: 47).

●PFRIS: *-knīling

Masc. substantival derivation from *knī*, q.v.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

see also: kni, knia

Kolnaburch NL 'Cologne' LW

Kolne NL 'Cologne' LW

koma str. vb. IV 'come' PIE

OFris. also *kuma* q.v.

The variation *o* ~ *u* may be attributed to the following nasal (van Helten 1890: 15, cf. also Steller 1928: 11).

●PFRIS: *kuma

Cf. s.v. *-keme*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: -keme, -kimi, kuma

komp subst. m. 'fight, duel' LW

OFris. also *kamp*

This by-form shows the alternative spelling for the vowel /ä/.

●PFRIS: *kämp

Cf. s.v. *kampa*

Also in: ON *kapp*, OE *compa*, *camp*, OHG *champf*, MHG *kampf*, MLG *kamp*, MDu. *camp*.

kona ?? '??' ??

Only attested in R_{1,2,4} as a complement to *skilling*, viz. in Gp *skillinga cona* and Dp *skillingon conon*, which suggests that the word could be inflected for case.

Suggestions (after Buma 1961 s.v., Gerbenzon 1982: 270-1 fn. 11 + ref.):

(1) [Jackel] *cōna* < *colna, i.e. NL *Cologne*. The required assimilation is not attested in the actual NP *Kolne*, q.v.

(2) [Siebs] *cona* < Lat. *cuneus* 'stamp (coined)', possible, but the use of coined money remains restricted to the Carolingian era, and restarts only after 1266 (Gerbenzon loc. cit.).

(3) [Van Helten] < elliptic *pallia cana* 'white pieces of sheet' (once in the *Traditiones Fuldenses*); but why would *pallia* be left out and *cana* be borrowed as *cona*?

(4) [Gerbenzon, accepted by Hofstra 1984] < Russ. *kuna*, MLG *kunne*, Swe. *cunas*, *kunen* 'skin of a marter'; possible, because skins were used as a currency standard in N-E Europe and those of marters were very valuable.

(5) [Hammerich] 'female slave', cf. Danish *kone*, etc. < PGmc. *kunō < PIE *g^wenh₂, Gs *g^wneh₂s (Gr. *gumē*, Goth. *qino* 'woman', etc.); improbable as there is no evidence for slaves, even hardly for *serfs* in 12th, 13th century Rius-tringalond.

The fourth explanation is most probable. It has a parallel in Finnish *raha* 'money' < 'skin' (cf. also Hofstra 1984: 40-1), but also in the use of such standards as the *wedmerk*, *reilmerk* and *leimmerk* (q.v.).

kort adj. 'short' LW

OFris. also *kurt*

Although *u* is usually retained in loan words (van Helten 1890: 12), the variation *o* ~ *u* may be attributed to the lowering effect of the following *r*.

●PFRIS: *kurt, *kort

From Lat. *curtus* 'short'.

Also in: ON *kortr*, *kurtr* (as a nick-name), OHG *churt*, *churz*, MLG *kört*, ODu. *kurt*, MDu. *cort*, *curt* 'id.', etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kort*, *kurt*; Wollmann (1990: 520)

kost subst. f. 'food' LW

●PFRIS: *kost

From Middle Lat. *costus*, *costa*, cf. Lat. *constāre* 'cost'. On the semantical development, cf. de Vries 1992 s.v.

Also in: ON (late) *kostr* ← MLG OHG (late) *kosta* 'price, value', MHG *kōst(e)* 'sustenance', MLG *kōst, koste, kōste* 'costs, food, feast', MDu. *cost(e)* 'costs, costs of living; (>) food'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kost*; not in Wollmann

Kreklond NL 'Greece' LW

Lit: Wollmann 1990: 529

kriapa str. vb. II 'creep' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *kriapa

ON *krjúpa*, OE *crēopan*, ODu. *criepan* 'id.', cf. also

*krūp-: MHG *krūfen*, MLG *krūpen*, MDu. *crūpen, cruypen* 'id.';

*krupp-ġ-: OE *cryppan*, Mod. HG *krüpfen* 'bend';

*krupp-: MLG *kroppen* 'bend';

*kraup-: OE *crýpan*, MLG *krēpen* 'creep', OFris. *krēpa* 'creep, be humble', Mod. Norw. *krøypa* 'bend';

*krup-il-: OE *cryp(p)el*, *crepel* 'mutilated, lame', OS *crupel* 'contractus', MHG *krūp(p)el*, MLG *krōpel, krēpel, koppel, kreppele*, OFris. *kreppel* 'lame', MDu. *cropele, cru(e)pele, crepele* 'mutilated';

furthermore:

*kreuk-: OHG *kriohhan*, MHG *kricchen* 'creep';

*krauk-: Mod. HG *krauchen* 'id.';

perhaps also:

*kruk-: MDu. *croke, crueke*, also *crokel* 'fold', Mod. Du. *kreuk* 'id.' etc., but semantically different from 'creep, bend'.

●PGMC: *kreupanaN

● No IE etymology.

The possibility has been suggested that Lith. *grubinčti* 'stumble' is to be compared (e.g. Pokorny 1959: 389), but the absence of a long vowel in the stem indicates that the Baltic root final consonant must be reconstructed as *b^h, which is not compatible with Gmc. This outcome, however, fits into the pattern often observed in common Baltic-Gmc. substratum words: variation in root final consonants.

Further formal considerations suggest a substratum origin, viz. the pattern short vowel + geminate beside long vowel or diphthong + single consonant.

Both the root final consonant variation and the distribution of single vs. geminated consonants point to Kuiper's layer A₂ of substratum words (1995: 68ff.). Apart from the Baltic form, similar words appear in Greek, viz. Gr. *grūpós* 'crooked, curved' < *grūp-, etc., with a long vowel and yet another root final consonant. I doubt that these words are to be compared with the above forms, because the semantics do not fit exactly and Gr. usually does not share A₂-words with North-European.

A gloss by Hesych *grumpánein · grupoūsthai* is perhaps to be compared with WGmc. *krumb- in OE *crumb*, OS *krumb*, OHG *chrumb*, MHG *krum(p)*, MLG

krum(me), OFris. *krumb* (q.v.), MDu. *crom(me)*, *cromb*, *crumb* 'crooked, curved', which has no IE etymology.

**kruk-* 'fold' may be compared with OIr. *gruc* 'id.'

Lit: Seebold 1970: 310

see also: *krumb*

kriocce, kriose subst. n. 'cross' LW

OFris. also *krus*

This by-form from F is explained as /krūs/ (cf. Mod. Du. *kruis*) by Holt-hausen (1924: 468 fn.). According to Holthausen, the usual form with *io* must therefore contain a real diphthong. It actually seems possible to me that *krus* represents a direct loan from Lat. *cruc-*, whereas *kriose* (R) is the borrowing through an intermediate MLG *krüz(e)* or MDu. stage. The sound /ü/ - no longer existing in Frisian after the unrounding of i-mutated *ū to /ē/ - was substituted by the diphthong /iu/ which had an allophone [io] before dentals, hence *kriose*.

●PFRIS: **kriosi*, **krūs*

From MLG *krüz(e)* (or MDu. *cruys(e)*, *cruus*, *cruse*, *cruce*); F *krus* ← Lat. *crux*, *cruc-*.

Also in: OE *crūc*, OS *krūci*, OHG *krūzi* 'price, value', MHG *kriuz(e)*, MLG *krüz(e)*, MDu. *cruys(e)*, *cruus*, *cruse*, *cruce*.

Lit: Árhammar 1984: 931; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kriocce*, *kriose*, *krus*; not in Wollmann

krone subst. f. 'crown' LW

●PFRIS: **krōni*

From Lat. *corōna* 'id.' (← Gr. *korōnē* 'ring').

Also in: OE, OHG *corōna*, MLG *krōn(e)*, MDu. *crone*, *croon* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *krōnc*; not in Wollmann

krumb adj. 'crooked, curved' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **krumb*

Cf. s.v. *kriapa*

see also: *kriapa*

kuić subst. n. 'cattle' PIE

OFris. also *quik*, *quēk*

The by-form *quik* (q.v.) is merely orthographical. The form *quēk* shows e-vocalism that probably reflects a-UL of *i given the fact that it appears in the other NWGmc. dialects as well (with the expected prevalence in HG as against NGmc. and Ingveonic).

●PFRIS: **kwik*, **kwek*

subst. adj.

ON *kvikr*, *kykr*, OE *cwic(u)*, *cucu*, OS *quik*, OHG *queh*, *quēk*, *quēc*, MHG *quēc*, *kec*, *kec*, MLG *quēk*, *quik*, ODu. *quic*, MDu. *quic*, *quēc* 'alive', as in

MHG *quec* 'living animal', MLG ° *quek*, *quik*, MDu. *quic*, *quec* 'cattle' (cf. also ODu. *quicca fē* 'animalia').

cf. also *kwiwa- in Goth. *qius*, As *qiwana* 'alive'.

●PGMC: *k^wik^(w)o-

●PIE: *g^wh₃ig^(w)o-

POKORNY: 467-9

Skt. *jīvá-*, Lat. *vīvus*, Lith. *gývas* 'alive, living' all correspond with Goth. *qius* < *kwiwa- < *g^wih₃-yó- with shortening under Dybo's Law (in pretonic position before resonants) in Gothic (Schrijver 1991: 526). The NWGmc. forms have been considered problematic in several respects. The reconstruction of the velar is unclear: either *g (> *k) or *g^w (> *kw). It has been pointed out that only the labialized form can account for such geminated forms as ODu. *quicca*, Mod. HG *keck* (de Vries 1992 s.v. *kwik* 3). The reconstruction of *g^w has furthermore given rise to speculations about the possibility of a reduplicated form *g^wi-g^wo- vel *sim*. (reff. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *qius*).

A second problem is the absence of length of the root vowel: *g^wh₃i-g^(w)o- would have yielded *g^wih₃-g^(w)ó- with regular laryngeal metathesis, which would have become *g^wig^(w)ó- (> PGmc. **k^wik^(w)a-) with no possibility for secondary reduction (Dybo's Law operated only before resonants).

The solution to these problems appears to be that the laryngeal developed into a glottal stop, which, in its turn, yielded a velar before *w in the NWGmc. forms, hence *g^wHiw- > *g^wiHw- (laryngeal metathesis) > *g^wi'w- > *kwikw- (oralization of the glottal stop), cf. also OE *haccian* 'hack' < *kaHw-, cf. *hēawan* 'hew' < *kHaw-, etc. (Kortlandt 1988b: 356, with further examples and ref.).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 307

see also: *quik*

kuma str. vb. IV 'come' PIE

OFris. also *koma* q.v.

The variation *o* ~ *u* may be attributed to the following nasal (van Helten 1890: 15, cf. also Steller 1928: 11).

●PFRIS: *kuma

Cf. s.v. *-keme*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: *-keme*, *-kimi*, *koma*

-kumbria wk. vb. 2 'burden' LW

In *bicumbria* 'charge'

OFris. also *bekommeria*, *bikommeran*

These OWFris. by-forms show the vocalism and the assimilation *mb- > -mm- that are also found in MDu.; MDu. influence is obvious in the latter form that shows a non-Fris. ending.

●PFRIS: *-kumbria

Usually considered as a loan from Middle Latin *combrus*, *cumbrus* 'obstacle'

made of trees and branches' (← Gaul.; perhaps through French *combres* 'id.'), with semantical development towards a burden or obstacle in general.

Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *kommer* strongly reject the possibility of a loan, assuming a Gmc. inherited etymon *kum-, *kem- < *gem-, cf. Gr. *gémō* 'be packed', despite the late attestation of the word (de Vries 1992 s.v.).

Also in: MHG *bekumben*, *bekümben*, MLG *bekümmen*, *bekümben*, MDu. *becommenen* 'burden'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kommer*; *kumbria*, *kommeria*; not in Wollmann

-kuth adj. 'known' PIE

●PFRIS: **-kūþ*

Cf. s.v. *-kanna*

see also: *bikanna*, *-kanna*, *ketha*

kwik cf. s.v. *kuic*

-kwinka str. vb. III 'disappear' Gmc.

Only in R₁ (V, 30) *utekwinken* 'loss (of an eye)'.
 ●PFRIS: **-kwinka*

OE *ācwincan* 'end, fade', cf. also

**-kwankeja-*: OE *ācwencan* 'fade';

**kwīna-*: OE *ācwīnan*, MHG *verquinen*, MLG *quīnen*, Mod. Du. *weg|kwijn-en* 'languish'.
 ●PGMC: **-k^wenkanaN*

Given its limited distribution and the possible comparison with **kwīn-* (though Seebold 1970: 317 expresses doubts), we must think of a substratum word **kwīn-* ~ **kwink-*. The only possible outer-Gmc. parallel is Lith. *gaištù*, *-ti* 'disappear' < **g^woiK-*.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 317

kyning cf. s.v. *kini(n)g*.

L

lad subst. n. 'lead (as a measure of weight in order to establish currency)' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **lād*

OE *lēad*, MHG *lōt*, MLG *lōt*, *lōde*, MDu. *loot* 'lead'

●PGMC: **lauda-* [P(W)Gmc.]

● No IE etymology.

The word has a parallel in OIr. *líaide* 'lead' < **laudiā-* and may represent a substratum word from the continent (Germany). It has been assumed that it was borrowed in Gmc. from Celtic (Marstrander 1911: 204; orig. Much, apud Kluge 1989 s.v.). According to an old idea (e.g. Kluge 1989 loc. cit.) the

Celtic form must actually be reconstructed as *ploudiā, which can be coupled to PIE *ploud- 'fließen', which seems little attractive.

Lit: Bremer 1893: 322 (after Jaekel) and van Helten 1907a: 210 as to the value; Lendinara 1990: 302

laf subst. n. 'leaves' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *lāf

Goth. *laufs*, *lauf* (m, n), ON *louf* (n), OE *lēaf* (m, n), OS *lōf* (n), OHG *loub* (m, n), f. *louba*, MHG *loup* (n), MLG *lōf* (n), MDu. *loof* (n) 'foliage, leaf', cf. also

*lubh-: Goth. *lubja*- 'drugs', ON *lyf* 'healing herb', OE *lybb* 'poison', MDu. *lubbe* 'poison', etc.

●PGMC: *lauba-

● No IE etymology

Formally and semantically we can directly compare Celtic *lubh- in e.g. OIr. *luib* 'herb, plant', cf. Goth. *lubjaleis* 'knowing drugs or poisons'. Furthermore, a root *leub^h- 'bark' is found in other European languages, cf. Lat. *liber* < *lub^hro-, Alb. *labë* 'bark', OHG *louba* 'protecting roof made of bark', etc. The two etyma may be cognate. Greek has a substratum complex *olóptō* ~ *olotíphō* ~ *lépō* 'peel, take off', which has been connected with the 'bark'-word (Beekes 1971, 1996: section 3). The whole complex is likely to be of substratum origin (cf. also Schrijver 1991: 23-4). Less probable, Pokorny (1959: 690-1) starts from the PIE root *leu- 'loose, cut off' (cf. s.v. *lās* 1.) with different labial extensions.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 306

see also: *las* 1.

lagia wk. vb. 2 'establish' PIE

●PFRIS: *lagia

ON *laga* 'id.', cf. also

str. *legjanaN: Goth. *ligan*, ON *liggja*, OE *licgan*, OS *liggian*, OHG *lig(g)en*, *licken*, *ligan*, MHG *ligen*, *licken*, MLG *liggen*, OFris. *lids(i)a*, *lidz(i)a*, *lidsza*, *liga* (cf. s.v. *lidsia*, *lidzia* 1.), MDu. *lig(g)en*, *licgen*, *leggen* 'lie (down)';

weak *lageja-: Goth. *lagjan*, ON *leggja*, OE *lecgan*, OS *leggian*, OHG *leg(g)en*, *lecken*, MHG *leg(g)en*, *lecken*, MLG *leggen*, OFris. *ledsa*, *leia*, *lidsza*, *lidsia*, *ledsa*, *lega* (cf. s.v. *lid(s)zia* 2.), MDu. *leg(g)en*, *lecggen*, *leigen* 'lay';

subst. *legra-: Goth. *ligrs* 'bed', ON *legr* 'grave', OE *leger*, OS *legar* 'act of lying down, disease', OHG *legar* 'act of lying down', MHG *leger* 'position, grave', MLG *lēger*, *legger* 'bed, position', OFris. *legor* (q.v.), *leger* 'situation, position', MDu. *leger(e)* 'situation, position, camp';

etc.

●PGMC: *lagōjanaN

●PIE: *leg^h-

POKORNY: 658-9

Gr. *lékhos*, Lat. *lectus* 'bed', OIr. *lige* 'bed, grave', Toch. A *lake*, Toch. B

leke 'bed'.

see also: *lidsia* 1., *lidzia/lid(s)zia*, *legor*

langor adv. comp. 'longer' PIE

Ofris. also *langer*, *lenger*, *lengra*, *langere*, *lang*, *leng*

The suffix shows the typical Riustring form *-or*; the other dialects show other adverbial formations based on **-ir-*. The forms *lang*, *leng* (= /læŋg/) may represent the oldest formation, i.e. **langiz*, cf. also *mā* 'more' < **maiz* < PIE **meh₂is* (cf. also van Helten 1890: 183). We can explain the root vowel *e* as an *i*-mutated **a* before the suffix form **-ir-*. The spelling <a> before nasals must also denote a mutated vowel /æ/ in East Old Frisian, because non-mutated **a* yielded <o>, e.g. *long* (q.v.). As to the Riustring form, a mutated vowel is incompatible with the suffix form *-or*. Perhaps, *-ur* ~ *-or* was productive as an adverbial comparative marker in R¹ (Boutkan 1996: 80-81; *-or* occurs in 3 out of 4 attestations of an adverbial comparative). This makes the assumption of *-or* replacing earlier (*i*-mutating) *-ir* or secondary adding of *-or* to the endingless form *lang* possible.

●PFRIS: **længur* << **længir* ?

Comparative form to *longe*, q.v.

see also: *long*, *longe*

las 1 adj. 'free (from), without, deprived of' PIE

●PFRIS: **las*

Goth. *laus*, ON *lauss*, OE *lēas*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *lōs*, MDu. *loos*, 'free (from)', cf. also

**lusa-*: MLG, MDu. *los* 'id.';

str. II vb. **leusa-* 'lose': Goth. *fra|liusan*, OE *for|lēosan*, OS, OHG *far|liosian*, MHG *ver|liesen*, MLG *vor|lēsen*, OFris. *for|liasa*, MDu. *ver|liesen*;

denom. **lausjanaN*: Goth. *lausjan*, ON *leysa*, OE *liesan*, OS *lōsian*, OHG *losen*, MHG *lāsen*, *lōsen*, MLG *lōsen*, *lösen*, MDu. *leusen*, *lo(o)sen* 'free (from)';

deverb. fem.: OFris. *lēsene* 'ransom';

etc.

●PGMC: **lausa-*

●PIE: **lou-s-*

POKORNY: 681-2

A Germanic *s*-extension to **√leu-*, cf. Skt. *lunāti* 'cut off', Gr. *lúō* 'loose, set free', Lat. *luō* 'pay, recompense'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 339-40

see also: *-las 2.*, *lesa*, *-les(e)ne*

-las 2 adj. suffix '-less' PIE

Ofris. also *-lōs*

This OWfris. form (e.g. *ferdlōs* 'without *fretho*', cf. s.v. *freth(o)lās*) shows the monophthongisation of

**-laus-* to *-lōs*.

●PFRIS: *-lās

= *lās* 1. used as an adj. suffix.

Also in MLG *-lōs(t)*, MDu. *-lōs*, etc.

see also: *las* 1., *lesa*, *-les(e)ne*

lasta wk. vb. 1 'fulfil, pay' PIE [?]

OFris. also *lēsta*

This by-form shows the monophthongisation product \bar{e} of *ai (cf. especially van Helten 1906: 197).

●PFRIS: *lāsta, *lēsta

Goth. *laistjan* 'follow', OE *lāstan* 'follow, carry out', OS *lēstian* 'carry out, pursue', OHG, MHG *leisten* 'carry out', MLG *lē'sten* 'do, fulfil', MDu. *leesten*, *leisten* 'fulfil', cf. also

*laisti-: Goth. *laista* 'trace, track', ON *leistr* 'stocking-foot', OE *lāest*, *lāst* 'sole, track of foot', OHG, MHG *leist* 'trace, last', MLG *lēst(e)* 'last', MDu. *leest*, *leist* 'form';

*laisejanaN: Goth. *laisjan*, ON *læra* ← OE *læran*, OS *lērian*, OHG, MHG *lêren*, MLG (*ge*)*lêren*, MDu. *le(e)ren* 'teach';

*lisa-: OHG *lesa*, MDu. *lese* 'wrinkle'; cf. also OFris. *lesoke* (q.v.), *Jeseke* 'wrinkle' (→ MLG *leseke*, *lesche* 'id.');

*lisnōjanaN: OE *leornian*, OHG *lernōn*, *-ēn*, *lirnēn*, MHG *lernen*, *li(e)rnen*, MLG *lernen* (scarce and Eastfalian), OFris. *lirnia* (q.v.), *lernia*, MDu. (hapax) *leernen* 'learn';

etc.

●PGMC: *laistjan

●PIE: [?] *lois-t-

POKORNY: 671

The Gmc. verb is a denominative of *laisti-, which, in its turn, is a *-ti-derivative of a root that must be reconstructed as *leiHs- 'track', cf. Lat. *lira* 'furrow', OCS *lēcha*, Lith. *lỹsė* 'garden-bed'. The root is only found in Gmc.-BS.-Italic. Seebold (1970: 323) only accepts the Italic parallel (with doubt).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308-9; Seebold 1970: 322-3

see also: *lera*, *lesoke*, *lirnia*

laster subst. n. 'slander, damage' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *lastir

OS, OHG *lastar* 'disgrace', MHG, MLG *laster* 'slander', ODu. *laster* 'impropium', MDu. *laster* 'disgrace, scorn', cf. also

*lahtra-: OE *lahtor* 'disgraceful deed, damage', MDu. *lachter* 'disgrace, scorn';

*lahstu-: ON *lqstr* 'damage, scorn';

verb *lahanaN: OE *lēan*, OS, OHG *lahan*, Modern Icelandic *lá* 'rebuke'.

●PGMC: *lahstra-

●No IE etymology.

A possible cognate is OIr. *locht* < *loktu- 'fault, blame' [Pokorny 1959: 673].

From a semantic point of view, the comparison Latv. *laņgāt* 'call sb. names, taunt' and perhaps Mir. *lang* 'treason' is very attractive [Pokorny 1959: 676]. Latv. *laņgāt* < *longh- [?] shows unclear root vocalism (*an* for expected **uo* before *g*). The abundance of unusual formations in Gmc. also points to a substratum origin. The formations **lok-* ~ **lengh-*, with prenasalisation and variation in root final consonant are reminiscent of Kuiper's substratum layer A₂ (1995: 68ff.).

Another form that has been adduced is Gr. *elégkhō* 'call sb. names', but usually Greek does not show traces of this Central-North European substratum layer. Moreover, Greek shows a prothetic *e-*, which must represent **h*₁-. I therefore rather compare this form with Hitt. *link-* 'swear' < **h*₁*lengh-* (e.g. Melchert 1994: 67, 101 and *passim*).

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 211

lathia wk. vb. 2 'invite, summon' Gmc.

OFris. also *ladia*, *laia*

The medial /-þ-/ could develop into -*d-* in later OFris., which, in its turn, could undergo weakening to -*j-*.

•PFRIS: **laþia*

Goth. *laþon*, ON *laþa*, OE *laþian*, OS *lað(o)ian*, OHG *ladōn*, -*ēn* 'invite, call', MHG *laden* 'call, summon', MLG *lāden* 'summon, invite', MDu. *laden* 'invite, call', cf. also

**laþō*: OR *laþu*, ON *lōþ*, OE *laþu* 'invitation', perhaps MHG *lade* 'board'.

•PGMC: **laþōjanaN*

• No IE etymology.

The word has been connected with Gr. *lēn* 'want', *lēma* 'will', but this is far from obvious from a semantic point of view (cf. also Chantraine 1968 s.v. *lō*). OIr. *air-le* 'regulation, advice' is probably not cognate either (Lehmann 1986 s.v. *laþon* + *reff.*).

lattere vb. + pron. 'leads he' PIE

Syntagm containing *lēda* 'lead' and -*er* 2. = enclitic Nsm to *hī*, cf. s.vv.

lattese vb. + pron. 'leads them (Ap)' PIE

Syntagm containing *lēda* 'lead' and -*se* 2. = enclitic Apm to *hī* 'he', cf. s.vv.

lava subst. f. (plural) 'heritage' PIE

OFris. also *lāwa*

This by-form shows the later OFris. change -*v-* > -*w-*.

•PFRIS: **lāwa*

Goth. *laiba* 'remainder, remnant', ON *leifar* (pl.), OE *lāf*, OS *lēba*, OHG *leiba* 'remainders, leavings', MHG *leibe* 'remainders', cf. also

**bi-leibanaN*: Goth. *bi-leiban*, OE *be-lifan*, OS *bi-līban*, OHG *bi-līban* 'remain', MHG *b(e)-liben*, MLG *b-līven*, OFris. *bī-*, *b(e)-līva* (q.v.), ODu. *b-livan*, MDu.

b-liven 'remain';

*-laibjanaN: Goth. *bi|laibjan* 'leave', ON *leifa* 'leave behind', OE *læfan*, OS *far|lēbian*, OHG, MHG *leiben*, MLG *lēven*, OFris. *leva* (q.v.), MDu. *b|leiven* 'leave';

*libējanaN: Goth. *liban*, ON *lifa*, OE *libb(i)an*, *lifian*, OS *libbian*, *lebon*, OHG *lebēn*, MHG *leben*, MLG *lēven*, OFris. *libba* (q.v.), ODu. *libbon*, MDu. *leven* 'live';

*leibaN: ON *lif*, OE, OS *lif*, OHG *līb*, MHG *līp*, MLG, OFris. (q.v.), ODu. *lif*, MDu. *lijf* 'life, body';

etc.

●PGMC: *laibō

●PIE: *loipeh₂

POKORNY: 670-1

The root *leip- originally meant 'stick': Skt. *limpāti* 'smear', *liptá-* 'sticking to', Lith. *lipti* 'stick to, adhere to', Toch. B *lip-* 'remain'.

The transition towards 'live', etc. is only Gmc. and disputed, but semantically comprehensible: stick → remain (also Tocharian) → live (Gmc.). The meaning 'leave' (transitive) derives from 'make (sth.) remain (swh.)'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294, 304

see also: bi-, beliva, leva, libba, lif, -liva, -live

leda wk. vb. 1 'lead (away), bring, save, call (as a witness), swear, declare; *leda of* = free from' Gmc.

The curious synchronic variation $\bar{e} \sim \bar{a}$ in the stem (e.g. inf. *leda* as against 3sind.pres. *lat*; Boutkan 1996: 22) may represent the only evidence in R₁ in favour of a separate phoneme */æ/ < (i-mutated) *ai as against /ē/ < e.g. i-mutated PGmc. *u. The evidence is too scanty, however. Riustring OFris. as well as its later descendants appear to have had a five vowel system of long vowels /ī, ē, ā, ō, ū/ (cf. also Hofmann 1964).

●PFRIS: *lēda, *lād-

ON *leiþa*, OE *lēdan*, OS *lēdian*, OHG, MHG *leiten*, MLG *leiden*, *lēden*, ODu. *leiden*, MDu. *leidcn*, *lc(c)dcn* 'lead', cf. also

str. I: Goth. *af|leiþan* 'go away', ON *liþa* (← MLG, OE *liþan*, OS *liþan* 'go', OHG, MHG, MLG *liden* 'go away; suffer', MDu. *lidcn* 'go, suffer' (on the rise of the secondary meaning 'suffer' cf. Seebold 1970: 329);

etc.

●PGMC: *laidjanaN

● No certain IE etymology.

PIE *leit- [Pokorny 1959: 672] would be represented in Av. *iriθiia-* 'die', Toch. A *lit-* 'go away, fall down', but the Avestan connection is semantically not obvious, whereas the Tocharian form might be cognate with Goth. *liþus* 'member, body part', etc. [Pokorny 1959: 309], q.v. The etymology is rejected by Seebold 1970: 328-30 ('Gmc. *leiþa* ... hat keine brauchbare Vergleichsmöglichkeit.'). After Weman he considers a root etymology √lei- 'glide, slide', cf. Gr. *leĩos*

'slippery' [Pokorny 1959: 662-4], a slight possibility. Ref. to less probable suggestions in Lehmann (1986) s.v. *afleiþan*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294; Seebold 1970: 328-30

see also: -ledene, -ledere

-ledene subst. f. 'leadership' Gmc.

In: *offēdene* 'full responsibility of a leader during a raid'.

●PFRIS: *-lēdini

A feminine *-īni-derivation (Goth. type *-eins*) to the root *lēd-, cf. s.v. *lēda*.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 13

-ledere subst. m. 'leader' Gmc.

In: *folklēdere* 'leader during a raid'.

●PFRIS: *-lēdiri

Substantival -ere-formation (see also ODu. *leidere*, MDu. *leider*, *le(e)der*) to *lēd- cf. s.v. *lēda*.

legor subst. n. 'situation, position' PIE

Cf. s.v. *lagia*.

see also: *lagia*, *lidsia* 1., *lidzia*, *lid(s)zia* 2.

leia subst. m. 'layman' LW

●PFRIS: *leia

From Romance *laiju*, *laigu* < Lat. *laicus* ← Gr. *laikós* 'layman'.

Also in: OHG *leigo*, *leijo*, MHG *leige*, *leic*, MLG *leye*, MDu. *leye*; beside direct borrowings from Latin: OHG *laih/man*, MLG *leyke*, OWFris. *lēk(man)*, MDu. *leec*; late-ON *leikr* ← MLG

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *leik-man*; not in Wollmann

-leine subst. f. 'rope?' Gmc. [?]

In: *havedlcinc*, q.v.

The interpretation of this word remains unclear and two emendations have been proposed:

(1) van Helten (1907a: 166) suggested to read *havedsleine* 'Kopfschlinge' with *-sleine* < *-slagina- (cf. s.v. *sla*) in view of such passages as E₁ (VII, 229) *huam sama en sim umbe sin haud sleith* 'whom one (lit.:) hits a snare around his head';

(2) Buma (1961) s.v. proposes to read *havedline* with *-line* 'rope' corresponding to MDu. *line*, MLG, OE, *line*, also attested in OFris. *line* (E, H); cf. furthermore Goth. *lein*, Lat. *linea* to *linum* 'linen' [Pokorny 1959: 691, but undoubtedly non-IE, cf. Gr. *línōn* 'id.' with short vowel, cf. also Schrijver 1991: 243-4].

It is possible to read *-lcinc*, however, as was pointed out by Holthausen (1924: 462-3), who derives it from *-lagina- 'Lage, Legung' (cf. s.v. *lidsia*, *lidzia* 1.),

cf. also *leinmerk* 'fixed mark'. We can indeed interpret *havedleine* as 'attachment to the head; something fixed to the head'.

see also: *leinmerk*, *lidsia* 1., *lidzia*, *sla*

leinmerk subst. f. 'certain currency' PIE

Compound of *lein* (cf. s.v. *-leine*) and *merk*, q.v.

The exact meaning of the first element of this compound has been subject of dispute. van Helten (1907a: 214) rightly rejects Jaekel's interpretation of *lein* as 'linen', cf. s.v. *-leine*. If this were true, we would expect *i* rather than *ei*. I accept the explanation by Holthausen (1924: 462-3), who derives it from *-lagina- 'Lage, Legung' (cf. s.v. *lidsia*, *lidzia* 1.).

see also: *-leine*, *lidsia* 1.,

lemithe subst. f. 'paralysis, mutilation' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *lemethe*, *lam(e)the*

The former form shows a reduced medial vowel /ə/ <e>. The latter form in E, B shows a spelling <a> for i-mutated /æ/ (van Helten 1890: 31ff.).

In OWFris. we must rather assume influence of the adj. *lam*; in this dialect the medial vowel could be syncopated, hence *lamthe*.

●PFRIS: **læmiþō*

ON *lemd* 'mutilation', MHG *lem(e)de*, MLG *lēmede*, *lēmbde*, MDu. *leemde*, *lemde*, *leemte* 'paralysis, mutilation', cf. also

**lama(n)-*: ON *lami*, OE *loma*, *lama*, OS *lamo*, OHG, MHG, MLG *lam*, OFris. *lom* (q.v.), MDu. *lam*, *laem* 'lame';

**lamejanaN*: ON *lemja*, OE *lemman*, OS *lemmian*, OHG *lemmen*, MHG *lemen*, MLG *lemmen*, *lēmen*, OFris. *lem(m)a* (q.v.), MDu. *lemmen*, *lemen* 'make lame, cripple';

etc.

●PGMC: **lamiþō*

The word under discussion is an *-iþō-derivation (Goth. *-iþa*), cf. also *bēnethē*.

●PIE: [?] **lemH-*

POKORNY: 674

The word has a limited distribution within IE and may represent a dialectal innovation (substratum word). Moreover it is questionable which words must be grouped here, as Pokorny (1959) lists words belonging to quite different semantic fields. Certain seems to me only the BS. evidence, cf. OCS *lomljǫ*, *lomiti* 'break'. We must reconstruct a laryngeal on the basis of Lith. *lėmti* 'decide' < **lemH-* ~ *lėmti* 'break' < **lmH-*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 295; van Helten 1907a: 214

see also: *lem(m)a*, *lom*

lem(m)a wk. vb. 1. 'make lame, cripple' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *lam(m)a*

The latter form in E, B shows a spelling <a> for i-mutated /æ/ (van Helten 1890: 31ff.).

Because the only attested form is the 3s ind. pres. (*læmiþ without WGmc. jod-gemination), we cannot be sure whether a medial geminate must be assumed given such by-forms as MHG *lemen*, MLG *lēmen*, MDu. *lemen*.

●PFRIS: *læm(m)a

cf. s.v. *lemithe*

see also: *lemithe*, *lom*

lena wk. vb. 1 'entrust to' PIE

●PFRIS: *lēna

OE *lænan*, cf. also

str.V: Goth. *leiwan*, ON *ljá* OE *lēon*, OS *far]lihan*, OHG *lihan*, MHG *lihen*, MLG *lī(g)en*, OFris. *lia*, MDu. *lien* 'lend';

subst.n.: ON *lán*, OE *læn*, OS *lehan*, *lehen*, OHG *lēhan*, *lēhin*, MHG *lēhen*, *lēn*, MLG *lēn*, OFris. *lēn*, MDu. *leen* 'loan';

weak 2: ON *lána*, OS *lēhnon*, OHG *lēhanōn*, MHG *le(he)nen*, MLG *lē'nen*, *lē'nen*, OFris. *lēn(i)gia* (q.v.), MDu. *le(e)nen*, *lienen* 'id.'

●PGMC: *laihwnjan

The weak verbal formations are denominative to the neuter substantive *laihwnaN < *loik^wno-

●PIE: *loik^wno-

POKORNY: 669-670

Neuter s-stem *loik^wnos- in Skt. *rékṇas-* 'inherited land, property', Av. *raēxnah-* 'heritage, riches, property'; Gr. *leípō* < *leik^w-, Lat. *linquo* < *li-n-k^w- 'leave'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 327-8

see also: *len(i)gia*

-lende 1 subst. n. 'land' Gmc.

In: *ililende* 'exile, the dwelling in foreign country' (q.v.).

●PFRIS: *-lændi

OE *e]lende* 'foreign country', OHG *eli]lenti*, MHG *e]lende*, *en(e)]ende* 'foreign country, exile', MLG *el(l)ende*, Odu. *elendi* 'exile', MDu. *e(l)]ende*, *e]linde*, *a(l)]iinde*, *e]leinde*, *o]lende*, *e]lent*, *e]lint* 'foreign country, exile', cf. also

*landa-: Goth., ON *land*, OE *land*, *lond*, OS *land*, OHG, MHG, MLG *lant*, OFris. *lond* (q.v.), *land*, MDu. *lant* 'land';

adj. *landja-: OE *e]læande*, OHG *eli]lenti*, MHG *e]lende*, MLG *e]lende*, *el(c)]ende* 'foreign', OFris. *un]ende* 'bottomless, (very) deep' (q.v.), MDu. *el(l)]ende* 'in exile' = *lende 2*;

adj. *landiska-: ON *-leuzkr*, OE *-lendisc*, MHG, MLG *-lendisch*, OFris. *-lendesk* (B), MDu. *-lants(ch)*, *-lan(d)sch*, *-lendsch*;

*lendjō: Swe. Dial. *linda* 'fallow land';

*lund-: ON *lundr* 'grove';

etc.

●PGMC: *(ali)landja-

● No IE etymology

OPruss. *lindan* 'valley', Russian *ljadá* 'overgrown field', OIr. *land* 'open place', Welsh *llann* 'piece of land'. In spite of a possible reconstruction PIE **lond^h-jo-* [Pokorny 1959: 675], this geographical term only has a limited geographical distribution and is suspect of being a substratum word (cf. also Polomé 1990: 335), cf. also Basque *landa* 'field', Catalan *llanda* 'plain' (cf. Scardigli apud Lehmann 1986 s.v. *land*).

However, a connection with the 'loin'-etymon, Skt. *rándhra-* < **lend^h-ro-*, Lat. *lumbus* < **lond^h-uo-* has been proposed (details in Mayrhofer 1986: II, 432, s.v. *rándhra-*), although the semantics seem problematic.

see also: -lende 2., lond

-lende 2 adj. suffix 'as to land, landish' PIE [?]

In: *unlende* 'deep' (q.v.).

Cf. s.v. *-lende 1*.

see also: -lende 1., lond

len(i)gia wk. vb. 2 'entrust to' PIE

●PFRIS: **lënja*

Cf. s.v. *lëna*.

lera wk. vb. 1 'teach' PIE

●PFRIS: **lëra*

Cf. sub *lāsta*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 309

see also: *lasta*, *lesoke*, *lirnia*

lesa wk. vb. 1 'free (from)' PIE

●PFRIS: **lësa*

Cf. sub *lās 1*.

see also: *las 1., 2., -les(e)ne*

-les(e)ne subst. f. 'ransom' PIE

●PFRIS: **lësinī*

Cf. sub *lās 1*.

see also: *las 1., 2., lesa*

lesoke subst. f. 'wrinkle' PIE

Ofris. also *lescke*, *lcska*

The medial vowel could undergo weakening to /ə/ <e> or syncope.

●PFRIS: **lesuki*

Cf. sub *lāsta*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

see also: *lasta*, *lera*, *lirnia*

lessa adj. comp. 'less' PIE

●PFRIS: **lëssa*

OE *lāessa*, cf. also

adv. *laisiz: OE *lās*, OS *lēs* 'less';

adv. *leis-: OHG *liso*, MHG *līse* 'quietly'.

●PGMC: *laisizan-

●PIE: *loi-s-is-

POKORNY: 661-2; especially 662 sub b.

We would be dealing with an s-extension to a root *lei- 'slender', cf. also Gr. *loisthos* 'the last one', *liarós* < *lis- + productive suffix *-aros. Alleged Baltic cognates are problematic because the acute intonation points to a laryngeal that is incompatible with the other evidence: Lith. *līesas*, Latv. *liēss* 'slender'. NB: the Latv. form is quoted with incorrect intonation in Pokorny (1959), in Lehmann (1986) s.v. *lista* (= Crimean Goth. 'little') and in de Vries (1992) s.v. *lijs* 2.; cf. furthermore Fraenkel (1962-1965) s.v. *līesas* who calls the Baltic/Gmc. correspondence 'äußerst fraglich'.

lest adj. superl. 'last' PIE

●PFRIS: *lest

ON *latastr*, OE *lætest*; *latost*, OS *lesto*, *lezto*; *lasto*, *lazto*, OHG *lezzist*; *lazzōst*, MHG *lest*, *lezzist*, MLG *lest*; *lātest*, ODu. *letist*, MDu. *lest*; *laetst* 'last', cf. also

str.vb.: Goth. *letan*, ON *láta*, OE *lætan*, OS *lātan*, OHG *lāz(z)an*, *lāzen*, MHG *lā(ze)n*, MLG *lāten*, OFris. *leta* (q.v.), *lāta*, MDu. *laten* 'let';

*lētaz: Goth. *fra|lets* 'freed man', OHG *lāz*, MLG *lat*, *lāte*, OFris. *lēt* (cf. sub *lēt* 1.), MDu. *laat*, *late* 'serf';

*lataz: Goth. *lats* 'lazy', ON *latr*, OE *læt*, OS *lat*, OHG, MHG *laz*, MLG *lat*, OFris. *let* (cf. sub *let* 2.), MDu. *lat* 'sluggish'.

●PGMC: *latist- (~ *latōst-) [P(W)Gmc.]

●PIE: *lh₁d-isto-

POKORNY: 666

The ø-grade is also found in Lat. *lassus* 'tired' < *lh₁d-to- (Schrijver 1991: 136-8); cf. also Alb. *lodh* 'make tired'; Gr. *lēdein 'be tired' must actually be read *ādein* (Chantraine 1968 s.v. *lēdein*).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 333-5

see also: *let* 1., *let* 2., *leta*, *let(h)slacht(a)*, *letora*, -e

let 1 subst. m. 'serf' PIE

●PFRIS: *lēt

Cf. s.v. *lest*.

see also: *lest*, *let* 2., *leta*, *let(h)slacht(a)*, *letora*, -e

let 2 adj. 'late' PIE

●PFRIS: *let

Cf. s.v. *lest*.

see also: *lest*, *let* 1., *leta*, *let(h)slacht(a)*, *letora*, -e

leta str. vb. VII 'let' PIE

OFris. also *lāta*

This verb shows the same vowel as MDu. *laten*.

●PFRIS: *lē₁ta

Cf. s.v. *lest*.

see also: *lest*, *let* 1., *let* 2., *let(h)slacht(a)*, *letora*, -e

leth 1 subst. n. 'harm' PIE

OFris. also *lāth*, *lēd*

The former by-form (cf. *lathe* in von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *leth*, *led*) shows the monophthongisation product *ā* of *ai. The latter by-form shows the later OFris. transition /þ/ *th* > /d/ *d*.

●PFRIS: *lāþ, *lēþ

= Substantivised adj. *lēth* 2., q.v.

Also in: OE *lāþ*, OS *lēth* 'evil', OHG *leid*, MHG *leit* 'sorrow', MLG *le(i)t*, MDu. *leet*, *leit* 'harm'.

see also: *leth* 2.

leth 2 adj. 'evil' PIE

●PFRIS: *lēþ

(OR *laiþigaz*.) ON *leiþr* 'hated', OE *lāþ* 'evil', OS *lēth*, OHG *leid*, MHG *leit* 'hated', MLG *lē(i)t*, *lē(i)de* 'evil', MDu. *leet*, *leit* 'hated', perhaps cf. also *s-leiþ-: Goth. *sleiþ(ei)s* (only Npm *sleidjai*) 'fierce', ON *slípr* 'grim', OE *slīpe* 'cruel', OS *slīthi*, OHG *slīdic*, *slīthic* 'evil';

*s-leiþjanaN: OE *slīpan* 'wound'.

●PGMC: *laiþa-

●PIE: *h₂loito-

POKORNY: 672

Gr. *aloitós*, *aleitēs* 'criminal', OIr. *liuss* 'loathing' < *lissu- < *Hlit-tu-. Given the Greek prothetic vowel, the root must have had an initial *h₂ (cf. also Beekes 1969: 40, 85). This entails that the alleged Gmc. cognates with mobile *s*- either must have arisen after the loss of the initial laryngeal, or that *sHleit-yielded *sleiþ- in PGmc. already (i.e. with early loss of the laryngeal).

Lit: Kern 1924: 45-6

see also: *leth* 1.

lethoch adj. 'free from' Gmc.

OFris. also *ledich*, *letheg*, *leech*

The non-Riustring suffix form is *-ich* > *-ech* (*-eg*); *lēdich* shows the late OFris. transition of *-th-* to *-d-*; *leech* shows total syncope of the dental, cf. also MDu. *ledich*, *-ech* ~ *leech*.

●PFRIS: *lēþih, lēþoh

ON *lipugr*, OE *lipig*, MHG *ledic*, *-ec*, *lidic*, MLG *lēdich*, *leddich*, *laddich*, *lidich*, *-ech*, MDu. *ledich*, *-ech*, *leech* 'free', cf. also

weak 2: MLG *leddigen*, *lēdigen*, *lēdegen*, OFris. *lethogia* (q.v.), MDu. *ledigen*, *ledegen* '(set) free',

etc.

- PGMC: *liþuga-
- No IE etymology.

The word has been connected with the etymon *lith* (q.v.; e.g. de Vries 1992 s.v. *ledig*), but this is unsatisfactory (cf. also Kluge 1989 s.v. *ledig*).

see also: lethogia

lethogia wk. vb. 2 '(set) free' Gmc.

- PFRIS: *leþugia

Cf. s.v. *lethoch*.

see also: lethoch

let(h)slacht(a) subst. adj. 'serf' PIE

OFris. also *lētslacht*

The form Dp R₁ (III, 61) *lethslachton* must contain *th* for *t* due to '... überaus häufige, nachlässige schreibung...' (van Helten 1907a: 104).

- PFRIS: *lētslacht(a)

Compound of *lēt* 1. 'serf' and *-slacht* 'belonging to the category of —', cf. s.vv.

see also: lest, let 1., let 2., leta, letora, -e

letora, -e comp.adj. 'later, following' PIE

Comparative of *let* 2.

- PFRIS: *letur-

Cf. sub *let* 2.

see also: lest, let 1., let 2., leta, let(h)slacht(a).

-letsen subst. n. 'cloth' PIE

In: *alterletsen* 'altar-cloth'

OFris. also *leken*

This by-form shows no (orthographically expressed) palatalisation of the medial velar.

- PFRIS: *-lećin

OE hapax *lacen* 'cloak'?, OS *lakan*, OHG *lahhan*, MHG *lachen*, MLG *lāken*, MDu. *laken(c)*, *laicken*, *lake* 'cloth'

- PGMC: *lakana-

Interestingly, the OFris. form with palatalisation points to a suffix form *-in-, whereas the rest of Gmc. points to *-an-. This pattern reminds one of the problematic OFris. palatalised forms of the ppp, e.g. *fendsen* 'caught', whereas the assumption of a PGmc. formation in *-anaz < PIE *-onos seems preferable (Boutkan 1995: 78-82). Can we assume a rule *-an- > (palatalising and i-mutating) *-in- for PFRIS.? This furthermore reminds of such OR forms as *haitnaz* (Kalleby stone, Bohuslän, Sweden, around 400 AD) 'called', which may go back to *haitanaz.

- PIE: *lh₂g-ono-

POKORNY: 959-60

Interpreted as a form of a root *(s)lh₂g- meaning 'weak, etc.>'; Gr. *lágnos*

'lecherous' < *lh₂g-no-, Lat. *laxus* 'loose' < *lh₂g-so-, with mobile *s*-, cf. Toch. A *slākkār*, Toch. B *slakkare* 'weak, sad', cf. also ON *slakr*, OE *slæc*, OS *slac* 'weak, soft' < *s-lh₂g-.

Lit: Schrijver 1991: 165

Letteren NL LW

leva wk. vb. 1 'leave' PIE

Ofris. also *lāvia*, *liova*

The first by-form is a weak 2 denominative of *lāva* (q.v.); the second by-form is OWfris. and shows the regular transition of *-ew- to *-iow- (Steller 1928: 10).

●PFRIS: *lēva

Cf. s.v. *lāva*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304

see also: bi-, beliva, lava, libba, lif, -liva, -live

lhapa see *hlāpa*

lhia see *hlia*

lhiene see *hliene*

-liacht adj. 'light, bright' PIE

Ofris. also *licht*

This OWfris. by-form may be due to MDu. influence.

●PFRIS: *liaht

OE *lēoht*, OS, OHG *lioht*, MHG *lieht*, MLG *licht*, *lecht*, *lücht*, MDu. *licht*, *lecht* 'bright', cf. also

*leuh-man-: ON *ljómi*, OE *lēoma*, OS *liomo* 'glean';

*leuh-aþ-: Goth. *liuhaþ*, OE *lēoht*, OS, OHG *lioht*, MHG *liehte*, MLG *licht*, *lecht*, *legt*, *lücht(e)*, OFris. *liacht*, ODu. *lioht*, MDu. *licht*, *lecht*, *liecht*, *lucht*, *locht*, -*te* 'brightness';

*lauh-munjō: Goth. *lauhmuni* 'lightning';

etc.

●PGMC: *leuhta-

●PIE: *leuk-

POKORNY: 687-9

Skt. *rócate* 'shines'; o-stem in Skt. *róka-*, *roká-* 'light', adj. Gr. *leukós* 'white' < *leuk-o-s, Lith. *laukas* 'having a blaze (of horses)' < *louk-o-s; Lat. *lūx* < *leuk-s, *lūmen* < *leuk-s-men-.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 379-80; Lendinara 1990: 296

liaf- adj. 'dear' PIE

Ofris. also *lief*

This form represents an OWfris. development (Steller 1928: 15).

●PFRIS: *liaf

Goth. *liufs* 'beloved', OR *liubu*, ON *ljúfr*, OE *lēof*, OS *liof*, OHG *liob*, *liub*,

lieb, MHG *liep*, MLG *lēf*, *līf*, ODu., MDu. *lief* 'dear' cf. also:

**lubōjanaN*: ON *lofa* 'praise, grant' OE *lofian*, OS *lobon*, OHG *lobōn* 'praise', *gīlobōn* 'allow, grant', MHG *loben* 'praise, promise', MLG *lōven* 'allow', OFris. *lovīa* 'establish, grant', cf. also *urlovīa* 'prohibit' (q.v.), MDu. *loven* 'praise, grant, promise, approve of';

**lufa-*: ON, OE, OS, *lof*, OHG *lob*, MHG *lop*, MLG *lof*, *lōf*, OFris. *lof* (weakened *-lef*, *-lif*) 'praise' (cf. s.v. *orlof*), ODu., MDu. *lof* 'praise'; etc.

●PGMC: **leuba-*

●PIE: **leub^h-*

POKORNY: 683-4

Skt. *lūbhyaṭi* 'desire ardently', Lat. *lubet* 'please', OCS *ljubъ* 'dear'.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 376-7; Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *liaflike*, *lovīa*, *orlof*

liaflike adv. 'cordially' PIE

Compound of *liaf-* 'dear' and *-like* 2. adv. suffix, cf. s.vv.

-liaga str. vb. II 'lie, tell lies' Gmc.

Goth. *liugan*, ON *ljúga*, OE *lēogan*, OS, OHG *liogan*, MHG *liegen*, *liugen*, MLG *lēgen*, MDu. *liegen* 'lie', cf. also

**lukk-*: ON *lokka*, OE *loccian*, OHG *lockōn*, MDu. *locken* 'entice', etc.

●PFRIS: **liaga*

●PGMC: **leuganaN*

● No IE etymology

Only directly comparable with OCS *lъzъ*, *lъgati* 'lie' < **lug^h-*, hence apparently a substratum word (pace Pokorny 1959: 686-7). Further connection with Lith. *lūgnas* 'flexible' and cognates is possible (Fraenkel 1962-1965: 388, s.v.; Specht's idea). At any rate not to be connected with OIr. *follugaim* 'conceal', which must belong to the root **leg^h-* 'lie' (Fraenkel *ibid.*, following Thurneysen and Pedersen; also Pokorny 1959: 658-9; cf. s.v. *lagia*).

The comparison of PGmc. **lukk* in OE *loccian*, ON *lokka*, etc. is attractive from a semantic point of view. The geminate need not be due to Kluge's Law (**lukk-* < **lug-n-*), but may instead reflect a variation of root-final *-g- (after a diphthong) and *-kk- (after a short vowel) that was present in the substratum language (in that case likely to be Kuiper's layer A₂, 1995: 68ff.).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 336-7

libba wk. vb. I 'live' PIE

●PFRIS: **libba*

Cf. s.v. *lāva*

see also: *bi-*, *belīva*, *lāva*, *leva*, *lif*, *-līva*, *-live*

lidsia, **lidzia** 1 str. vb. V 'lie (down)' PIE

OFris. also *lidsa*, *lidza*, *lidsza*, *liga*

These are all orthographical variants denoting /liǵa/.

●PFRIS: *liǵa

Cf. s.v. *lagia*

see also: *lagia*, *lid(s)zia 2.*, *legor*

lid(s)zia 2 wk. vb. 1 'lay (down), bury, establish, grant' PIE

OFris. also *ledsa*, *leia*, *lidsza*, *lidsia*, *ledsa*, *lega*

These are all orthographical variants denoting /liǵa/ ~ /leǵa/, except *leia*, in which *ei* represents the formation *-agi- that spread to the infinitive (e.g. from 3s ind. pres. *leith* < *lagiþ); the stem containing *i* represents a secondary confusion of this verb *leǵja < PGmc. *lag(e)janaN with *lidsia 1.*, *lidzia*.

●PFRIS: *leǵa

Cf. s.v. *lagia*

see also: *lagia*, *lidsia 1.*, *lidzia*, *legor*

lif subst.n. 'life, body, person' PIE

●PFRIS: *lif

Cf. s.v. *lāva*

see also: *bi-*, *beliva*, *lāva*, *leva*, *libba*, *-līva*, *-live*

lik 1 adj. 'same, equal, equivalent' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *lik

Goth. *galeiks*, ON (*g*)*líkr*, OE *ge*líc, OS *gi*līk, OHG *gi*līh, MHG *ge*līch, MLG *līk*, ODu. *gelic*, MDu. *lijc* 'id.', cf. also

adv.: Goth. *galeiko*, OS *gelīce*, *gilīko*, OHG *gilīhho*, MHG *gelīch(e)*, *gīch(e)*, MLG *gelīk(e)*, OFris. *like* (cf. s.v. *like 1.*, *-like 2.*), *lik*, MDu. *gelike(n)*, *gelijc* 'id.';

adj. suff.: Goth. *-leiks*, ON *-líkr*, OE *-līc*, OS *-līk*, OHG *-līh*, MHG *-līch*, MLG *-līk*, OFris. *-līk* (cf. s.v. *lik 2.*, *-like 2.*), ODu. *-līk*, MDu. *-li(j)c*, *-lec*;

weak 2: Goth. *leikan*, ON *líka*, OE *lician*, OS *līlon*, OHG *lihhen*, MHG *līchen* 'please', MLG (*ge*)*līken* 'compare, reconcile', OFris. *likia* (q.v.) 'like', ODu. *licon*, MDu. *gelīken* 'please';

weak 2: MLG (*ge*)*līkenen*, OFris. *-līknia* (q.v.) 'compare', etc.

●PGMC: *(ga)leika-

● No IE etymology.

The etymon can be compared with Baltic forms, cf. Lith. *lygus*, e-grade *ei in *liegus*, cf. Žemaitian *lijgus*; Latv. *līdzs* 'equal, even', also Lith. *lygti*, Latv. *līgt* 'agree, equalize'; furthermore OPruss. *ligint* 'judge'. The Gmc. forms must reflect the full grade form *leig- (cf. Lith. *liegus*, because the long acute vowel in P-Baltic *līg- (in *lygus*) is the result of Winter's Law in the ø-grade form *lig- (pace Fraenkel 1962-1965 s.v. *lygus*). The comparison of Alb. *me përlijë* 'requite, justify, legalize, confirm' seems less certain (cf. Stang 1972: 32-33 and

Addendum; after Jokl).

see also: -lik 2., like 1., -like 2., likia, -liknia

-lik 2 adj. suffix ‘-ly’ Gmc.

●PFRIS: *lik

Cf. s.v. *līk* 1.

see also: lik 1., like 1., -like 2., likia, -liknia

like 1 adv., conj. ‘similarly; as’ Gmc.

●PFRIS: *līki

Cf. s.v. *līk* 1.

see also: lik 1., -lik 2., -like 2., likia, -liknia

-like 2 adv. suffix ‘-ly’ Gmc.

●PFRIS: *līki

Cf. s.v. *līk* 1.

see also: lik 1., -lik 2., like 1., likia, -liknia

likia wk. vb. 2 ‘like’ Gmc.

●PFRIS: *likia

Cf. s.v. *līk* 1.

see also: lik 1., -lik 2., like 1., -liknia

-liknia wk. vb. 2 ‘compare’ Gmc.

●PFRIS: *liknia

Cf. s.v. *līk* 1.

see also: lik 1., -lik 2., like 1., likia

liod subst. n. ‘people, crowd, troop’ PIE

Ofris. also *liud(-)*

The diphthong *iō* represents an allophone of /iū/ before dentals (Boutkan 1996: 21). In R₁ only attested in NP *Liudger* (beside expected *Liodger*), which must therefore be borrowed from another dialect or determined by traditional orthography (Boutkan 1996: 21).

●PFRIS: *liūd

ON *ljódr*, OE *lēod*, OS *liud* ‘people’, OHG *liut* ‘people, person’, MHG *liut*, *lüt*, MLG *lüt* ‘people, crowd’, MDu. *liet* ‘person’, cf. also

i-stem plural: ON *lýdir*, OE *lēode*, *līode*, OS *liudi*, OHG *liuti*, MHG *liute*, MLG *lūde*, OFris. *liōde*, *liūde*, MDu. *lie(de)*, *lu(i)de*, *lede* (also pl. in *-en*) ‘people’; str. verb: Goth. *liudan*, OE *lēodan*, OS *liodan*, OHG *liotan*, etc. ‘grow’;

etc.

●PGMC: *leuta-

●PIE: *h₁leud^h-

POKORNY: 684-5

Skt. *ródhati* ‘grow’, Lat. *Liber* ‘God of generation’, *liberi* ‘children’; development towards ‘free’ in *h₁leud^hero- *‘belonging to the people’, cf. Gr.

eleútheros 'free', Lat. *liber* 'free'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *liode*, *Liodger*, *liud-*, *Liudger*

liodakere subst. m. 'people' PIE

Collocation of *liode* (Gp) 'people' and *kere* 'choice, statute', cf. s.vv.

liodamon subst. m. '[lit. people's man] administrator of goods of the church' PIE

Collocation of *liode* (Gp) 'people' and *mon* 'man', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Jaekel 1907: 170-5

liode subst. m. plural 'people' PIE

OFris. also *liude*

The diphthong *iō* represents an allophone of /iū/ before dentals (Boutkan 1996: 21).

●PFRIS: *liūdi

Cf. s.v. *liod*, *Liodger*, *liud-*, *Liudger*

liodfretho subst. m. 'people's *fretho*, compensation for breach of the peace to be paid to the people' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *fretho* 'peace, etc.', cf. s.vv.

liodgarda subst. m. 'family property' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *-garda* 'property (land)', cf. s.vv.

Liodger NP

see also: *liod*, *liode*, *liud-*, *Liudger*

liodkest subst. f. 'people's statute' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *kest* 'choice, statute', cf. s.vv.

liodkeste subst. f. 'people's statute' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *-keste* 'statute', cf. s.vv.

liodkuth adj. 'publicly known' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *kūth* 'known', cf. s.vv.

liodmerk subst. f. '[lit. people's *merk*] certain currency' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *merk* 'certain currency', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. as to the value; van Helten 1907a: 220.

liodskelde subst. f. 'fine for the people' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *skelde* 'tribute, debt, guilt', cf. s.vv.

liodthing subst. n. 'people' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *thing* 'court, etc.', cf. s.vv.

liodwerdene subst. f. 'fine for killing an unborn child' PIE

Compound of *liod* 'people, crowd, troop' and *-werdene* 2. 'tribute, debt, guilt', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. for ref.; Sjölin 1970-75: 206 for exhaustive discussion + ref.

lippa subst. m. 'lip' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *lippa

OE *lippa*, MLG *lippe*, MDu. *lippe*, *leppe*, Norw. *lippa* 'lip', cf. also

*lep-an-: OSwe. *läpi*, Norw. *lepe*, Da. *läbe* 'lip';

*lep-(e)s-: OHG *lefs*, MHG *lefs(e)*, HG *lefze* < *lep-s-;

*lep-uz-: OHG *leffur*, ODu. *lepur* 'lip'

●PGMC: *lepjan-

● No certain IE etymology.

A root etymology has been assumed, viz. to *leb- 'schlaff herabhängen', under which Pokorny (1959) groups a large amount of forms that shows a wide variety in forms and meanings [Pokorny 1959: 655-7].

The only direct correspondents are Lat. *labia* and *labra* 'lips', in which the problematic, non-laryngeal *a* may perhaps have arisen between a resonant and a pre-Lat. media in the \emptyset -grade *lb- (Schrijver 1991: 482-3). The word may represent a European substratum word (note that Pokorny also has his doubts and labels the possibility with [?] on p. 655).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 293

see also: slepa

lirnia wk. vb. 2 'learn' PIE

OFris. also *lernia*

The form containing *i* is an archaism (PGmc. *lirn-), typical of Riustring Old Frisian (Buma 1961: 47).

●PFRIS: *lirnia, *lernia

Cf. s.v. *lāsta*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 309

see also: lasta, lera, lesoke

lith subst. n. 'limb, member' Gmc.

OFris. also *lid*, *leth*, *led*

The word may show the late-OFris. change *th* > *d*; the vacillation of *e* ~ *i* in the stem can be attributed to *a*-mutation (van Helten 1890: 10). Note that vacillation *e* ~ *i* is also found in MLG and MDu.

●PFRIS: *lip-, *lep-

Goth. *lipus*, ON *liþr*, OE *lip*, OS *lið*, OHG *lid*, MHG *lit*, MLG *lit*, *let*, *lēt*, MDu. *lit*, *let* 'member', cf. also

*limu-: ON *limr*, OE *lim* 'member'

etc.

●PGMC: *lipu-

• No IE etymology

Closest formal correspondence with Lat. *lituus* 'crooked staff borne by an augur', which may be of Etruscan origin, however (cf. also Walde and Hofmann (1938-1955) s.v.). Furthermore Toch. A B *lit-* 'fall down, depart' has been compared [Pokorny 1959: 309], although the semantics seem very problematic (to a root *lei- 'be movable, bend'?).

This root is not present in the 'ell'-etymon *HoHl-, cf. Gr. *ōlénē*, Lat. *ulna* 'elbow' < *ol-en-, Lith. *alkūnė* (also *el-*) < *ol-k-u- 'elbow', etc. as is suggested by Pokorny (1959: 307-8), and, following him, de Vries (1992) s.v. *lid 1*, Kluge (1989) s.v. *glied*. These scholars connect the etyma by reconstructing a non-canonical root form *elei- with possible o- or zero-grade in the first syllable. On the 'elbow', cf. also Lubotsky (1990: 131-2), Schrijver (1990: 78-9)1, Boutkan 1995a (note the printing error on p. 10: '...Schrijver 1990: 78-9...').

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

lithwege subst. f. 'dislocation of a joint' PIE

Compound of *lith* 'member' and *-wege* 'dislocation', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1906: 287-8 on the semantics.

liud- cf. s.v. *liod*

Liudger NP

-liva str. vb. I 'stay' PIE

In: *bi-*, *belīva*

•PFRIS: *līva-

cf. s.v. *lāva*

see also: *bi-*, *belīva*, *lāva*, *leva*, *libba*, *lif*, *-live*

-live adj. 'alive' PIE

•PFRIS: *livi

cf. s.v. *lāva*

see also: *bi-*, *belīva*, *lāva*, *leva*, *libba*, *lif*, *-liva*

lom adj. 'lame' PIE [?]

•PFRIS: *lām

cf. s.v. *lemithe*

lond subst. n. 'land' PIE

•PFRIS: *lānd

cf. s.v. *-lende 1*.

see also: *-lende 2*, *lond*

londethele subst. n. 'hereditary property' PIE

Compound of *lond* 'member' and *-ethele 2* 'property', cf. s.vv.

londraf subst. n. 'illegal confiscation of land' PIE

Compound of *lond* 'member' and *rāf* 'robbery, stolen goods', cf. s.vv.

londriucht subst. n. 'landlaw, law of a land' PIE

Compound of *lond* 'member' and *riucht* 2. 'law, verdict, etc.', cf. s.vv.

long adj. 'long' Gmc.

OFris. also *lang*

This OWFris. form shows the usual reflex <a> rather than East OFris. <o> of PGmc. *a before nasals.

●PFRIS: *lāng

Goth. *laggs*, ON *langr*, OE *long*, OS, OHG *lang*, MHG, MLG *lanc*, MDu. *lanc*, *lang* 'long'

●PGMC: *langa-

●PIE: *long^ho-

POKORNY: 197

Lat. *longus* 'long', Gaulish *longo-* NP.

These forms have furthermore been grouped with *delHg^ho- [Pokorny 1959: 197], cf. Skt. *dīrghá-* 'long', Gr. *en]delekhés* 'steady, lasting' < *delh₁g^h < *dlh₁g^h-, cf. also Goth. *tulgus* 'steady', adverbs OE *tulge*, *tylg* 'mostly', OS *tulgo* 'very', furthermore full grade Skt. *drāghimán-* 'length' < *dleh₁g^h-.
The connection of *long^ho- with *dleh₁g^h- yields too many formal difficulties.

One can start from a West-IE innovation *dlh₁o-n-g^ho-, but this must reflect quite some reformations, viz. loss of initial *d- (cf. Lith. *ilgas* < *(d)lHg^ho-?) and of the medial laryngeal as well as the assumption of a nasalised (?) o-grade suffix: *dleh₁g^h- ~ *(d)l-ong^h-. On the basis of the geographical distribution, I tend to assume a Central-North European substratum word; Kuiper's substratum category A₂ (1995: 68ff.) seems obvious, but there are no positive formal indications confirming the attribution of the word to this layer.
see also: langor, longe

longe adv. 'long' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *lāngi

An adverbial formation to *long* 'long', q.v.

Also in: MHG, MLG *lange*, ODu. *lango*, MDu. *lang(e)* 'id.', etc.

see also: langor, long

Longowerthe NP

-**lotha** subst. m. 'tax' Gmc.

In: *hūslotha* 'tax for a house'

The interpretation and, hence, the etymology are disputed. Sjölin (1970-75: 199-200) discusses earlier interpretations. He accepts the interpretation of -*lotha* as the word *lotha* 'cloth' under reference to the early medieval custom of paying taxes *in natura* (already suggested by Heuser 1903, glossary s.v.; also [implicitly] Holthausen and Hofmann 1985 s.v. *lotha*, where reference is made

to *hūslothā*). Later, Holthausen (1927a: 91) corrected Heuser (and himself) under reference to the possibility pointed out by Van Helten that the word must be connected with Goth. *laþon*, OE *ladian* 'invite', etc. as well as the possibility that ON *lóp* 'profits, crop' is to be connected. I find the older interpretation most likely; note that cloth was also used as (a standard for) currency (cf. s.vv. *leinmerk*, *reilmerk*, etc.). Historical details are found in Klaarbergen (1949).

●PFRIS: *loþa

ON *loþi* 'woollen coat', OE *loþa*, OS *lotho* 'coat', OHG *ludo*, *lodo*, MHG *lode* 'woollen cloth', MLG *löde* 'rag, piece of cloth', not in MDu., hence Mod. Du. *loden* < High German, cf. also

*lūþ-er-: OS *lūthara*, OHG *lūthara*, *lūdara*, MDu. *lūdere* 'napkin', etc.;

*lud-(e)r-: OHG *lodara* 'rag, piece of cloth', etc.

●PGMC: *lūþan-

● No IE etymology.

Pokorny (1959: 962-3) reconstructs a root *(s)leu- 'schlaff (herabhängend)' with several extensions. As Pokorny himself admits (1959: 963), it is questionable whether the dental formations with the specific meaning '(wooden) cloth' must be grouped here.

Actually, from an IE point of view, the whole root is suspect, cf. Pokorny (1959: 962): '... außerhalb des Germ. nur spärlich nachweisbar, in diesem aber sehr reich entfaltet.' Pokorny quotes alleged cognates from BS. only, such as Lith. *slūgti* 'diminish', recte: *slūgti* 'fall, sink, diminish', which (cf. also Fraenkel 1962-1965 s.v.) as a dental extension we can perhaps compare SCr. *lūtam*, *lūtati* 'saunter, launch'.

Furthermore, the evidence often shows the syllabification pattern long vowel + single consonant ~ short vowel + geminate, cf. Mod. Low German *slūk* 'slack', Mod. Du. *sluik* < 'lank' *slū-k- ~ Mod. Low German *slokk* 'slack, weak', *slukkern* 'be slack, bag, hang down' < *slu-kk-; OE *licpre* 'rash, bad', MHG *liederlich* 'rash', Mod. Du. *liederlijk* 'rash, misbehaving' < *leu-d- ~ OHG *lotar* 'rash', MDu. *lodder* 'rash or misbehaving person' < *lu-dd-. This pattern is frequent in Kuiper's A₂-layer of substratum words (1995: 68ff.). Besides, the quantitative ablaut *ū* ~ *u* (> *o*) does not represent an Indo-European pattern.

lovía wk. vb. 2 'establish' PIE

●PFRIS: *lovía

cf. s.v. *liaf-*

-luka str. vb. II 'close (off), contract' Gmc.

In: *biluka* (q.v.).

●PFRIS: *lūka

Goth. *ga]lūkan* 'lock up', ON *lúka*, OE *lūcan* 'lock', OS *ant]lūkan*, OHG *ant]lūhhan* 'unlock', MHG *lūhen*, *liechen*, MLG *lūken*, MDu. *luken*, *luucken*,

luiken 'lock, close off', cf. also

*luka-: Goth. *usluk* 'opening', OE *loc*, OFris. *lok*, *loc* 'lock', MDu. *loc*, *locke* 'hole', etc.

*lukjōn-: OHG *luccha* 'opening, empty space'

etc.

●PGMC: *lūkana-

● No IE etymology.

The word has been compared with European words meaning 'bend, turn' vel sim. [Pokorny 1959: 685-6, cf. Gr. *lugízō* 'bend, twist, turn', Lat. *luctare* 'wrestle', OIr. *fo-loing* 'support' < *-lu-n-g-eti]. The comparison of the Gmc. words with this complex is not obvious from a semantic point of view. Note that the current attribution of Lith. *lūgnas* 'flexible' to this complex yields a problem in view of the absence of a long acute vowel; on this etymon see s.v. *-liaga*, however. The Gmc. *ū* for expected **eu* remains a well-known formal problem.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 338-9

lungene subst. f. 'lung' PIE

OFris. also *lungen*

This by-form shows the late-OFris. apocope of -o; it may also represent a secondary formation as is also found in the other Gmc. dialects, see below.

●PFRIS: *lungen(e)

ON n. *lunga*; f. OE *lungen*, OS *lungaudia* < *lungannia, OHG *lungun*, -in, MLG *lungene*, MDu. *longen(c)*, *lungen(c)*; OHG *lunga*, MHG, MLG *lungē*, MDu. *longe* 'lung', cf. also

*lenxta-: Goth. *leihts*, OE *leoht*, OHG *liht*, *lihti*, OFris. *licht* 'light'

etc.

●PGMC: *lunganjō (~ lungō ?)

It is unclear whether the 'short' forms OHG *lunga*, MHG, MLG *lungē*, MDu. *longe* 'lung', that may go back to an *ā*-stem *lungō, actually represent new singulars that arose at the time that a form in -n was actually felt as a plural (Franck et al. 1976 s.v. *long*).

●PIE: *h₁lng^h-

POKORNY: 660-1

Skt. *laghú*- 'light, slight', Gr. *clakhús* < *h₁lng^hu-. Considered as a nasalised *o*-grade to a root *h₁leg^h- 'light', cf. Lat. *levis* < *h₁leg^h-u-i-. Full grade in *lenxta- > *linxta- > *lihta-, Goth. *leihts*, etc. The attribution of the 'lung'-complex to this root meaning 'light' is confirmed by MDu. *licht(e)* 'lung', Mod. English *lights* 'lungs of certain animals' and has several parallels in other languages, cf. Portuguese *leves* 'lungs'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

lungenskredene subst. f. 'damaging or wounding of the lung' PIE

(Compound of *lungene* 'lung' and *-skredene* 'cutting (off)', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Boutkan 1997, section 7.

M

ma indef. pron. 'one' PIE

●PFRIS: *mā

Arisen from the enclitic use of *man 'man', cf. s.v. *mon*.

Also in: MLG, MDu. *men*, etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

-machtich adj. '-mighty' Gmc.

In: *ellemachtich*, q.v.

Ofris. also *mechtich*

This form represents 'partial Umlaut' before *cht*, cf. especially van Helten (1906: 175).

●PFRIS: *mæhtih

Goth. *mahteigs* 'able', ON *máttigr*, OE *mihtig*, OS, OHG *mahtig*, MHG *mahtic*, *mehtic*, *mehtec*, MLG, MDu. *machtich*, *mechtich* 'mighty', cf. also *mag: Goth. *magan*, ON *mega*, OE *magan*, OS *mugan*, OHG, *mugan*, *magan*, MHG *mugen*, *mügen*, MLG *mögen*, OFris. *muga* (q.v.), MDu. *mogen*, *moigen*, *mucgen*, *meugen* 'can, be able'

The u-vocalism in the verb must be of secondary origin, cf. also Lehmann (1986) s.v. *magan*, Seebold (1970: 342-3). Formally, it cannot represent the \emptyset -grade of the root *mHK- (see below).

●PGMC: *mahtīga-

● No IE etymology

Directly comparable, both formally and semantically, with OCS *mogŏ* 'can, be able' < *mog^h- only. We seem to be dealing with a substratum word.

The comparison of Toch. A *mokats* 'big', Toch. B *mokoc* (obl. sg. m) 'thumb, big toe' has been proposed, but this form must contain a laryngeal: PToch. *māk- < *mHK- (Hilmarsson 1986: 16). It would therefore render the obvious comparison of the Slavic form impossible. Moreover, the semantics is not obvious. Other alleged IE cognates also show incompatible ablaut forms, e.g. Gr. *mēkhané* 'implement' < *māk^h- [Pokorny 1959: 695].

Lit: Seebold 1970: 342-3

maga subst. m. 'stomach' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *maga

ON *magi*, OE *maga*, OHG *mago*, MHG *mage*, MLG *māge*, MDu. *mage* 'stomach'

●PGMC: *magan-

● No IE etymology

The only possible connection is that with Celtic and Baltic forms such as Welsh *megin* 'bellows', Lith. *mākas* 'money belt' < *mak-. One can have one's doubts

about the semantics. Moreover, even if the forms are to be connected, the radical *a points to a common substratum origin rather than an IE heritage.

makia wk. vb 2 'make, build, go (refl.: hine -), declare, state (officially)' PIE

•PFRIS: *makia

(ON *maka* ← MLG, Mod. Icel. *maka* 'smear', OE *macian*, OS *makon*, OHG *mahhōn*, MHG *machen*, MLG (*ge*)*māken*, ODu. *macon*, MDu. *maken*, *maecken*, *maicken* 'make')

•PGMC: *makōjanaN

•PIE: *mh₂ǵ-

POKORNY: 696-7

Gr. *magís* 'kneaded material', *mássein* 'knead', OCS *mazati* (< *māǵ-) 'smear'; not Breton *meza* 'knead' and its Celtic cognates, which go back to *mad- (Schrijver 1995: 317-8).

These words and the Gmc. ones can be connected if we start from an origin in the field of building activities with clay (cf. exhaustively Meringer 1904-5: 146-9). Although the Mod. Icelandic form represents a semantic 'missing link' (de Vries 1992 s.v. *maken*), Franck et al. (1976) do not accept an origin in the semantical field 'smear, build with clay', and rather compare OIr. *mám* 'yoke' < *mag-smo- through a semantical link 'connect'.

From a semantic point of view, the connection of Lat. *macerare* 'to soften by soaking', *maceria* 'wall of soft clay' is attractive, but these forms require a root-final *k: *meh₂k-. The Greek forms are in fact inconclusive in this respect, and allow a starting point *mag- or *mak- (Chantraine 1968 s.v.; cf. also Schrijver 1991: 142 who connects the Gr. and Latin forms). Pokorny (1959: 698) disconnects the Latin word and compares Latv. *mākt* 'press'. This is problematic in view of the Baltic vowel, which is not acute and therefore must represent an original long vowel, i.e. pre-Baltic *ā. This is problematic because PIE had no *ā. On the other hand, the Gr.-Lat. comparison might be correct.

mam pron. + pron. 'one him' PIE

Syntagm containing *ma* 'one' and -*m* = enclitic *him 'he [Asm]' to *hī*, cf. s.vv.

man = pl. of *mon*, cf. s.v.

mannesklik adj. 'human' PIE

This form is an emendation of MS *mansesklik* (XI, 39).

•PFRIS: *mænnisklik

Adjectival *-lika-formation to *manniska*, q.v.

Also in: MHG *menschlich*, MDu. *menschelijc*, *m(e)inschelijc*, 'human', etc.

see also: *mā*, *manniska*, *mon*

manniska subst. m. 'man' PIE

OFris. also *manska*, *mansche*, *menneska*, *menska*, *menscha*, *minscha*

Partial i-umlaut (van Helten 1906: 175ff, Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX) is responsible for the variation *man-* ~ *men-*. The rise of *min-* represents an OWFrís. development of **æ*/nn (Siebs 1901: 1183) cf. also Mod. WFrís. *minske*. The medial vowel was weakened to /ə/ <e> which could subsequently undergo syncope. In *mansche* the final vowel was weakened; in this and other forms, the spelling <ch> was used for <k> (Sjölin 1969: 28).

●PFRIS: **mænniska*

Adjectival *-iska-formation used as a substantive to *mon*, q.v.

Also in: OS *mennisco*, OHG *mennisco*, *mannisco*, MHG *mensche*, *mensch*, MLG *mensche*, *minsche*, MDu. *mensch(h)e*, *mensch*, *minsche* 'man'; adj. Goth. *mannisks*, OE *mennisc*, OS *mennisk*, *mannisk*, MHG *mennisch* 'human'.

see also: *mā*, *mannesklik*, *mon*

mantele subst. f. 'part of the *wergild* to be paid by the relatives' PIE

Compound of pl. *man* 'man, etc.' and *tele* 'amount, price, sum, etc.', cf. s.vv. The first member must represent a substitution of *mēne* 'common, etc.' [q.v.] as a result of a folk etymology (van Helten 1907a: 230).

mar adj.; adv. 'more' PIE [?]

OFrís. also *mā*, *mēr*, *mē*

The forms without -r must represent the original ones, because loss of the (-r <) WGmc. *-z would not be understandable as an analogical process (Boutkan 1995: 45-6). The -r may have been restored after *māra* (see below). The vowels *ā* ~ *ē* represent the different reflexes of *ai in OFrís. (Heinertz 1912: 330).

●PFRIS: **mā* ~ **mē*

Goth. *mais*, ON *meir*, OE *mā*, *mā*, OS, OHG *mēr*, MHG *mē(r)*, MLG *mēr(e)*, *mē*, *mī*, MDu. *mee(r)* 'more (adv. comp.)', cf. also

**maiz-*: (adj. comp.) Goth. *maiza*, ON *meiri*, OE *māra*, *māra*, OS, OHG *mēro*, OFrís. *māra*, MDu. *mere* 'more';

with analogical extra suffix: OHG *mēiro*, *mērōro*, MHG *mērer*, *merre*, MLG *mēr(e)rc*, OFrís. *māra* (q.v.), ODu. *mērra*, MDu. *meerre*.

●PGMC: **maiz*

●PIE: [?] **meh₂is*

POKORNY: 704

Comparative formation which has a limited geographical distribution and shows many complications. On Middle Welsh comp. *mwy* < **meh₂jōs* beside *moc* < **meh₂is* (cf. Gmc. **maiz*) 'more', cf. Schrijver (1995: 221). Allegedly cognate Osc *mais* 'more' may actually reflect **magjōs* as does Lat. *maius* (Leumann 1977: 126). Perhaps OPruss. *muiscison* < **mā-is-ies-*, but this must represent an innovative formation.

It has furthermore been grouped with a root that is traditionally reconstructed as **mē-*, **mō-* 'great'. If one wishes to maintain this comparison, serious problems arise, however. We would have to start from **meh₂-* > **mā-* beside **moh₂-* > **mō-* rather than **mē-*, **mō-* as ablaut forms, cf. OIr. *mór*, *már*, Middle Welsh *mawr* 'great' < **māros* < **meh₂-ro-*. Gr. *egkhesí-mōros* 'great

at throwing spears, famous for his spear *vel sim.* [?]' is semantically unclear but might contain the *o*-grade form **-moh₂ros* (cf. also Frisk 1960-1972: 440). This implies that the forms that require **mē-* would no longer be comparable. These are semantically close, however, cf. OHG *-mār* in names, adj. *māri* 'famous' and verb Goth. *merjan* 'proclaim', ON *mæra* 'praise', etc., as well as such Slavic names as *Vladiměř*.

Perhaps we must dissolve **meh₂-is-* 'more' from **meh₁₋* (> **mē-*; **moh₁₋* > **mō-*) 'great' with possible later contaminations.

see also: *marra*

Mariadi subst. m. 'day dedicated to the Virgin Mary' PIE

Compound of *Maria* NP and *dī* 'day', cf. s.vv.

marra adj. comp. 'more, bigger' PIE [?]

Cf. s.v. *mār*.

mastere subst. m. 'master' LW

Ofris. also *mēster*

The vowels *ā* ~ *ē* represent the different reflexes of **ai* in OFris. The final vowel could undergo the late-Ofris. syncope of *-ə*.

●PFRIS: **māstiri, mēstiri*

From Lat. *magister* > Rom. **majestru*.

Also in: OE *mægester*, OS *mēstar*, OHG *meistar*, MHG *meister*, *meinster*, *mēster*, MLG *mē(i)ster*, *meyster*, *mester* (→ ON *meistari*), MDu. *meester*, *me(i)ster* 'master', etc.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *māstere, mēster*; not in Wollmann

mat pron. + pron. 'one it' PIE

Syntagm containing *ma* 'one' and *-t* = enclitic **hit* 'he [Asn]' to *hī*, cf. s.vv.

-mech subst. m. 'relative' Gmc.

In Dp *feder-*, *mōdermōgon* (IV, 57-8) 'relative of father's/mother's line', cf. s.vv.

●PFRIS: **mēh*

Goth. *megs* 'son-in-law', ON *mágr* 'relative by marriage', OE *māeg*, OS, OHG *māg*, MHG *māc*, MLG *māch*, MDu. *maech*, *maegh*, *maich*, *mage*, *magh* 'relative'

The original meaning was apparently 'male relative by marriage', cf. also

**mē₁g-iþ-ō*: ON *mægþ* 'brothers-in-law', OE *mægþ* 'family group, clan, tribe';

**mag-u-*: Goth. *magus* 'boy, servant', ON *mōgr* 'son, servant, young man', OE *magu*, *mago* 'son, young man, descendant', OS *magu* 'boy, son', OHG *maga|zoho* 'educator', OFris. *mach* 'son';

**mag-w-i-*: Goth. *mawī*, ON *mær* 'girl';

**mag-w-il-ō*: Goth. *mawilo* 'little girl', ON *meyla* 'girl, maid', OE *mēowle* 'little girl';

*mag-*ap/īp*:- Goth. *magaps*, OE *mæg(p)*, *mægeþ*, OS *magad*, OHG *magad* (NB pl. *magadi*, *magidi* (< *magad- ~ *magid-; or *magid- < *mag-ad-i ??, cf. Braune and Eggers 1987: 70, pace Paul 1879: 228), MHG *mag(e)t*, *mait*, *meit* (pl. *megde*) 'virgin, girl, unmarried man', MLG *māget*, *mait* (pl. *mēgede*) 'virgin, girl', OFris. *megith* (q.v.), *megeth* (< *mag-īp- with -g- rather than palatalised *-j- from *mag-*ap*- cf. OWFr. *maged*), MDu. *maghet*, *maecht*, *meghet*, *meecht*, (northern Dial.) *meit* 'virgin, unmarried man';

*mag-*ad-īn*:- OE *mægden*, OHG *magatīn*, MHG *magedīn*, *-tīn*, *megedīn*, *-tīn*, *meidīn*, OFris. *meiden*, MDu. *magedijn* 'girl';

cf. perhaps also

*mah-*al*:- OHG *gimahalo* 'fiancé', MHG *gemahel(e)* 'groom' (→ Mod. Du. *gemaal* 'husband'); cf. also Goth. *maþljan* 'speak' ~ OS *mahlian* 'speak, engage', etc.

The OFris. form *mach* 'son' (hapax, B₁ 119, 13; B₂ has *bern*) must represent a rebuilding of OFris. *magu 'boy' (van Helten 1907a: 228).

●PGMC: *mē₁g-

● No IE etymology.

An IE origin of *mē₁g- is suggested in Pokorny (1959: 707) s.v. *mēgh-, who compares Gr. *peri-ēmehtëō* 'be unwilling' and Lith. *mēgti* 'be pleased' and Baltic cognates. This comparison yields formal difficulties: whence Gr. -ē-? whence the Baltic acute? Skt. *mahāyati* 'be pleased' does not belong here (Mayrhofer 1956-82: II: 608-9). The Greek and Baltic forms, semantically cognate, may reflect *h₁mēg- (Baltic acute due to Winter's Law). The comparison of the Gmc. form is in that case no longer possible given the Gmc. *-g that requires an earlier *g^h. Apart from the formal problems, the comparison of a root meaning 'willing' vel sim. with a word for 'son-in-law' is by no means obvious from a semantic point of view.

As an alternative, the comparison of *mē₁g- and the quoted forms that show *mag- (see above) is attractive, though difficult from a PIE point of view (ablaut of radical *a ~ *ē). The forms may have been used to refer to family members that did not directly belong to the male lineage, i.e. they did not belong to the important members of the PIE core family (cf. also Lehmann 1968: 15). They may have played a role in the non-IE society with which the Indo-Europeans merged in northern Europe, however.

Moreover, Celtic shows interesting parallels that do not exactly fit in from a formal point of view, but perfectly match the semantics, cf. Ogam *maqqi*, OIr. *macc* < *makk-*uo-*, Welsh *mab* < *mak-*uo-* 'son', OIr. *macdacht* 'young age, i.e. about 7-15 year'.

Breton *maouez*, Cornish *mowes* 'woman' < *magu-*issā*. The limited geographical distribution as well as the variation of the root-final consonant is reminiscent of Kuiper's substratum layer A₂.

The etymon of OHG *gimahalo*, etc. has no IE etymology. One can reconstruct *mah-*al* < pre-Gmc. *mak-. The required root variant *mak- can perhaps

be identified with the one in Welsh *mab* (see above); cf. furthermore OHG *mahalen* 'engage'. A connection between this etymon and **māg-* was proposed by Wood (1913-14: 316). He reconstructs PGmc. **mēga-* (i.e. **māga*) < **mēko-* 'a joining together, match'. In the following lemma of his article (nr. 11, pp. 316-7), Wood points to 'synonymous Gmc. *mak-*' (i.e. synonymous to **mēga-*), which is found in a number of Germanic words meaning 'match, joint, etc.', but may also refer to family ties, e.g. Swe. *make* 'husband', OE *gemæ(c)ca* '(i.a.) husband', OFris. *mek* 'marriage', OHG *gimahha* 'conjux'. Perhaps these forms must be considered cognates of the kinship complex **māg-* ~ **mag-* ~ **mak-* under discussion here rather than of **mak-* 'join, match, etc.'; perhaps both Gmc. roots ultimately belong together.

On the basis of these observations I think that the whole complex was borrowed from a substratum.

see also: *megith*

megith subst. f. 'virgin' Gmc.

OFris. also *megeth*, *maged*

The medial vowel *-i-* could undergo weakening to /ə/ <-e>. Note the lack of palatalisation of **-g-* to **-j-* (***mei(i)d*). This can only be attributed to an old paradigmatical ablaut **magap-* ~ **magiþ-* > **magaþ-* ~ **mejiþ-* with leveling to **megiþ-*. I take the OWFr. form *maged* as further evidence for **magaþ-* in view of the absence of fronting/*i*-umlaut of the (first) **a*. We may be dealing with a loan from MDu., however, which would render the evidence of this form no longer useful for reconstructing PFris. The unexplained ablaut patterns point to a North-West European substratum origin of the word, cf. Boutkan (1998a).

●PFris: **megiþ*

see also: *-mēch*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

-mel subst. n. 'time' PIE

ln: *etmēl*, q.v.

OFris. also *-māl*, *-mēlde*

The former by-form is OWFr. and shows the reflex *ā* for expected **ē* < **ē*₁, as does MDu. The latter by-form is a competing abstract formation in *-de* < **-þi* rather than a phonological variant (van Helten 1907a: 110).

●PFris: **-mēl* (beside **-mēlþi*)

Goth. *mel* 'time', ON *mál* 'time, moment, mealtime, term', OE *mēl* 'measure, moment, mealtime', OHG *māl* 'time, moment', MHG *māl* '(point in) time', MLG *māl* 'moment', MDu. *mael* 'time, meal', cf. also

str. V **metanaN*: Goth. *mitan* 'measure', ON *meta* 'estimate', OE *metan* 'measure', OS *metan* 'consider', OHG *mezzan*, MHG *mezzen*, MLG *mēten*, OFris. *meta* I. (q.v.), MDu. *meten* 'measurep';

**mētō*: OHG *māza*, MHG *māze*, MLG *māte*, OFris. *mēte* (q.v.), MDu. *mate*

'measure'

perhaps also

*metōjanaN: Goth. *miton* 'think about, debate', OE *metian* 'consider', OHG *mez(z) ōn*, OFris. *mētigia* 'moderate, mitigate'.

This latter complex may represent a different etymon, however (Lehmann 1986 s.v. *miton*).

●PGMC: *mē₁la-

●PIE: *meh₁lo-

POKORNY: 703-4

The *l*-suffix is also found in Lith. *tuojmēl* 'lit. that time > right away' with secondary circumflex given Slavic forms (e.g. Russ. *méra* 'measure') pointing to an original acute (Kortlandt 1975: 61); to a root *meh₁- 'measure', cf. Skt. *mitá-* 'measured', Gr. *métron* 'measure' both from \emptyset -grade *mh₁t-. Lat. *metiri* (/mētīrī/) 'measure' < *meh₁-. Gr. *métis* 'prudence', OE *māþ* 'measure' < *meh₁-ti-.

The strong V verb represents a form *med- (hardly *mh₁-ed- [Pokorny 1959: 705-6]), cf. Gr. *médomai* 'take care of', Lat. *modus* 'measure' < *mcd- (Schrijver 1991: 470), OIr. *midithir* 'measure, judge'. The original meaning 'measure' sporadically occurs in the IE languages. We seem to be dealing with an unexplained variation *med- ~ *meh₁.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 352-4

see also: et- 2., etmel, mete, metedolch, metewunde, meta 2.

-meldia wk. vb. 2 'proclaim, make known' PIE [?]

Only in: *urmeldia* 'give up, abstain from'; to be distinguished from OFris. *nrj/mela* (< *-mahl-, cf. OS *mahlian* 'speak'), cf. van Helten (1907a: 352).

●PFRIS: *-meldia

OE *meldian* 'blab, accuse, make known', OS *meldon*, OHG *meldōn*, *meldēn* 'blab, make known', MHG *melden* 'betray, make known, show', MLG *melden* 'make known', MDu. *melden* 'make known, blab', cf. also

*meldō: OE *meld* 'proclamation', OS, OHG *melda*, MHG *melden* 'treason' etc.

●PGMC: *meldōjanaN [P(W)Gmc.]

●PIE: *mel-d^h-

POKORNY: 719-20; 722

OIr. *mellaid* 'deceive', Hitt. *mald-* 'promise'; probably a dental extension to a root *mel- [Pokorny 1959: 719-20 s.v. *mel- 2.] 'deceive', cf. Av. *mairiia-* 'deceitful', Lith. *mālas* 'lie'.

melok subst. f. 'milk' PIE

In: ... and lattese an thet lond thet flat fon melokon and fon hunige... [I, 44-5] '... and led them to the land that was full of milk and honey...'

The (formulaic) passage *fon melokon and fon hunige* seems to contain a formal Dp beside a Ds, the first of which has been interpreted as an old instrumental singular in *-mi.

However, *melokon* may actually indeed represent a specific use of the plural, cf. also OE *mcolcum* (Osthoff 1906-07, also van Helten 1907b: 229; discussion

and reff. in Boutkan 1999).

●PFRIS: *meluk

Goth. *miluks*, ON *mjolk*, OE *meol(o)c*, *mioloc*, OS *miluk*, OHG *miluh*, *milih*, MHG *mil(i)ch*, MLG *mel(i)k*, MDu. *me(e)lc*, *mel(l)ic* 'milk', cf. also str. III: OE *melcan*, OHG *melchan*, MHG *milchen*, *melken*, OFris. *melka*, MDu. *melken* 'milk';

weak 2: ON *molka* 'id.';

adj.: ON *mjplkr*, OE *melc*, OHG *melch* 'giving milk'.

●PGMC: *meluk-

The explanation of the presence and quality of the second vowel is a well-known problem. Griepentrog discusses the etymon (1995: 287-304) and the theories concerning PGmc. *-u- (pp. 297-301). The assumption of a PGmc. parasite vowel is *ad hoc* and unlikely given the IE evidence pointing to a root without a laryngeal.

Szemerényi (1958: 179) starts from PIE *melg, *mlg-es yielding PGmc. *melk, *mluk- with irregular development of *l̥ to *lu, which pattern was latter levelled to *melk, *meluk-. Hollifield (1984: 34 fn. 14) rather starts from '...nursery language and baby talk...'

Elsewhere I have suggested that -uk might represent *-uk- < *-ek-, which spread from As *mel-uk-uN < *mel-ek-uN < *Hmel-eg-m << *Hml-eg-m with l-metathesis from **Hmel-g-m. (Boutkan 1995: 88-9). This is not without problems, either.

●PIE: *h₂melǵ-

POKORNY: 722-3

On the colour of the laryngeal cf. Gr. *amélgō*; Lith. *mėl̃žti* < *h₂melǵ- with acute intonation due to Winter's Law; Lat. *mulgēre* < *h₂molǵ-. Multifarious substantival formations, cf. Mlr. *melg* < *h₂melǵ-es-, *mlicht* < *h₂mlǵ-tu/ti-s, etc. A contamination of *h₂melǵ- and *h₂merǵ- 'abstreifen, abwischen' [Pokorny 1959: 738] was assumed in order to account for such Skt. forms as *mṛjānti* 'putzen, etc.', cf. Mayrhofer (1986: II, 324 ff., s.v. MARJ-).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305; Seebold 1970: 350-1

men- adj. 'false' PIE

In: *mēnēth*, q.v.

●PFRIS: *mēn

ON *mcinn* 'harmful', OE *mān[āþ]* 'perjury', *mān*, *māne* 'false', OS *mēn[eth]* 'perjury', OHG *mein*, MHG *mein(e)*, MLG *mē(i)n-*, MDu. *mein(e)*, *meen* 'false', cf. also

*gamaina/i-: Goth. *gamains*, OE *gemāne*, OS *gimēni*, OHG *gimeini*, MHG *gemcin*, *gemcine*, MLG *(ge)mē(i)ne*, Odu. *gemcini*, MDu. *gemcen(e)*, *gemcin(e)*, *gemene*, *gemien* 'common'

●PGMC: *maina- ~ *maini-

The rise of the adjective seems secondary, possibly from a reanalysis of the substantival compound *mainaiþa- (with a noun as the first member, cf. Heidermanns 1993: 396). The OE form *mæne* and Dutch diphthong *mein(e)* require a former mutation factor: *maini-.

●PIE: *(h₂)moi-

POKORNY: 710

The root had a basic meaning 'exchange'; on the different (independent) semantical developments cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *ga-mains*.

The root may have had an initial laryngeal if we consider Gr. *ameibō* 'exchange, answer' as cognate (Schrijver 1991: 20). Skt. *máyate* 'exchange', Lat. *mūnus* 'service, work, office' < *moi-n-, *mūtare* 'change, move (away)' < *moi-t-. On the problems concerning the vocalism of the alleged Celtic cognates, cf. Schrijver (1995: 221).

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 395-6

see also: mene, meneth, mis-

mene adj. 'common' PIE

●PFRIS: *mēni

cf. s.v. *mēn-*

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 396-7

see also: men-, meneth

meneth subst. m. 'perjury' PIE

Compound of *mēn-* and *c̄th*, s.vv.

meni subst. f. 'crowd, common property' Gmc.

In: ... and *tha hionon hiara god mis gunge . and hiara meni aken werthe . . .* (IV, 36) '... and the parents their property diminished, and their number becomes larger...'

OFris. also *mcnic*, *mene*

The former form is actually another formation, to be compared with OE *menegeo*, OS *menigi*, etc. 'multitude' < *manigī. The second by-form has a weakened final vowel /-ə/. The evidence of the R₁ form is important for two reasons. First, the final -i attests to a preceding short syllable, which definitely excludes the *a priori* possible etymological connection with the root *main-, cf. s.v. *mēn-*. Second, the form was changed from earlier *menie* in the MS (Buma 1961 s.v., contra van Helten 1907a: 230), which confirms the existence of two different words *meni*, *mene* ~ *menie*.

●PFRIS: *meni

Apparently a feminine derivation to a root *man-, which is represented in 'many', cf.

*manag-: Goth. *manags*, ON *mangr*, OE *manig*, *monig*, OS *manag*, OHG *manag*, MHG *manic*, -ec, MLG *man(n)ich*, OFris. *monich* (q.v.), *man(i)ch*, *manch*, ODu. *manag*;

*manig-: OE *menig*, OHG *manig*, *menig*, MHG *menic*, MLG *mennich*, MDu.

men(n)ich, man(n)ich.

●PGMC: *manō

● No IE etymology.

We find outer-Gmc. cognates, viz. OCS *мъногъ* 'many' < **munog-*, OIr. *menic* 'often' < **menekk-i* (Schrijver 1995: 33-4). This etymon is clearly of substratum origin, however [pace Pokorny 1959: 730], cf. the following two arguments:

(1) the OIr. form yields evidence in favour of the reconstruction of variation of stem-final consonants, which attests to an origin from Kuiper's substratum layer A₂ (1995: 68ff.);

(2) we find support for the reconstruction of a disyllabic stem of the form *CVCVC-, showing puzzling vocalic variation in both the first and second syllable in the Gmc., OCS and Celtic cognates, which is an additional formal feature of A₂.

Such Uralic forms as Finnish *moni* have been explained as a borrowing from Gmc. As an alternative, the interpretation of these words as an Indo-Uralic heritage is favoured now (de Vries 1977, s.v. *mangr* + *reff.*).

In the light of the interpretation given here, a third alternative becomes preferable, viz. the assumption of a North-European substratum underlying the Uralic forms, on the one hand, and the Gmc., Slavic and Celtic ones, on the other.

menote subst. f. 'mint, coin' LW

Ofris. also *mēnte, monte, munte*

These by-forms show syncope of the medial vowel. The vowels *o* ~ *u*, found in OWfris., show non-Frisian (Dutch) vocalism, cf. MDu. (*i*-mutated) *munte, muynte*, (non-mutated) *monte*

●PFRIS: *menuti

From Lat. *monēta*.

An intermediate stage **mo/unīta* is required in order to account for the *i*-mutated vowel *e*. The medial vowel *-o-* < **-u-* of the Riustring form must therefore represent a replacement of an earlier **-ī-* by the back vowel *-u-* ~ *-o-* that was productive in this dialect in several derivative and, apparently, other unstressed syllables, cf. e.g. the predominant superlative suffix *-ust-/ost-* as against *-ist-, -cst-, -ast-* in the other MSS (Buma 1961: 51).

OE *mynet* (→ ON *mynt*), OHG *munizza*, MHG *münze*, MLG *münste, mōnte*, MDu. *munte, muynte, monte* 'coin'.

cf. also Lat. *monētārius* as represented in:

OE *mynetere* (→ ON *myntari*), OS *muniteri*, OHG *munizāri, munzare*, MHG *münzerc, -er*, MLG *münter*, OFris. *menotere* (q.v.), *mentere, mentre, munter*, MDu. *munter, monter* 'mint-master'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *mente, monte, munte*; Wollmann 1990: 514, 531

menotere subst. m. 'mintmaster' LW

Ofris. also *mēntere*, *mentre*, *munter*

These by-forms show syncope of medial vowels. The vowel *u*, found in OWfris. show non-Frisian (Dutch) vocalism, cf. MDu. (*i*-mutated) *munter*.

●PFRIS: *menutiri

cf. s.v. *menote*

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *mentere*, *muntere*; not in Wollmann

merk subst. f. 'certain currency' Gmc.

Actually a standard currency that appears in several compounds, e.g. *liodmerk* 'people's merk' (van Helten 1907a: 232), *leinmerk* (q.v.), etc.

Ofris. also *mark*

This form is sporadic and occurs in texts that also have *merk*. We seem to be dealing with the Dutch or MLG form.

●PFRIS: *merk

ON *mǫrk* (→ OE *marc*), MHG *marc*, *marke*, MLG *mark*, MDu. *marc*, *merc*, *marke*

●PGMC: *markō

The word has a limited geographical distribution. It has been suggested that actually all WGmc. forms were borrowed from NGmc. (de Vries 1992 s.v. *mark* 2.).

● No IE etymology.

Within Gmc. we may perhaps compare the etymon for 'sign, mark' (→ 'standard'), viz. *markaN, cf. ON *mark*, OE *mearc*, MHG *marc*, MLG *mark*, MDu. *marc*, *merc*; OHG *marcha*, MDu. *marke*, *merke* 'sign, mark'. However, this word has no etymology, either. Griepentrog (1995: 265-85) directly compares the etymon of *merke* (q.v.) and reconstructs a PGmc. root noun *mark- 'Abschnitt' (< PIE *morg- 'abtrennen') that led to both meanings 'Grenze' (i.e. *merke*) and 'Gewichtseinheit'.

Lit: Bremer 1893: 326; van Helten 1907a: 231-4

see also: *merke*

merke subst. f. 'district' PIE

Ofris. also *merik*

This form occurs as the Ds in H₂ (XIV, 3). It must represent a parasite vowel (van Helten 1890: 73).

●PFRIS: *merki

Goth. *marka* 'border, region', OR *aljamarkiz* 'foreigner', ON *mǫrk* 'boundary wood', OE *mearc*, OS *marka*, OHG *marha*, MHG *marke*, *marc(h)*, MLG *mark*, ODu. *marka* 'boundary', MDu. *marke* 'boundary, borderland, common land'

●PGMC: *markō

The original meaning was 'boundary, borderland' (explained with ref. in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *marka*).

●PIE: *morg-

POKORNY: 738

Mod. Persian *marz* 'region', Lat. *margo, marginis* 'border'. The latin *a* is problematic but may reflect **o* (Schrijver 1991: 459). Celtic shows forms that yield formal problems, cf. OIr. *mruig* 'area', Welsh *bro* 'country' < **mrogi-*, perhaps with metathesis of *r* (Schrijver 1991: 459)? Griepentrog (1995: 265-85) compares the etymon of *merk*, q.v.

see also: merk

Mertin NP

meta 1 str. vb. V 'measure' PIE

●PFRIS: **meta*

cf. s.v. *-mēl*.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 352-4

see also: mete, metedolch, metewunde, -mel, et- 2., etmel, meta 2.

meta 2 wk. vb. 1 'meet' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: **mēta*

Goth. *gamotjan*, ON *mæta*, OE (*ge*)*mētan*, OS *mōtian* 'meet', OHG *muoten* 'confront each another as enemies', MHG *muoten*, *muozen* 'meet (as enemies)', MLG *mōten*, MDu. *moeten* 'meet', cf. also

**mōta*N: ON *mót*, OE *gemot*, OS *mōt*, MHG *muoze*, MLG *gemot*, MDu. (*ge*)*moet* 'meeting'

●PGMC: **mōtjana*N

●PIE: [?] **meh*₂₍₃₎d-

POKORNY: 746-7

The only outer-Gmc. parallel is Arm. *mat-ĉ-im* 'come near' < **mHd-*; the vocalism of *mawt*, *maut* 'near' must reflect some secondary Arm. development.

The comparison has been doubted. Wood (1913-14: 321-2) assumes a relationship with **metana*N, cf. s.v. *meta 1*, *-mēl*. The semantical development required is not obvious, however, and the colour of the laryngeal does not fit to that of the root **meh*₁₋ 'measure', either.

see also: mete, metedolch, metewunde

mete subst. f. 'measure, wound of a certain measure' PIE

Ofris. also *mēta*

This OWfris. by-form probably contains /-ə/ <-a>.

●PFRIS: **mēti*

cf. s.v. *-mēl*.

see also: meta 1., metedolch, metewunde; -mel, et- 2., etmel; meta 2.

metedolch subst. n. 'measure-wound, i.e. wound of a certain measure' PIE

Compound of *mēte* 'measure, etc.' and *dolch* 'wound', cf. s.vv.

metewunde subst. f. 'measure-wound, i.e. wound of a certain measure' PIE

Compound of *mēte* 'measure, etc.' and *wunde* 'wound', cf. s.vv.

mi 1 cf. s.v. *muga*

mi 2 pers. pron. 'me' PIE

D/As of *ik 1*. 'I', q.v.

●PFRIS: *mi

Goth. *mis*; *mik*, OR *mez*, ON *mér*; *mik*, OE *mē*; *mec*, *mě*, OS *mī*, *me*; *mi(k)*, *me*, OHG *mir*; *mih*, MHG *mi(e)r*, *mer*; *mich*, MLG *mī*, *mik*, *mek*, ODu. *mi*, MDu. *mi* (*mien*, *mijn*) 'I'

●PGMC: *mis; mik

The Ingeveonic languages tend towards giving up the grammatical distinction between the two forms, which represent the original dative and accusative, respectively, but the forms themselves remain recognizable up to a certain extent (e.g. OE *mec* with the velar *k of the accusative).

The variation *e* (NGmc.) ~ *i* may result from an earlier variation between an enclitic form and a stressed form.

●PIE: *h₁meso (?); h₁me(ǵe)

POKORNY: 702

The reconstruction of PIE yields many difficulties. The oblique forms are ultimately based on a form *h₁me(-). The acc. was perhaps *h₁me, cf. Gr. *emé*, Arm. *im*. The status of the velar element in Germanic remains unclear. Perhaps we may assume influence of *ik (cf. s.v. *ik 1*), cf. also Hitt. *ammuk*, or attachment of a clitic, cf. Gr. *emége*. The dative form showing *-s (in spite of PIE *h₁me-g^hio, cf. Skt. *máhya(m)*, *-g^hei in Lat. *mihī*) represents one of the biggest problems of Gmc. morphology. Analogy to the dative plural (Streitberg 1963: 262) or attachment of a demonstrative pronoun (Kieckers 1960: 135; cf. also Jones 1979: 302) have been offered as (unlikely) explanations. Are we dealing with the old genitive (Gr. *eméo* < *h₁meso) in dative function?

see also: *ic*, *ik 1*.

Michahel NP

Michahelesdi subst. m. 'Saint Michael' PIE

Compound of *Michael* NP and *dī* 'day', cf. s.vv.

midda prep. 'among, in the middle of' PIE

●PFRIS: *midda

The formation is probably analogical after *binna*, etc. (van Helten 1890: 84) given the different formations in the other dialects, such as OE *middum*, *to middes*, MLG *tō midden*, *middes*, etc.

●PGMC: *medj-

cf.

adj. *medja-: Goth. *midjis*, ON *mipr*, OE *midd*, OS *middi*, OHG *mitti*, MHG *mitte*, OFris. *midde* 'middle, mid';

adj. *mid(di)la-: OE *middel*, OS *middilgard*, OHG *mittil*, MHG *mittel*, MLG, OFris. (s.v. *midlost*), MDu. *middel* 'middle'.

●PIE: *med^hio-

POKORNY: 706-7

Skt. *mádhya-*, Gr. *mé(s)sos*, Lat. *medius* 'middle'. The form represents a derivation of an adv. *me-d^{hi} 'in the middle' [Pokorny 1959: 702-3], cf. s.v. *mith*, *mithi*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: midlost, mith, mithi

mide subst. f. '(financial) gift' PIE

Ofris. also *meide*, *meithe*, *mede*

The different vowels are the reflexes of *ē₂, with *ei* before dental consonants (van Helten 1890: 18). The spelling *th* is a 'reverse spelling', due to the merger of medial *-d- and *-þ-.

●PFRIS: *mēdi

OE *mēd*, OS *mēda*, OHG *mēta*, *miata*, *mieta*, MHG *miete*, MLG *mēde*, *meide*, ODu. *mieda*, MDu. *miede*, *mede*, *mie* 'recompense', with *ē₂ due to compensatory lengthening in *mizdō, cf.

Goth. *mizdo*, OE *meord* 'recompense'

●PGMC: *mizdō

●PIE: *misd^ho- (*misd^hh₁o- ?)

POKORNY: 706-7

Skt. *mīdhá-* 'contest, prize', Gr. *misthós* 'recompense', OCS *mъzda* 'reward'. Perhaps we must assume *mis-d^hh₁o-, i.e. a compound containing the root *mei- 'exchange' (cf. s.v. *mis-*; s-stem *mei-os) and *d^heh₁- 'put' (cf. s.v. *dede*; Lubotsky p.c.).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

midlost adj. superl. 'most middle' PIE

Ofris. also *midlist*, *midlest*, *middelst*, *midlast*

Midlist (weakened *-est*, syncopated *middelst*) and *midlast* represent competitive superlative formations beside R₁ *-ost* (< *-ust- < *-ōst-)

●PFRIS: *midlust ~ *midlist ~ *midlast

A superlative formation to WGmc. *middil-, an *-il-derivation to *midd- < *medj-, OFris. *middel*, cf. s.v. *midda*.

see also: midda

midrede subst. n. 'diaphragm' PIE

Compound of *middi-, cf. s.v. *midda*, and *-rede* 2., q.v.

Also in: OE *midhrīpre*, MLG *midder* (← OFris.?) OFris. also *midrith*, *midr(h)ether*, *midrithere*, on the variation in the second member, cf. s.v. *-rede* 2.; different formation in *midrif*, *-ref* (Lendinara 1990: 293).

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 236

mima verb + pron. 'may one' PIE

Syntagm containing *mi* 3s. ind. pres. to *muga* 'may' and *-ma* = enclitic *ma 'one', cf. s.v.v.

min 1 adj. comp. neuter 'less' PIE

●PFRIS: *min

OE, OHG, MDu. *min*, cf. also

adv.: Goth. *mins*, ON *minnr*, OE, OHG, MHG *min*, MDu. *min*, *men* 'less';

weak 2: OE *minsian*, OS *minson*, OFris. *minria* 'become smaller';

weak 4: Goth. *minznan* 'diminish';

comp.: Goth. *minniza*, ON *minni* (< *minnzi-), OS *minnera*, OHG *minniro*, MHG *minner*, *minre*, *minder*, MLG *minder*, OFris. *min(ne)ra* (q.v.), MDu. *minre*, *minder*, *mender* 'less';

superl.: Goth. *minnists*, ON *minnistr*, OS *minnista*, OHG *minnist*, MHG *min(ne)st*, MLG *min(ne)st*, OFris. *minnast*, (q.v.), MDu. *minst* 'least'.

●PGMC: *minnaz (< *minuaz)

●PIE: *minuo-

POKORNY: 711

Lat. adv. *minus* 'less', cf. also Skt. *mināti*, Gr. *minúthō* 'diminish' to a root *mei-. The adv. Goth. *mins* etc. goes back to the comp. *miniz. Perhaps we must assume *miH- (perhaps Skt. has a long vowel; shortening according to Dybo's Law in the European languages), whereas *-nu- seems to represent the verbal present suffix.

see also: *minnast*, *minnust*, *min(ne)ra*, *minnust*, *minra*

min 2 poss. pron. 'my' PIE

●PFRIS: *mīn

Goth. *meins*, OR (fem. Ns) *minu*, (Gsm) *minas*, ON *mínn*, *minn*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *mīn*, MDu. *mijn*, *min* 'my'

●PGMC: *meina-

●PIE: *h₁mei + -no

POKORNY: 702

The Gmc. forms represent an innovation based on the enclitic form *h₁mei of the personal pronoun of the first person, cf. also Lat. *meus* < *h₁mei-o- (Beekes 1990: 252). The -no-derivation is also found in the other possessive forms, cf. Goth. *þeins*, *seins* and cognates; cf. s.vv. *sin 2*, *thīn*.

see also: *sin 2*, *thīn*

minnast, minnust adj.superl. 'least' PIE

Superlative formation to *min 1*, cf. s.vv.

min(ne)ra adj. comp. 'less' PIE

Comparative formation to *min 1*, cf. s.vv.

minnia wk. vb. 2 'love' PIE

●PFRIS: *minnia

OS *minnion*, OHG *minnōn*, MHG, MLG *minnen*, ODu. *minnon*, MDu. *minnen*, *mennen* 'love', cf. also

*mcnjō: OS *minnia* 'love', OHG *minna* 'reminder, love', MHG *minne* 'reminder, love, friendship', MLG *minne* 'love, friendship', MDu. *minne*, *min* 'reminder,

love, lust';

*munanaN: Goth. *man* 'think', ON *man*, OE *ge|man* 'remember'; OS *farmunan* 'despise', etc.;

*manōjanaN: OE *monian*, OS *manon*, OHG *manōn*, -*ēn*, OFris. *monia*, *mania*, MDu. *manen* 'dun', etc

●PGMC: *menjōjanaN

●PIE: *men-

POKORNY: 726-8

The Gmc. forms attest to a transition from a basic meaning 'remembrance' to 'loving memory' *vel sim.* This makes possible an eventual derivation from the well-attested root *men- 'think; dialectally also: remember', cf. *men-je/o- in Skt. *mānyate* 'think', s-stem *men-os in *mānas-*, Av. *manah-*, Gr. *ménos* 'mind', Lat. *meminī* 'remember'. This is the standard interpretation.

However, if we start from an original semantic concept 'social consciousness and reciprocal friendly behaviour within a community' → ... → 'love', the word may rather belong to the root *(H)moi- 'exchange', i.e. Gmc. *mai-n-, cf. s.v. *mēn-* (ref. to this derivation in de Vries 1992 s.v. *min* 1, Pfeifer (1989: 1108) s.v. *Minne*),

As a third alternative, I point to Celtic forms that are semantically and formally very similar, cf. MWelsh *mwyn* 'tender, mild', OCor. *muin*, *moin* 'gracious', Bretonic *moan* 'fine, thin' that go back to P-British *meino-. These forms have been linked with OIr. *mín* 'small', but the vocalism is incompatible (Schrijver 1995: 220-1, Schrijver 1991: 244). OIr. f. *moín*, *maín* 'treasure' < *moini- (feminine *i*-stem) rather is a candidate. OIr. *mín* < *miHn-, i.e. to *mei(H)- 'mild, soft, lovely' [Pokorny 1959: 711-2], cf. Skt. *māyas-* 'joy'. If all evidence adduced in Pokorny (1959) is indeed cognate, we must assume an intricate abundance of extensions. In OIr., several of the forms concerned require the reconstruction of a laryngeal too, cf. Lat. *mītis* 'soft' < *mih₁ti- < *m(e)h₁iti-, Lith. *mīelas*, *mýlas* 'dear' < *meh₁ilo-. This would make the association of *minne* (< *min- rather than *mūn- < *miHn- < *mHin- with laryngeal metathesis) with these forms impossible.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

minnust cf., s.v. *minnast*, *minnust* and *min* 1.

minra cf., s.v. *min(ue)ra*

mire verb + pron. 'may he' PIE

Syntagm containing *mi* 3s ind. pres. to *muga* 'may' and -re = enclitic *hī* 'he', cf. s.vv.

mis- pref. 'prefix adding negative meaning, i.e. 'wrongly' *vel sim.*' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *mis-

Goth. *missa-*, ON *missí-*, *mis-*, OE, OS *mis-*, OHG *missa-*, *missi-*, MHG *misse-*, *mis-*, MLG *uis-*, MDu. *uis-*, *mes-*

●PGMC: *missV-

●PIE: [?] *(h₂)mit-to-

POKORNY: 710; 715

Perhaps this prefix can be identified with Goth. *misso* 'each other', cf. also *missa-leiks*, ON *mislikr*, OE *mis(se)lic*, OS *mis(si)lik*, OHG *mis(si)lih*, *missalih*, MHG *mis(se)lih* 'various', MLG *mis(se)lik* 'doubtful', OFris. *mislik*, MDu. *mis(se)lijc*, *messelijc* 'various', i.e. a compound containing *(h₂)mit-teh₂ + -lik 2. (q.v.). PIE *(h₂)mi-t-to- to *(h₂)mei- 'change', cf. s.v. *mēn-*. A dental extension – as is required in order to account for the Gmc. form – is also found in e.g. Lat. *mūtō* 'change' < *moi-t- [Pokorny 1959: 715]. The OIr. negative prefix *mí*, *miss-*, e.g. in *miscuis* 'hatred', has also been compared. This comparison would require the same semantical shift as in Gmc. The (alleged) Skt. cognates such as *mīthū* 'wrongly' show a problematic -th- which points to *-tH-.

see also: men-, mene, meneth; misdedom, misfara, misgunga

misdedom adj. 'criminal, evil' PIE

Compound of *mis-* and *-dedom*, cf. s.vv.

misfara str. vb. VI 'do wrong' PIE

Compound of *mis-* and *fara* I., cf. s.vv.

misgunga str. vb. VII 'deteriorate' PIE

Compound of *mis-* and *gunga*, cf. s.vv.

misse subst. f. 'holy mass' LW

●PFRIS: *missa

← *missa* in the Lat. formula *ite, missa est*, in which it (still explained as 'dimissio' by Florus, ca. 860 AD, cf. Pax 1949: 87) refers to the *missa catechumenorum* preceding the offertory. After the abolishing of the status of *catechumenus* from the 5th century onwards, the term *missa* came into use in order to denote the offertory; still later it became a synonym for the whole mass. Eventually, it was also used for a festive day for a Saint, as in the attestation of the word in R₁: Ds *Ondreus missa* (III, 69) 'St. Andrew's day'.

ON *messe*, OE *mæsse*, OS *missa*, OHG *missa*, *messa*, MHG *messe*, *misse*, MLG *misse*, MDu. *misse*, *messe*.

The -e-forms may represent another layer of borrowing from Rom. *missa* < Lat. *missa*. Probably, this layer is actually the older one, whereas OFris. *missa* represents a Karolingian latinization of an earlier form **missa* (Wollmann 1990: 511).

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *missa*; Pax 1949; Wollmann 1990: 511 fn. 11

mith prep.; adv. '(together) with, with the help of, against, according to, by, as the result of; with' PIE

OFris. also *mit*, *mei*

In a number of instances, the form *mit* is the result of the attachment of enclitic

forms to *mith* (Boutkan 1996); it can also represent the result of neutralisation of /-þ/ and /-t/ in the (later) MSS that show this particular development. The OWFris. form *mei* must represent a contraction of the adverb *mithi* (q.v.) used as a preposition, cf. for a parallel the (infrequent) use of the cognate forms OHG *miti*, OS *midī*, MLG *mide* as a preposition or the use of *mee* (< *mede*) for Standard Dutch *met* in Southern Du. dialects.

●PFRIS: *miþ

Goth. *miþ*, *mid-*, ON *meþ*, OE *mid*, *miþ*, OS *mid(i)*, *mið*, *mit*, *met*, OHG *mit(i)*, MHG *mit*, *met*, MLG *mit*, *met*, *mide*, MDu. *mit*, *met* 'with', cf. also adv. 'with'

*med/þi: OS *midī*, OHG *miti*, *mite*, MHG *mit(e)*, MLG *mede*, *medde*, *mide*, OFris. *mithi* (q.v.), *methe*, MDu. *mede*

The difference between the adverb and the preposition has not been maintained everywhere, see above.

●PGMC: *med/þi ~ *med/þa (< *med^hh₂ or *meth₂)

The different vocalism (e ~ i) in the first syllable suggests two different formations, i.e. one with and one without an *i*-mutation factor.

●PIE: *me-ti (me-d^hi), *me-th₂

POKORNY: 702-3

This etymon is to be connected with *midda*, etc. (q.v.). Cf. furthermore Gr. *metá* 'with, between' < *meth₂. On vocalisation of laryngeals in absolute final position in Gmc., cf. Boutkan (1995: 93-4 with ref.).

see also: *midda*

mithi adv. 'with' PIE

OFris. also *mithe*, *mede*, *mei*

The form *mithe* shows a weakened vowel in the second syllable. In addition, OWFris. *mede* shows the development *-þ- > *-d-. The OWFris. form *mei* must represent a contraction of *mithi.

●PFRIS: *miþi

see also: *mith*

mod subst. f. 'spirit, mind, heart' Gmc.

The meaning '*satisfactio*' (Meyer 1926: 60-1) is not recorded in R₁.

●PFRIS: *mōd

Goth. *moþs*, ON *móþr* 'anger', OE, OS *mōd*, OHG, MHG *muot*, MLG *mōt*, *mūt*, MDu. *moet*, *moed*, *muet* 'spirit'

●PGMC: *mōda-

Cf. Meyer (1926) on the semantic development of the etymon in Gmc.

● No IE etymology.

The word has been connected with such Greek forms as *μαίωμαί* 'seek', which is not obvious from a semantic point of view. According to Lehmann (1986) s.v. *moþs*, the other alleged cognates mentioned in Pokorny 1959: 704-5] (sub '5. *mō-*, *mō-*, *mā-* "heftigen und kräftigen Willens sein, heftig streben.") are problematic as well.

Among these, Lat. *mōs* 'manner, way, custom, behaviour' < *m(e)h₁-ōs probably belongs to *meh₁-, cf. s.v. *-mēl* (Schrijver 1991: 203 after Flobert).

Lit: Meyer 1926: 10, 60-1 on the semantics of OFris.

see also: *urmod*

moder subst. f. 'mother' PIE

OFris. also *moer*

This OWFris. by-form arose due to a syncope of *-d-*, which has a parallel in (Middle) Dutch *moer* (cf. also Modern West Frisian *moer*).

●PFRIS: *mōdir

ON *móþir*, OE *mōdor*, OS *mōdar*, OHG, MHG *muoter*, MLG *mōder*, *mūder*, *mōder*, ODu. *muoder*, MDu. *moeder*, *moder* 'mother'

●PGMC: *mōdēr

●PIE: *meh₂ter-

POKORNY: 700-1

Ved. *mātár-*, Gr. *mētēr*, Lat. *mater* 'mother'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: *aldemoder*, *modermech*, *modire-*, *modiransunu*

modermech subst. m. 'maternal relative' Gmc.

Compound of *moder* and *-mech*, cf. s.vv.

modire- subst. f. 'mother' PIE

●PFRIS: *mōdiri-

OE *modrige*, OHG *muotera* 'mother's sister', MLG *mōdder(e)*, *meddere* 'relative in mother's line, especially mother's sister', MDu. *modder(e)*, *moeddere* 'mother's sister'

●PGMC: *mōdr(w)ian-

A form with secondary weak inflexion as compared with:

●PIE: *meh₂truich₂-

POKORNY: 701

Gr. *mōtruiā*, Arm. *mauru* 'stepmother' < *meh₂truich₂.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

see also: *modiransunu*

modiransunu subst. m. 'maternal nephew' PIE

Compound of *modire-* and *sunu*, cf. s.vv.

mon subst. m. 'person, man' PIE

OFris. also *man*

This by-form shows the OWFris. Rückentwicklung of prenasal *o (< PGmc. *a) to *a, cf. especially Boutkan (1997).

●PFRIS: *mānu

Goth. *manna*, ON *maþr*, OE *mon*, *man*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, ODu. *man*, MDu. *man*, *manne* 'man'

●PGMC: *mann-

●PIE: *mon-

POKORNY: 701

Skt. *mānu-*, *mānuṣ-*, Av. *manuš-* 'man, person', OCS *mъžь* < **mon-g-i-*.

The absence of lengthening of the **o* in accordance with Brugmann's law in IIr. is a complication. Lubotsky (1987: 51) points to the possibility of a generalised stem form of the oblique case forms: **mon-u-*; alternatively, we can perhaps assume **monH-u-*, both forms yielding regular gemination of the **n-*.

Lit: Boutkan 1997; Lendinara 1990: 296

see also: *ma*, *mannesklik*, *manniska*

-mon(d) 1 subst. m. 'protector, guardian' PIE

In: *balumon* 'unfaithful guardian' (q.v.)

OFris. also *-mund*, *-mond*, *-munda*

Perhaps, the form of R₁ has undergone loss of final *-d* after *n* (van Helten 1890: 94).

However, it may represent a scribal error (cf. van Helten 1907a: 138 fn. 1) or a folk-etymology after *mon* 'man', which may also account for the vocalism (*o* in contrast with *mundelinge*, q.v.). The R₁-form shows *o* for *u* as a result of vowel balance. In OWFr., *-mond* has *o* for *u* before nasal cluster. MS F shows a weak form *baemun*, whereas the strong form *baemund* refers to the abstractum 'bad guardianship' (= *-mond 2.*).

●PFRIS: **-mund*

Goth. NP *Mundirix*, *Mundila*, ON f. *mund* 'hand', OE *mund* 'hand, protection, guardianship, peace', OS NP *-mund* OHG, MHG *munt* 'hand, protection, guardianship', ([Fris.] MDu. *mont* 'guardian, power, guardianship', *monder* 'guardian'), cf. also

masc.: ON *mundr* 'dowry', OE *mund* 'dowry', OFris. *-mond* 'dowry' (= *-mond 2.* in R₁ *werthmond* 'dowry', cf. s.vv.);

Weak 2: OHG *muntōn*, OS *mundon*, OE *mundia* 'protect', MDu. *monden* 'protect as a guardian'.

Furthermore, OFris. *mundelinge* 'guardianship' (q.v.), derived from *mundele*, i.e. a feminine to a masculine *-ing*-derivation from **mundilan-* (van Helten 1890: 151, van Helten 1907a: 240).

I interpret the OFris. and Fris.-MDu. masculines as representing a secondary shift from grammatical to natural gender due to the semantical transition 'hand' → 'protection' (f) → (male) guardian (m). The old masculine form has a specific meaning 'dowry'.

●PGMC: **mundō*

●PIE: **mn-t-*

POKORNY: 740-1

Hitt. *maniyahh-* 'administer', Lat. *manus* 'hand' < **mon-*, OIr. *muin* 'protection' < **moni-*. The forms showing *-r* such as Gr. *márē* 'hand' cannot be connected under reference to an earlier *r/n*-stem: a root **m-* would be impossible for PIE (cf. Schrijver 1991: 458).

see also: *-mond 2.*, *mundelinge*

-mond 2 subst. n (m?) 'dowry' PIE

cf. s.v. *-mon(d) 1*.

The word is the second member of the compound *werthmond*, which occurs in the passage IV 192-3: *Thit is thet twa and twintegoste londriucht. thet etheles wiues werthmond stont bi achta pundon...*

Two interpretations are possible, but it seems best to translate: 'This is the 22nd land-law: the dowry of a noble wife is 8 pounds...', because otherwise the expected article would be missing. Thus, (*werth*)*mond* must have neuter gender (thus also Buma 1961 s.v. *werthmond*). One might also translate (and emend): 'This is the 22nd land-law, that [the] dowry of a noble wife is 8 pounds...' and assume masculine gender (merely) on etymological grounds. Hence, I present *werthmond* also as a masculine. I furthermore suggest that Buma interprets *werthmond* as a masculine, which he actually does for *-mond 2* only. From a synchronic point of view, Buma's assumption of two different genders of *werthmond* and *-mond* is impossible, of course. Note that *werth- 2* is a neuter, which may have invoked the shift in gender.

see also: *-mon(d) 1*., *mundelinge*

-monda subst. m. '(sexual) intercourse' PIE

●PFRIS: **-monda*

The origin of the word has been unclear. Three interpretations have been given (cf. also Sjölin 1970-75: 208-9 + ref.):

(1) Siebs (1901: 1282) assumes a folk-etymological rebuilding of **mainipō* under the influence of *mond* (cf. s.v. *-mon(d) 1*). This is impossible since we find *monda* also in texts that have *mund* (van Helten 1907a: 239)

(2) A contamination of presupposed **gimon* (= Goth. *gaman*) and **gimānþa* 'Gemeinschaft' (van Helten 1890: 150; 1907a: 239). This is an intricate and unlikely scenario. Heinertz (1912: 318) gives two counterarguments. In a single passage in *E₁ IV*, we find *fiamonda* (in Sipma's edition line 147) beside *fiamanda* (line 149). Heinertz points out that Van Helten's theory would force us to assume that the scribe intended to write two different words. Note that according to Sipma the first instance seems to be a correction of earlier *-manda*. However, we may be dealing with an instance of the western-OEfris. orthographical variation <o> ~ <a> in order to express /ā/ < *a/_N (Boutkan 1997), which would render this argument immaterial. A second argument is that we expect an abstract formation in *-ipō* to a *ja*-stem (cf. *mēne*, q.v.), and, hence, *i*-mutation of the stem vowel.

(3) Heinertz' alternative (loc. cit.) is that we are dealing with an abstract formation to **mana-*, cf. Goth. *gaman* 'partner'. Of the three alternatives, this one is labelled as the '...am wenigsten unwahrscheinliche' solution by Sjölin (1970-75: 209). Lehmann (1986) treats the etymology of *gaman* s.v. *manna*.

mong prep. 'among' PIE [?]

MS actually *mog*, cf. (VI, 46) *Metē wnde mog tha here...* 'Measurable wound

in one's hair...', which must be interpreted as a scribal error (van Helten 1890: 85, pace von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *mong, mog*).

●PFRIS: *mång

MHG *manc, mang*, MLG *mank, mange(n), manke(n)t, manget, manct*, MDu. *manc*, Mod. LG *mang* 'under, among', cf. also

*gemang-: OE *on gemong* adv. 'under that', prep. 'under, among', OS *an gimang(e)* adv. 'under that, among that', prep. 'among', to OE *gemong* 'adj. mixed; subst. mass', OS *gimang* 'mass', MHG *gemanc* 'mixture';

*mangjanaN: OE *mengan*, OS *mengian*, OHG hap. Isidor *mengan*, MHG *mengen*, OFris. *menzia, mengia*, MDu. *mengen, mingen, meingen* 'mix', etc.

●PGMC: *mang-

●PIE: [?] *mon(H)k-

POKORNY: 730-1

This root is usually reconstructed under reference to a variety of forms in several IE languages, which show quite different meanings and complications, however. (Unattested) Skt. *má(n)cate* actually means 'deceive, destroy vel sim.' and has an unclear etymology (Mayrhofer 1956-82: II, 548 s.v. *mácate*). Contrary to the current interpretation [e.g. Pokorny 1959: 731], Alb. *mekem* 'werde ohnmächtig' and *mek-* 'an-, einfeuchten, naß machen' are two separate etyma; the former may represent an expressive formation, whereas the latter may be a relatively recent loan, e.g. from Serbo-Croat *měk*, Bulgarian *mek* 'weich, feucht' (Demiraj 1997: 263-4).

Gr. *mássō* 'press, knead' may be compared with Lat. *māccrāre* 'to soften by soaking' and *māceria* 'wall (of soft clay)' belonging to a root *m(e)h₂k- (Schrijver 1991: 142) rather than coupling the Latin forms to unexplained Latv. *mākt* [Pokorny 1959: 698], cf. s.v. *makia*. In BS., we again find the meanings 'knead' or 'soft, weak' in Lith. *mínkau, -yti* 'knead dough', OCS *mękъ-къ* 'soft', etc. Note that, whatever the exact relation between the above forms, the comparison of any of them and Gmc. *mang- 'mix' (→ 'mass') is not self-evident from a semantic point of view, unless one is prepared to assume an intermediate stage 'durcheinanderkneten' [Pokorny 1959: 731].

monich adj. 'many' Gmc.

OFris. also *manich, monech, manch*

The OWFris. forms *manich, manch* show expected a as the reflex of PGmc. *a before nasals. The syncopated form *manch* was generalised from the inflected cases. The second vowel of *monech* must be interpreted as /ə/; it occurs in the OEFris. sources except for the Riustringer codices which maintain phonological oppositions between different vowel qualities in unstressed syllables.

●PFRIS: *mānih-

cf. s.v. *meni*

monnik indef. pron.; actually noun + pron. 'everyone' PIE

An original collocation containing *monna*, Gp to *mon* 'man' and *ik* = enclitic *ek* 'each, every', cf. s.vv.

monslaga subst.m. 'manslaughter' PIE

Compound of *mon* 'man' and *-slaga* 'manslaughter', cf. s.vv.

morth subst. n. 'murder, manslaughter, abortion, crime' PIE

OFris. also *mord*

This by-form shows the result of the merger of /p/ and /d/ in /d/.

●PFRIS: **morþ*

ON, OE *morþ*, OS *morth*, OHG *mord*, MHG *mort*, MLG *mōrt* 'murder', MDu. *mo(o)rt*, *mord*, *moirt* 'murder, death', cf. also

**murþra-*: Goth. *maurþr*, OE *morþor*, MDu. *morder* 'murder';

weak 1: Goth. *maurþrjan*, OE *myrþrian*, OHG *murdiren*;

weak 2: OFris. *morthia* 'kill';

etc.

●PGMC: **murþraN*

●PIE: **mer-*

POKORNY: 735

The Gmc. words would represent *-t(r)o-derivations based on the \emptyset -grade **m_r-* of the root **mer-*, which originally meant 'die' but underwent a semantic specialisation towards 'murder' in Gmc. (original meaning still preserved in MDu.), cf. Skt. *mriyáte*, Lat. *moriōr*, Lith. *miṛti* 'die'; probably also Hitt. *mēr-* 'vanish, perish'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

see also: *morthdede*

morthdede subst. f. 'secret murder, secret crime, evil deed' PIE

Compound of *morth* 'murder, etc.' and *dede* 'crime, criminal deed; wound-(ing)', cf. s.vv.

mos- subst. f. ??? 'coloured skin?; bruise?' ???

In: *mosdolch* 'bruise', q.v.

The element *dolch* 'wound' is clear (q.v.), but the first member of the compound, which is only attested in *mosdolch*, has been subject of dispute, however.

Four interpretations have been given (cf. Sjölin 1970-75: 210 + reff):

(1) [Siebs *apud* His 1901: 304] the comparison of LG *mōt* 'spot', Mod. Du. *moet* 'spot, scar', Modern Flemish Dial. *moet* 'bump'. The formal problem (**mōt-* rather than **mōs-*) is difficult to overcome. Cf. furthermore ON *mót* 'sign, mode'; the complex has no certain etymology (e.g. de Vries 1992 s.v. *moet*)

(2) [van Helten 1907a: 240] the comparison of the complex OHG *māsa* 'wound, scar', MHG, MLG *mūse* 'scar, spot', MDu. *masc(l)* 'spot', etc. (with unclear etymology). Both the reconstruction and the required retention of an ablaut

$\bar{a} \sim \bar{o}$ in a Gmc. noun are unlikely (unless the word is of non-IE origin, cf. Boutkan 2000).

(3) [Holthausen 1924: 462] the connection with ON *mæni* (= Mod. Icel.; recte: ON *mæna* or *mænir*, cf. de Vries 1977, s.v. *mæna* 'ridge' (i.e. *mans > OFris. *mōs*), which is (very) unlikely from a semantic point of view.

(4) [Sjölín 1970-75: 210] the connection with the verb **morsa*, cf. MLG *morsen* 'quetschen' (Buma (1959); in Lasch et al. 1933 s.v. ² *morken* 'quassare'). Thus, Fris.-MDu. *morsdolch*, Fris.-MLG *morsdollich* would actually represent the original form with *-r-* (rather than a reinterpretation of original *mos-* as an ununderstood Frisian word); OFris. *mos-* would show regular loss of *r/_s*. This may have been strengthened by folk-etymological association with *mōs* 'food', cf. Codex Unia, apographa 61^{vo} *Mos dolch is dio wasene dar dio spijsse ingeth* (reference in Sjölín loc. cit., my transcription of the MS). Cf. furthermore MHG *zermürsen* 'crush', Mod. Du. *vermorzelen* 'crush, pulverize' etc. to Pokorny's root 5. *mer-*, *merə-* 'aufreiben, reiben' und 'packen, rauben' [1959: 735-7, especially 737].

The fourth possibility seems most likely to me although the root form *mors-* is not attested in any (real) Frisian form.

mosdolch subst. n. 'bruise' PIE [?]

Compound of *mos-* 'coloured skin?; bruise?' and *dolch* 'wound', cf. s.vv.

The meaning of the OFris. compound becomes clear from a definition that is attested in F (XI: 581): *hwersama thene man slait vppa enc lit. And thet fel nout vnbursten is. sa istet en riucht mosdolch* 'wherever one hits the man on a limb, and the skin is not burst then it is a real *mosdolch*'.

mota vb. pret. pres. 'be allowed to, may, shall, can, be able to' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **mōta*

Goth. *ga/motan* 'may, have permission', OE, OS *mōtan* 'must', OHG *muozan* 'may', MHG *müezen*, MLG *mōten*, MDu. *uoeten, moten, mueten* 'must, may', cf. also

**mōtōn-*: OS *mmota*, OHG *muoza* 'opportunity';

etc.

●PGMC: **mōtanaN*

● No IE etymology.

The derivation from the root **meh₁-* 'measure' (cf. s.v. *-mēl*) has generally been doubted (e.g. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *ga-mot*, Seebold 1970: 354), and can hardly be maintained from a semantic point of view indeed.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 354

motma vb. + pron. 'one shall, one must' PIE

Syntagm containing *mōt* 3s. ind. pres. to *mōta* 'shall, etc.' and *-ma* = enclitic *ma* 'one', cf. s.vv.

muga vb. pret. pres. 'can, be able to, may, be allowed to' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *muga

cf. s.v. *-machtich* (ad *mag).

mundelinge subst. f. 'guardianship' PIE

●PFRIS: *mundilingi

cf. sub *-mon(d)* 1.

see also: *-mon(d)* 1., 2.

mure subst. f. 'wall' LW

●PFRIS: *mūri

← Lat. *mūrus*

ON *mūr*, OE *mūr*, OS *mūra*, OHG *mūra*, *mūri*, MHG *mūr(e)*, *miur(e)*, MLG *mūr(e)*, *mūr(e)*, ODu. *mūra*, MDu. *muur*, *muer*, *muyr*, *moer*, *mure*.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *müre*; not in Wollmann

muth subst. m. 'mouth, [fig.] opening, wound' PIE [?]

OFris. also *mund*, *mond*

These forms represent later loans from MLG and MDu. (*mund* in E₃ and OWFris., *mond* in OWFris.). The expected Frisian (Ingv.) form *mūþ is found elsewhere.

●PFRIS: *mūþ

Goth. *munþs*, ON *múþr*, OE *mūþ*, OS *mūth*, OHG *mund*, MHG *mnt*, MLG *mnt*, *mont*, ODu. *mnt*, MDu. *mont*, *mond*, *mnt* 'mouth'

●PGMC: *munþa-

● No certain IE etymology.

The word is generally believed to be IE, but there are several possibilities, which are not equally probable:

(1) [e.g. Pokorny 1959: 732-3 s.v. 2. *menth*] According to a wide-spread view, the etymon is that of Lat. *mandere*, Gr. *masáomai* 'chew', but these forms must probably be taken together as a separate etymon PIE *mh₂d^h- with incompatible dental (Beekes 1988: 29 following Chantraine 1968; also Schrijver 1991: 222). It is questionable whether the comparison with Skt. *math-* 'eat' < *math- can be upheld.

(2) (e.g. Franck et al. 1976, de Vries 1992 s.vv. *mond*) The comparison of Lat. *mentum* 'chin', Mir. *mant* 'gum, jaw(bone)', Welsh *mant* 'jaw(bone)' to the root Pokorny 1959: 726 *men-* 1.. 'emporrigen', cf. Lat. *ēmineō* 'id.', *mōns* 'mountain', etc. This is a possible etymology, although a semantic shift from 'chin' towards 'mouth' must be assumed. Note in addition that the forms specifically denoting the body parts are only European and must represent an innovation (replacement of PIE *h₃oh₁-s, cf. Lat. *ōs* 'mouth'). This may indeed have been a formation based on the IE root *men-, but a non-IE source cannot be excluded.

(3) Mayrhofer (1956-82: II, 648-9) rejects the interpretation of Skt. *múkham*

'face, mouth' as a Dravidian loan and considers possible a root etymology starting from *mū- (= *mu(H)- 'make a murmuring sound', cf. Pokorny 1959: 751-2), cf. with a different extension OHG *mūla* 'mouth, muzzle', etc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

N

na- adv. 'never, by no means' PIE

Compound of *ne* 1. and a 3.

see also: *nahwedder*, *nammermar*, *nanen*, *nawet* 2.

nach conj. 'neither, nor' PIE

OFris. also *noch*

The form *nach* is exclusive to R₁ (no attestation in R₂), outside R₁ always *noch*. The explanation for this doublet is not entirely clear. The following solutions have been proposed:

(1) R₁ *nach* is a weakened form of *noch* (van Helten 1890: 14).

(2) *noch* and R₁ *nach* both derive from **nauh*. This would be parallel to OFris. *thāch* 'though, however' < **tau*h (van Helten 1907a: 241). The reconstruction **nauh* is uncertain (see below). However, the form *thāch* is also found outside R₁, and therefore also outside the supposed dialectal area of the form *nach*, making the parallel doubtful.

3) R₁ *nach* < **nauh*. Beside this form, there should have existed *noch* < **nuh* < **ni-uh* (Walter 1911: 55). These two formations with the same meaning could have been generalised in a different manner. For the reconstruction of **nauh*, see (2) and below.

Remarkable is the doublet *noch* and (less often) *nach* in MLG. Possibly a loan from OFris. *nach*.

●PFRIS: **no*h

OS *no*h, OHG *no*h, MHG *noch*, *nog*, MLG *noch*, *nach*, ODu. *no*h, MDu. *noch*, *no* 'nor; and not'.

●PGMC: **neh*^(w)e and **n-uh*^(w)e

The exact reconstruction of these West-Germanic forms is unclear. There is agreement about the connection between PIE **-k^we* and Gmc. **-uh*, but the exact developments are unclear, cf. Goth. *nih* 'and not' < **ne-k^we*.

●PIE: **ne-k^we*

POKORNY: 756-757

Lat. *ne-que*, OIr. *nach*, 'and not'

Lit: Walter 1911: 55, 56, 78

nacht subst. f. 'night' PIE

OFris. also *nagt*

The phonetic realisation of /g/_#t is [χ]. Hence, [-χt] as well as *-cht* could be written as *-gt* (van Helten 1890: 118, Siebs 1901: 1305, Steller 1928: 34, Boutkan 1996: 36). The synchronic flexion displays a number of peculiarities. This

word has a Gsm/n on *-es*: *nachtes*. This form is analogous to Gsm *dis*, *deis* (Nsm *di*, *dei* 'day'), cf. van Helten (1890: 158), Boutkan (1996: 52, 71). The Ap appears both in the form of *nacht* as *nachta*. The form on *-a* is analogical (Ap *ō*-declination), cf. van Helten (1890: 158), Boutkan (1996: 74). Next to the original Ds *nacht*, the following forms existed (van Helten 1890: 158): *nach*, with apocope of *-t* (van Helten 1890: 90); *nachte*, the ending *-e* is an analogy (Ds *ō*-declination). Next to *nachte* we also find *nachta* (van Helten 1890: 52); this change indicates that the pronunciation was probably a schwa [ə].

In contrast to the OE (*neaht* ~ *niht*) OFris. does not display any i-mutation. The forms without i-mutation have spread through the paradigm by analogical levelling (van Helten 1890: 35, Siebs 1901: 1186).

●PFRIS: **naht*

Goth. *nahts*, ON *nátt*, *nótt*, OE *neaht*, *nacht*, *næht*, *nieht*, *niht*, *nyht*, *neht*, OS *naht*, OHG *naht*, MHG *naht*, MLG *nacht*, ODu. *naht*, MDu. *nacht*, *nach* 'night'

●PGMC: **nah*^(w)*ts*

●PIE: **nok*^w-*t*-*s*

POKORNY: 762-763

Skt. As *náktam*, NAD *náktā*, Gr. *núks*, Gs *nuktós*, Lat. *nox*, Gs *noctis*, Gp *noctium*, Lith. *naktis*, OCS *nošŭ*, Hitt. Gs *nekuz*, 'night', OIr. *innocht* 'tonight'.

The word has also been compared with the word for 'morning' in Germanic: Goth. *ūhtwo*, ON *óttā* 'dawn', OE *ūhta*, *ūhte*, *ūht*, 'last part of the night, time shortly before dawn', OS *ūhta* 'early morning', OHG *ūhta*, *uohta*, MHG *ūhte*, *uohte*, MLG *uchte* 'dawn', ODu. *ūhta*, MDu. *ochten*, *uchten*, *nochten*, *nuchten*, *nuchtent*, Mod. Du. *ochtend*, *uchtend*.

Note that Mod. Du. *-d* is analogical after *avond* 'evening', cf. also de Vries (1992: 478). MDu. *ochten*, *uchten* (< **ochte*, **uchte*) have arisen under the influence of *nochten*, *nuchten* (< **nochten*, **nuchten*; cf. OE *on ūhtan* 'in the morning'), cf. de Vries (1992: 478). These forms are usually reconstructed as a zero-grade **nk*^w-*t* > Gmc. **unh*(w)*t*-, like Goth. *ūhtwo* (Bammesberger 1990: 202; see discussion below).

Traditionally, the following material is connected to the zero grade: Skt. *aktú*- (< **nk*^w-*t*-*ú*-) with a wide semantic field: '*leichtes Gleiten; Salbe, Schminke; lichte Farbe, Licht, Strahl; dunkle Farbe, Dunkel, letzter Teil der Nacht*' (Mayrhofer 1986: I: 40); Gr. *aktís*, *-ínos* 'beam, light'. It is very likely that these two forms are related to each other. However, the meaning '(beam of) light, etc.' is not very likely considering the semantics of the Germanic forms. The Ablaut-form **onk*^w- that is reconstructed for Baltic cannot be a PIE Ablaut-form of **nok*^w-*t*-, cf. Lith. *añkstì* 'early' (adv.), *ankstas*, *ankstūs* 'early' (adj.). Possibly these Germanic and Baltic forms may be closer related. These forms could go back to (PIE) **Honk*^w- / **Hnk*^w-, but then there is no semantic etymological connection to 'night'.

see also: *nachtbrond*, *nachtthiuvethe*

nachtbrond subst. m. 'nightly arson' PIE
Compound of *nacht* and *brond*, cf. s.vv.

nachtthiuvethe subst. f. 'nightly theft' PIE
Compound of *nacht* and *thiuvethe*, cf. s.vv.

nahwedder pron., conj. 'none of both, nor' PIE
Compound of *na-* and *hwedder*, cf. s.vv.

nammer- adv. 'never' PIE
In: *nammermar*.

Compound of *ne I.* and **ammer*, cf. s.vv.
NB. OFris. *ammer* is not attested in R₁.
see also: *nammermar*

nammermar adv. 'never again' PIE
Compound of *nammer-* and *mar*, cf. s.vv.

nanen pron.indef. 'no, none' PIE
Compound of *na-* and *nen*, cf. s.vv.

nas 'was not' adv. + vb. PIE
Syntagn containing *ne I.* and 3s pret. *was* (cf. *wesa I.*). The negative adverb *ne I.* is contracted with the following verb (Boutkan 1996: 50, 51, 102, with references).

nat 1 subst. m. 'companion or comrade (in arms)' PIE[?]
OFris. also *-nāt-a* (m) 'companion' in compounds.
This variant follows the weak declination (cf. the variants below in OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu.). The presence of the prefix **gi-* in PFris. is not always directly demonstrable here (see below). This word always appears without this prefix in the OFris. dialects. Possibly this can be caused by aphacresis (van Helten 1890: 69, 70).

●PFris: **(gi-)nāt*

ON *nautr*, OE *ge-nēat*, OS *gi-nōt*, OHG *gi-nōz*, (*gi-nōzo*), MHG *gi-nōz*, (*ge-nōze*), MLG *ge-nōt*, *nōt* (*ge-nōte*), MDu. *ge-noot*, (*ge-note*), 'companion'.

In Germanic we also find the following derivations of the root **neut-*:

**neut-a-* (str. vb. II): Goth. *niutan* 'attain, enjoy, obtain, catch', ON *njóta*, OE *nēotan*, OS *niotan*, OHG *niozan*, MHG *niezen*, (*ge-niezen*), MLG *ge-nēten*, *nēten*, MDu. *genecten*, *genecten* 'enjoy', also OFris. *niata*;

**neut-a-* (adj.): OHG *in giniuz* 'without disadvantage';

**neut-a-* (m): ON *njótr* 'user';

**neut-i-* (adj.): ON *nýtr* 'useful, excellent';

**naut-a-* (n): cf. s.v. *nat 2*;

**naut-ja-* (n): ON *neyti* 'use, profit';

**naut-eja-*: ON *neyta* 'to use', also OFris. *nēta*;

- *naut-nō- (f): ON *nautn* 'use';
- *naut-islō- (f): ON *neyzla* 'use';
- *nut-a- (n): ON *not* 'use';
- *nut-i- (m): OHG *nuz* 'use';
- *nut-i- (adj.): cf. s.v. *nette* 2;
- *nut-ō- (f): OE *notu* 'use', also OFris. *note* 'profit';
- *nut-jō- (f): ON *nyt*, OE *nytt*, 'use';
- *nut-on- (m): Goth. *nuta* 'fisher, catcher';
- *nut-jon- (m): ON *erfe-nyte* 'heir'.

The original meaning of the root *neut- is 'to use'. The meanings 'useful' and 'useful animals' have been directly derived from the original meaning. A 'companion' was probably a 'fellow user'.

●PGMC: *(ga-)naut-a-

● No PIE etymology

Related to these Germanic forms are Lith. *naudà, náuda* 'useful, advantage', Latv. *naūda* 'money' (< *noud-). The Baltic accentuation points to a *d. OCS *nuta* 'cattle', ORuss. *nuta* 'horned cattle' are probably borrowed from PGmc. [Pokorny 1959: 768]. The limited distribution of this root in Germanic and Baltic is suspicious. We are probably dealing with a North-West European substratum word.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302, 307, 309; Seebold 1970: 361; Walter 1911: 26

nat 2 subst. m. 'animal' Gmc.

OFris. also *naet* (As E₃ I, 445).

This is an orthographic variant which suggests a long vowel, cf. Sjölin (1969: 20).

●PFRIS: *nāt

ON *naut* 'cattle, cow', OE *nēat* 'milk-, beef-cattle, animal, ox', OHG *nōz* 'cattle', MHG *nōz* 'pack-or riding-animal' (*nōziche*), MDu. *noot* 'cattle; cow or ox', cf. also OS *notil* 'draught animal, cattle'.

●PGMC: *nauta-

Cf. s.v. *nat* 1.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 307

-nath adj. 'bold, daring' Gmc.

In personal name *Rednath*.

In compounds *-nōth (< *nanþ-) originally weakened to *-nath* (van Helten 1890: 44; Siebs 1901: 1264; Steller 1928: 9).

●PFRIS: *-naþ

OE *-nōþ*, OS *-nāth, -nōth*, OHG *-nand*, 'brave' (NL), cf. also

*nanþ-a-: OE *nōþ* (f.) 'bravery; loot', OHG *nand* (m.) 'bravery'. OFris. *neth* (= /nēth/) 'bravery, courage, strength, zeal, care' can be found in B₁ 87, 10 and B₂ 88, 12 Dp *mith nethum* (van Helten 1906: 289, 1907a: 247, Walter 1911: 35, Holthausen 1925: 76). The presence of the prefix *gi- in PFr. is

not clearly present. This is possibly caused by aphaeresis (van Helten 1890: 69, 70).

*nanþ-ja-: MHG *genende(c)* 'fervent', MLG *genent* 'risky undertaking', MDu. *genent, genende, geninde* 'boldness, courage' (also adj. *genende, geninde* 'bold, brave').

*nenþ-a-: can possibly be found in OHG 3s pret. *ginand* 'have courage'. There is some doubt about these forms, cf. Seebold (1970: 359).

*nanþ-eja-: Goth. *ana-nanþjan* 'take courage', ON *nenna* 'be willing, feel disposed', OE *neþan* 'dare, risk', OS *nāthian* 'venture, dare', OHG *nendan*, MHG *nenden*, 'take courage', MLG *nēden, genenden* 'dare', MDu. *nenden, genenden, geninden, genieden, geneden* 'dare, risk'; also OFris. *nētha (bi-)*.

●PGMC: *nanþ-a-

● No clear IE etymology

A possible cognate outside Germanic is OIr. *néit* 'battle' (< *nant-i-) [Pokorny 1959: 755]. The limited distribution of the root *nant- suggests that we might be dealing with word of substrate origin. The connection to Toch. A *nati* 'might, strength' is unclear, cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *anananþjan*.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 359; Walter 1911: 35, 77

nathe subst. f. 'rest, mercy, help' Gmc.

OFris. also *nēthe, nēde* (~ *nāde*), *nad*

OFris. *nēthe* is etymologically correct. OFris. *nāthe (genāthe)* is probably borrowed from MLG (cf. Siebs 1901: 1216, van Helten 1907a: 243). The spelling of OFris. *nēde (nāde)* suggests [d] (van Helten 1890: 98, 99). In the course of the Old Frisian period the phonemic /p/ merged with /d/ and disappeared, cf. Sjölin (1969: 26, 29). For OFris. *nad* in E₃ IV, 5, cf. s.v. *ned*.

●PFRIS: *nēþi

ON *náð* (← OS, MLG), OS (*gi-*)*nātha*, OHG *gi-nāda, gnāda*, MHG *ge-nāde, gnāde*, MLG *ge-nāde*, ODu. *gi-nātha gi-nāthi*, MDu. *ge-nade, -nede, -naeye, -naed, gnade*, 'mercy', cf. also

cf. Goth. **nīþan* 'help, support', only 2s opt. pres. *nīþais*.

●PGMC: *ga-nē₁þō-

● No clear etymology.

The Germanic forms have been connected with Gr. *onínē-mi, onína-men* 'being useful, help', Skt. *nā-thá-* (n) 'protection' (and possibly OIr. *snád-* 'to protect'). But the Greek forms point to *h₃neh₂-, whereas the Germanic forms point to *nēt-, possibly *h₃eh₁t-. The fact that the Germanic forms have no other cognates suggests that we might be dealing with a substratum word.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 360; Walter 1911: 67, 77

see also: *ned, nathelik*

nathelik adj. 'reasonable' Gmc.

Adjectival compound of *nathe* and the adjectival-suffix *-lik* 2, cf. s.vv.

nawet 1 negative adv. 'not, nothing' PIE

Ofris. also *nauwet*

Cf. s.v. *nawet 2*.

nawet 2 pron. indef. 'not, nothing' PIE

Compound of *ne 1*. and *a(u)wet*, cf. s.vv.

ne 1 adv., conj. 'not; nor; or' PIE

Ofris. also *nī, ny, nj, en*

— *ne, nī* (adverb): *nī* is probably the stressed form (van Helten 1890: 71).

— *ne, nī* (conjunction): Here the distribution is unclear (van Helten 1890: 71).

Possibly, stress has played some role too, cf. Boutkan (1996: 106).

For OFris. *en*, cf. s.v. Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: 75). In MHG and MDu. a comparable metathesis has occurred, cf. von Richthofen (1840: 944).

Ofris. *ny, nj* are orthographic variants, cf. Sjölin (1969: 20).

●PFRIS: **nī*

Goth. *nī*, ON *ne*, OE *nī, ne*, OS *nī, ne*, OHG *nī, ne*, MHG *ne, nī, en, in*, MLG *ne*, ODu. *nī, ne*, MDu. *ne, en*, 'not'

●PGMC: **ne*

●PIE: **ne*

POKORNY: 756-758

Skt. *ná*, Lith. *ne*, OCS *ne* 'not', Lat. *ne-que* 'and not', Hitt. *natta* 'not'.

-ne 2 encl. pron. pers. 3 Asm 'him; refl. self' PIE

cf. s.v. *hi*.

Lit: Boutkan 1996: 87

-ne 3 encl. pron. dem.; art. def. Asm PIE

cf. s.v. *thi 2*.

Lit: Boutkan 1996: 91-2

nebba wk. vb. 1 'have not' PIE

Compound of *ne 1*. and *hebba*, cf. s.vv.

The negative adverb *ne* is contracted with the following verb.

Lit: Boutkan 1996: 50-1, 102, 120-1

ned subst. f. 'force, violence, act of violence; danger, anxiety; distress, suffering, fear; need' PIE[?]

Ofris. also *nēd-c, need, noet, nad*.

The inflexional ending *-e* of *nēd-e* comes from the \bar{o} -stems (Steller 1928: 39-40). OFris. *need* (Jus) is an orthographic variant of *nēd-e*. OFris. Ds *noet* (Jus XVIII, 19) is probably borrowed from MDu. OFris. *nad* has two interpretations of (E₃ IV, 5) (von Richthofen 1840: 949; van Helten 1907a: 241, 243):

(1) this form can be reconstructed as **naupai-* like a number of Mod. Fris. forms, e.g.: *nōd* (Saterland), *nūced*, *nȳd* (North-Frisian, Hall. and Mor.), *nē* (Hindelopen). These are assumed to be paradigmatic variants with or without i-mutation (Siebs 1901: 1233); Kern 1924: 50; Holthausen and Hofmann

1985: 74);

(2) *nad* as a dialect form (E₃) of *nāthe* with *-d* (van Helten 1890: 99) and apocope of *-e* (van Helten 1890: 138; van Helten 1889: 264).

●PFRIS: **nēd*

Goth. *nauþs*, ON *nauð*, *nauðr*, OE *nēd* (*nēad-*), OS *nōd*, OHG *nōt(h)*, MHG *nōt*, MLG *nōt* 'distress', MDu. *noot*, *nood*, *noit* 'violence, distress'. Cf. also Goth. *ga-nawistron* 'bury' (< **nawi-* < **nh₂ui-*), Goth. *naus*, ON *nār*, OE *nē(o)* 'dead person' (< **nawis* < **nh₂uis*)

●PGMC: **nauþi-*, **naudi-*

●PIE: **neh₂u-ti-* [?]

POKORNY: 756

OPruss. *nautin* (As) 'distress' (< **nch₂u-ti-*). OCS *nuditi* (also secondary *nŕditi*) 'force' (< **neh₂ud-*, **nch₂ud^{h-}*), has a wrong dental.

ORuss. *navb* 'dead body', Lith. *nōve* 'death', *iš-nōvyti* 'destroy', Latv. *nāve* 'death', *nāvēt* 'the dead', OCS *unaviti* 'to tire' (all from **neh₂u-*). The accentuation in Latvian suggests the presence of a laryngeal (the Lithuanian circumflex is probably secondary). Russ. *nyt* 'hurt' (cf. OCS *unyti*) suggests **nuH-t-*. OIr. *naunae* 'famine, shortage' (< **naun-* < **nh₂u-*).

This root is only attested in a limited area (Balto-Slavic, Germanic, Celtic). This casts some doubt on the PIE origin of this root. For a discussion of these forms, see Schrijver (1991: 347).

see also: *nāthe*, *nedbende*, *nedbrond*, *nedmonda*, *nedraf*, *nedskininge*, *nedwere*, (*nedwiri*); *havedned*, *nedgia*

nedbende subst. n.(?), f.(?) 'violent fetter' PIE[?]

Compound of *ned* and *bende*, cf. s.vv.

nedbrond subst. m. 'dangerous fire' PIE[?]

Compound of *ned* and *brond*, cf. s.vv.

nedgia wk. vb. 2 'rape, violate, do violence to' PIE[?]

OFris. also *nēdigia*

In OFris. *nēdigia*, the mid vowel *-i-* has undergone syncope after a long root syllable (van Helten 1890: 58, 59, 60).

●PFRIS: **nēd(i)gia*

ON *nauðga* 'force, invite', OHG *nōtegōn*, MHG *nōtigen* 'invite', MLG *nōdigen* 'invite, force', MDu. *nudigen* 'force; invite'

●PGMC: **naudigōjanaN*

Cf. s.v. *ned*.

Lit: Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: 75 s.v. *nēdigia*

nedmonda subst. m. 'rape' PIE[?]

Compound of *ned* and *monda*, cf. s.vv.

nedraf subst. n. 'violent robbery' PIE[?]

Compound of *ned* and *raf*, cf. s.vv.

nedskininge subst. f. '(proof of) force majeure' PIE[?]

Compound of *ned* and *-skininge*, cf. s.vv.

nedwere subst. f. 'self defence' PIE[?]

Compound of *ned* and *-were* 3., cf. s.vv.

The R₁ doublet *nēdwere* and *nedwiri* is caused by i-mutation of *nēdwiri* (< *a with i-mutation). The Riustringer manuscripts often display an *i* instead *e* < *a with i-mutation (cf. van Helten 1890: 31). Possibly the phonetic realisations of /e/ and /i/ were in some cases so close that they became confused orthographically (cf. Boutkan 1996: 23-4, 26-7).

see also: *ned*, *were* 3.

nedwiri subst. f. 'self-defence' PIE[?]

cf. s.v. *nedwere*

neil subst. m. 'nail (on finger or toe); nail' PIE

OFris. also *neyl*, *nīl*

OFris. spelling *neyl* is an orthographic variant, cf. Sjölin 1969: 21. In R₁ we also find: Dpm *neylon*, cf. Boutkan (1996: 16). About the doublet *neil*, *nīl* two things can be said:

(1) The contraction to *-ī-* (< *e + j*) is a typical feature of the R dialects (van Helten 1890: 3, Siebs 1901: 1188, 1189, 1301, Steller 1928: 10, 33, Buma 1961: 48);

(2) the variation between both forms in R₁ can be explained phonetically (van Helten 1907a: 246): *-ei-* in a closed syllable (e.g. Ns *neil* R₁ VI, 81), *-ī-* in an open syllable (e.g. Ap *nila* R₁ XIV, 41).

There has been analogical levelling within the paradigm.

●PFRIS: *neil

ON *nagl* 'fingernail', OE *næg(e)l*, OS *nagal*, OHG *nagal*, MHG *nagel*, MLG *nāgel*, MDu. *nagel*, *nehel*, *nachgel*, 'nail', cf. also

ON *nagli* 'nail', Goth. *ga-nagljan* 'nail on'.

●PGMC: *nagla-

●PIE: *h₃nog^{wh}-lo-

POKORNY: 780

Lat. *ungula* 'claw' (< *ong^h-lā- < *h₃ng^h-), Lat. *unguis*, OIr. *ingen* 'nail', Skt. *nakhā-* 'nail' (with *-kh-* instead of *-gh-*), Gr. *ónuks* 'nail, claw', OCS *nogъ-tъ* Lith. *nagù-tis* 'fingernail'. A discussion of the forms can be found in Schrijver (1991: 62-3).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *nil*, *ogneil*

nella verb. anom. 'want not' PIE

Compound of *ne I.* and *willa*, *wella I.*, cf. s.vv.

The negative adverb *ne* is contracted with the following verb (Boutkan 1996: 50-1, 102, 145-6).

nema str. vb. IV 'take' PIE [?]

cf. s.v. *nima*.

see also: *nima*, *upnema*

nen pron. indef. 'none' PIE

Compound of *ne* I. and *en*, cf. s.vv.

nertha str. verb. III 'not grow or become' PIE

Compound of *ne* I. and *wertha*, cf. s.vv.

The negative adverb *ne* is contracted with the following verb (Boutkan 1996: 50-1, 102, 132).

-nese suffix '-hood' PIE

In (verbal abstracts): *heftnese* 'captivity', *skipnese* 'shape, form', *urdemnese* 'damnation' (cf. s.vv., Ahlsson 1960: 119, 122).

OFris. also *-nisse* (o.a. Jus), *nesse*, *-nese*, *-ens(e)*, (*-enze*); *-nes*, *-nis*, *-inse* (Ahlsson 1960: 109).

The variation between *-nisse/-nes(s)e* is not altogether clear (Ahlsson 1960: 109): *-i-* may come from assimilation of the inflexional ending * \bar{I} , (**-nassī*); whereas *-e-* is possibly caused by a-mutation or weakening of the unstressed *-i-*.

OFris. *-ens(e)*, *-inse* arose by metathesis of the *-n-* or (what Ahlsson 1960: 109, 110, with reff. considers more likely) by syncope of the unstressed vowel in *-nes(e)* > *-nse* > *-ens(e)*, *inse* (cf. MLG *-(e)use*).

●PFRIS: **-nissi*

Goth. *-assu-* (< *-at-tu-*), possibly abstracted from verbs on *-atjan* (de Vries 1992: 474; also Ahlsson 1960: 108, with reff.) and was extended to *-inassu-*, OE *nes(s)*, *-nys(s)* *-nis(s)* (f), OS *-nussi(a)*, *-nissi(a)*, *-nessi(a)* (f), OHG *-nassi*, *-nessi*, *-nissi*, *-nussi* (n); *-nissa*, *-nissi*, *-nessi*, *-nussi* (f), MLG *-nisse*, *-nesse*, *-nüsse* (f/n); *-(e)nse*, MDu. *-nisse*, *-nesse* (f/n).

de Vries (1992: 474) assumes for WGmc. **-(n)issu-* and **-(n)ussu-*. There is a possibility that these were just orthographic variants that are pronounced as a schwa (the original vowel **a* could be weakened to schwa in mid-syllable).

●PGMC: **-niss-ia-*, *-nass-ia-*

●PIE: **-tu-*

The Germanic forms probably contain the suffix **-tu-* with which the Indo-European verbal abstracts were made. Lat. *vīsum* 'to see' (supinum) < **uid-tu-m*.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 108-24

nest adj. 'nearest, next' Gmc.

OFris. also Apm *nāste* (F XII, 7).

There are two theories about this form:

(1) Gmc. **æ* > (?PFRis.) (**)ā* > *ē*. OFris. *nāst* would then be an archaic form

(van Helten 1890: 17). It is uncertain whether we might assume an intermediate stage *ā. Therefore, this explanation seems unlikely, cf. s.v. *ni* 2.

(2) van Helten (1907a: 141, 142) assumes that the root vowel of OFris. *nāst* is borrowed from the original comparative ***nāhor* (cf. s.v. *niar*). A borrowing from MLG or MDu. is not impossible either.

Superlative formation to *nei*, cf. s.vv.

●PFRIS: **nēst*

ON *nēstr*, OE *nēhst*, *nēst*, OS *nāhist*, OHG *nāhist*, *nāhōst*, MHG *nāhest*, *nāhst*, *nōhest*, *nō(h)st*, MLG *nēgest*, *neyst*, *nā(g)est*, *nāst*, *nōgest*, MDu. *naest*, *nest*, 'close by, near'

●PGMC: **næh^wista-*, **næh^wōsta-*

Cf. s.v. *ni* 2.

net adv. + vb. 'know not' PIE

Compound of *ne* I. and 3s pres. ind. *wet* (cf. *wita*, *weta*), cf. s.vv.

The negative adverb *ne* is contracted with the following verb (Boutkan 1996: 50-1, 102, 142).

-netha adv. 'under, below' PIE

In: *binetha* prep. with D. 'under, lower than; less, less serious than'.

OFris. also *binitha* with original root-vocalism, *binida*, *binia*, *binethe*, *benida*. OFris. *binetha* is probably due to a-mutation of the root vowel (van Helten 1890: 10-1). This spelling of OFris. *binida* suggests a [d] pronunciation. In the course of the Old Frisian period, /b/ merged with /d/, cf. Sjölin (1969: 26, 29). OFris. *binia* (Jus MS *bynia*, *bijnja*, *bynja*, *bynnya*) shows a phonetic loss of *-th-*, cf. Sjölin (1969: 28). In OFris. *binethe*, the variation of *-a* with *-e* suggests a schwa (cf. Sjölin 1969: 22). The prefix *be-* of OFris. *benida* is an unstressed variant of *bi-*, cf. van Helten (1890: 71).

●PFRIS: **binitha*

ON *ncðan* 'from below, beneath', OE (*bc-*)*ncōðan*, (*bc-*)*niðan* 'under, beneath', OS *nithana* 'from below', OHG *nidana* 'below', MHG *niden*, *nidene* 'below', MLG *benēden*, *benedden(e)*, *nēden*, *nēdene*, *nedden(e)* 'under', MDu. *beneden*, *benede* 'below, from below; lower than, less than', *nedene*, *ncden* 'going below, below'

●PGMC: *(*bi-*)*niþana-*

●PIE: **ni-to-no-*

POKORNY: 312-313

This is a derivation of PIE **ni-* 'down' (Skt. *ní* 'down(ward)').

neththere adv. + vb. + pron. 'has he not' PIE

Compound of *ne* I., 3s pres. ind. *heth* (under *hebba*) and Nsm 3s postclitic pers. pron. *-ere* 2. (under *hi*), cf. s.vv.

neththere contains the geminate rule: *þ* > *thth*/__*ere* (Nsm 3s, personal pronoun, postclitic), cf. Boutkan (1996: 49, 88). The negative adverb *ne* is contracted with the following verb (Boutkan 1996: 50-1, 102, 118).

netskredene subst. f. 'cutting open of the peritoneum' Gmc.

Compound of *net* (under *nette* 1.) and *skredene*, cf. s.vv.

This compound (R₁ VI, 91, 97) may contain **net* (n) (e.g. ON *net* 'net'), cf. von Richthofen (1840: 949) and van Helten (1907a: 248). However, we also might be dealing with *nette* 1. which has undergone apocope. The other Old Frisian dialects only display the form *nette* in compounds.

nette 1 subst. f. 'omentum, caul (peritoneum)' Gmc.

Ofris. also *nitte*, possibly also **net*, cf. s.v. *netskredene*.

Ofris. *nitte* can be found in: F XI, 428; Jus XXVIII, 302: Nsf *nittascredene*; H IX, 84 Dsf *nitta*. The regular reflex of **a* through i-mutation is *e*. Therefore, van Helten (1907a: 248) assumes the Gmc. reconstruction **net-jō-* (cf. also Walter 1911: 21), which is unlikely, because next to Gmc. **nat-*, and **nōt-* we must reconstruct **net-*, which is only present in Old Frisian. The assumption that OFris. *e* < **a* + i-mutation outside the R-dialects was subject to incidental raising is unnecessary (cf. van Helten 1890: 31). The phonetic realisations of /*e/* and /*i/* were in some cases so close that they became confused orthographically.

●PFRIS: **nett(i)*

ON *netja* 'caul, omentum', OE *nette*, cf. also

**nat-ja-*: Goth. *nati*, ON *net*, OE *nett*, OS *net*, *netti*, OHG *nezzi*, MHG *netze*, *nette*, MLG *nette*, *net*, MDu. *net*, *nette*, 'net';

**nōt-ō-*: ON *nót* 'large net' (f.).

●PGMC: **nat-jō-*

● No clear IE etymology

Possible cognates are: Lat. *nōdus* 'knot', *nassa* 'basket with a small neck' (< **nad-t-ā-*), OIr. *nascim* 'tie up' (< **nad-ske/o-*). The root possibly contains a laryngeal **noHd-* > **nōd-*, **nHd-* > **nad-*. The assumption that OIr. *nessa* (comp.), *nessaf*, 'propior, proximus', Osc *nessimae* Nsf 'proximae' are cognate is not very attractive. These forms are reconstructed as **ned-* without a laryngeal. Moreover, the semantic relationship is not obvious. Words like Mod. Du. *nestel* 'belt' (< **ned-sto-*; also forms with **ned-sko-* are attested) cannot be grouped together with these forms when one considers their reconstruction (again without a laryngeal). The Germanic forms and their possible cognates are also discussed by Schrijver (1991: 125, 481) and Pokorný (1959: 758-759). Lehmann (1986: 263-4) suggests that the problematic reconstruction and semantics could point to a substrate origin for the Germanic forms from **nat-*, **nōt-*.

Lit: Griepentrog 1995: 454-458; Walter 1911: 21

see also: *netskredene*

nette 2 adj. 'useful' Gmc.

The *-e* in this form is borrowed from the *ja*-stems. In the *ja*-stems *-e* disappears without a trace [van Helten 1890: 161, 162].

●PFRIS: *nett(i)

Goth. *un-nuts* 'useless, foolish', ON *-nytr* (adj. in compounds like *málnytr* 'milkgiving'), OE *nytt*, OS *nutti*, OHG *nuzzi*, MHG *nütze*, MLG *nütte*, 'useful', MDu. *nutte*, 'useful, profitable', cf. also

ON *nytr* 'useful' (< *eu)

●PGMC: *nutja-

cf. s.v. *nat* 1.

ne were conj. 'but' PIE

Syntaxm of *ne* 1. and 3s opt. pret. *were* (cf. *wesa* 1.), cf. s.vv.

ni 1 adj. 'new' PIE

Ofris. *nja*, *nie*, *nige* (also *nye*).

Instead of *nja*, *nie* one would expect **niuwa*, *niuwe* (van Helten 1890: 28, 78; van Helten 1907a: 249). These OFris. forms may be analogically derived from *nī*- + inflexion. The root *nī*- is based on Nsmf, NAsn **nī* (van Helten 1907a: 249; cf. also van Helten 1890: 78).

●PFRIS: *nī(-)

Goth. *niujis*, ON *nyr*, OE *nīewe*, *nīwe*, *nīowe*, *nēowe*, OS *niuwi*, *nīgi*, OHG *niuwi*, MHG *niuwe*, *nūwe*, *nīwe*, *niu*, MLG *nīe*, *ney(e)* *nīwe*, *nūwe*, ODu. *nūwi*, MDu. *nīeuwe*, *nīewe*, *nīwe*, *nuwe*, *nouwe*, *nié*, *ny*, 'new'

●PGMC: *neuja-

●PIE: *neuios (~ *neuos)

POKORNY: 769

Skt. *nāvya*-, Lith. *naūjas*, 'new' and Skt. *nāva*-, Av. *nauua*-, Gr. *néos*, Lat. *novus*, OLith. *navas*, OCS *novъ*, Hitt. *nēwa*- 'new'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Walter 1911: 34

ni 2 adv. 'authorized, rightful claim to' Gmc.

Ofris. also *nei*, *ney*, *nā*

R₁ *nī* is phonetically developed from OFris. *nei*, *ney* (van Helten 1907a: 246).

Several theories have been proposed to explain OFris. *nā* 'after' (prep.):

(1) Gmc. **æ* > (?PFRis.) **ā* > OFris. *ē*: OFris. *nā* could be an older stage (van Helten 1890: 16, 17), but this is very uncertain. Also cf. OFris. *nāst* s.v. *nest*.

(2) OFris. *nā* < Gmc. **nēh*^w-a- (cf. Goth. *nehv*). Gmc. **æ* > *ā*/_h^(w) (van Helten 1907a: 141, 142). It is possible that OFris. *nā* represents a loan. OFris. *nā* is only attested in Old East Frisian, it could have been borrowed from MLG.

●PFRIS: *nei

OHG *nāhi* (adj.) 'near', *nāho* (adv.) 'near', MHG *nāhe* (adj.-adv.) 'near', ODu. *nāio* 'almost', cf. also

**nēh*^w-a-: Goth. *nehv*, ON *nā*, OE *nēah*, OS *nāh*, OHG *nāh*, MHG *nāch*, *nā*, MLG *nā*, MDu. *na*, 'near'.

●PGMC: **nē*₁*h*^w-ia-

● No clear etymology

Gmc. **næh*^w- < **nēk*^w- is, considering the final consonant, probably not related to **h₂nek*- 'reach' (unless **h*^w < **kw*). Semantically this connection is not very attractive either [Pokorny 1959: 316-8]. Other solutions are even less likely (Pokorny 1959: 40: compound < **n*- + *h₃ek*^w-?). This form is difficult to explain from an Indo-European perspective, but a North-West-European substrate origin is unlikely, too, due to its semantics.

see also: *niar*, *nest*

ni 3 conj 'neither, nor' PIE

cf. s.v. *ne 1*.

niar adv. comp. 'nearer; more entitled to legally' Gmc.

OFris. also *niar*, (*nyar*, *nijar*), *nier* (*nyer*), and Jus *niaer* (*nyaer*).

The later spelling gives an indication of length. The diphthong *iā* is derived from *īa* (van Helten 1890: 17).

Comparative formation to *ni 2*., cf. s.vv.

●PFRIS: **nīar*

PFRis. **nīar* < **nēhor*. van Helten (1907a: 142) saw the **ē* as an analogy of the superlative **nēhist*. Gmc. **ē*₁ could have become *ā* before *-ho-* (van Helten 1907a: 141).

OE *nīar*, OHG *nāhōr*, MHG *nāher*, *nāar*, MLG *nēger(e)*, MDu. *naer*, *nar* 'nearer', cf. also

**næh*^w*iz*: Goth. *nehvis* 'nearer', ON *nær* 'near, almost';

**næh*^w*izaz*: ON *nærr* 'close', OE *nīer* 'near'.

●PGMC: **nē*₁*h*^w*ōz-*

Cf. s.v. *nī 2*.

niga str. vb. I 'bend, bow, subject to' Gmc.

OFris. also *hnīga*

The consonant pair *hn* is often simplified in the anlaut to a single *n* (Steller 1928: 33).

●PFRIS: **hnīga*

Goth. *hneiwan*, ON *hníga*, OE *hnīgan*, OS *hnīgan*, OHG (*h*)*nīgan*, MHG *nīgen*, MLG *nīgen*, MDu. *nigen*, 'bow', cf. also

**hnaig*^w-*a-*: Goth. *hnaiws* 'lowly, humble', OE *hnāh* 'bent down, humble';

**hnaig*^w-*eja-*: Goth. *hnaiwjan*, ON *hneigja*, OE *hnægan*, OS *gi-hnēgian*, OHG (*h*)*neigen*, MHG *neigen*, MLG *nē'igen*, MDu. *neigen*, *negen* 'incline, bend';

**hnig*^w-*æ-*: OE *hnigian* 'bend, bow down';

**hnig*^w-*nō-*: ON *hnigna* 'to begin to sink, decline';

**hnik*-*ja-*: OHG *nicchen*, MHG *nicken*, MLG *nicken*, MDu. *nicken* 'bend, nod'.

●PGMC: **hneig*^w*anaN*

● No clear IE etymology

Possibly Lat. *cōniveō*, *-ēre* 'closing the eyes' is a cognate (Pokorny 1959: 608).

The divergent consonantism of the “intensive” formation *hnik(k)-ja- is striking. A change of *g^w / *k cannot be explained from PIE. Also the limited distribution (Germanic-Italic) suggests that we are dealing with a substratum word. Moreover *hneip- is often considered to be a variant, cf.

*hneip-a-: ON *hnipenn* ‘to be downcast, droop’ part. pret., cf. Noreen (1923: 289);

*hneip-ō-: ON *hnipa* ‘lose heart, become discouraged’;

*hncip-nō-: ON *hnipna* ‘to become downcast, to droop’. Usually this is connected with Lith. *knimbù, knibtì* ‘collapse’. The absence of lengthening by Winter’s Law suggests the reconstruction *kneib^h- vs. *kneib- to which Germanic points. A change of (labio-)velar / labial is relatively frequent in non-IE words, cf. Beekes (1996: 232, with ref.). The whole complex is thus likely to be of non-IE origin.

Lit: Jacobs 1899: 59-64; Seebold 1970: 266-7

nigun num. card. ‘nine’ PIE

cf. s.v. *niugun*

nil subst. m. ‘nail (on a finger or a toe)’ PIE

cf. s.v. *neil*

nima str. vb. IV ‘take, take in possession; grab; do violence to, deflower, rape; marry; take away (from), deprive, take possession of; receive; accept’ PIE[?]

Ofris. also *nyma, nymma, nime, nema*

The first two are orthographic variants: *nyma*, /i/ is written as <y> (Sjölin 1969: 20). The geminate -mm- in Ofris. *nymma* (Jus) points to a short root-vowel in OWfris. (Siebs 1901: 1264). Ofris. *nime* displays vowel reduction (van Helten 1890: 217). In R₁ both *nema* and *nima* are attested. Ofris. *nima* probably borrowed the vowel from the 2 / 3s pres. ind. (*nimis, *nimip) (Siebs 1901: 1315; Boutkan 1996: 24). An incidental raising of e before a nasal is also a possibility (Boutkan 1996: 24; cf. also Siebs 1901: 1155).

●PFRIS: *nema

Goth. *niman*, ON *nema*, OE *nima*, OS *neman, neman*, OHG *neman*, MHG *nemen*, MLG *nēmen*, MDu. *nemen* ‘take’, cf. also

*nem-an- (m): OE *nēd-niomma* ‘rapist’, OHG *aba-nema* ‘servant of the state’ (‘employee’);

*num-i- (m): *fore-nyme* ‘praesumptio’;

*num-an- (m): ON *her-nume* ‘prisoner of war’, OE *icferc-numa* ‘heir’, OHG *sigi-nomo* ‘victor’ Ofris. *erfnoma* ‘heir’;

*num-ōn- (f): ON *her-numa* ‘prisoner of war’;

*num-jan- (m): Goth. *arbi-numja* ‘heir’, OHG *nōt-numeo* ‘rapist’;

*num-ula- (adj.): OE *numol* ‘rapacious’;

*num-(f)ti- (f): Goth. *anda-numts* ‘acceptance’, OHG *numft* ‘acceptance’;

*num-us-an- (adj.): ON *full-nomsi* (hap.) ‘proficient’ and also: *full-nomi*;

*næm-a- (n): Goth. *anda-nem* 'reception', ON *nám* 'the taking; education', OE *nām* (← ON) 'plunder of property or land';

*næm-ō- (f): OHG *nāma* 'robbery', OFris. *ofnōme* 'capture';

*næm-i- (adj.): Goth. *anda-nems* 'pleasant', ON *auð-nœmr* 'having it easy', ON *net-nœmr* '(fish) caught in a net', OHG *nāmi* 'acceptable'.

●PGMC: *nemanaN

● No clear IE etymology

Two theories have been proposed for the origin of the Gmc. root *nem-:

(1) *nem- as a rhyme variant for *h₁em-: Lat. *emō*, -ere 'buy', OIr. *ar-fo-em* 'take, receive', Lith. *imù*, *iūti* 'take', OCS *imō*, *jēti* 'take' [Pokorny 1959: 310-311]. The resemblance between this root and the Germanic forms is striking, but the difference in the anlaut is unexplicable. Probably, these roots must remain separate.

(2) *nem- could be connected with forms that have a formal resemblance: Lat. *numerus* 'number' (< *nom-es-o-), Gr. *némō* 'give out', later 'rule' med. 'give oneself, feed' [Pokorny 1959: 763-764]. The difference in meaning when compared to the Germanic variants is problematic.

Especially noteworthy is Latv. *ņemt*, a contamination of **ņemt* (< *nem-) and *jemt* (< *h₁em-); this contamination would not have been possible if there was no semantic relation between these two components. Possibly the meaning of the root *nem- also shifted in Germanic from 'give out > take'.

Lit: Jacobs 1899: 95-8; Lendinara 1990: 301; Seebold 1970: 357-9

see also: ofnima

nis 'is not' PIE

Consists of *ne I.* and 3s pres. ind. *is* (s.v. *wesa I.*), cf. s.vv.

The negative adverb *ne* is contracted with the following verb (Boutkan 1996: 50-1, 102, 144).

nith subst. m 'hatred, feud' Gmc.

OFris. also *nit*, *nid* [van Helten 1890: 98, 99], *nyd* (Codex Aysma), OFris. As *nijd* (Jus VIII, 9) [Sjölin 1969: 20], *nitht*, *nīd-e*

The As *nitht* (MS *nicht*) in F IV, 89 must be read as *nith* (Sjölin 1970-75: 254). The nominative *nīd-e* N 'wrath, anger' (MS *mide* Jus II, 4) is a secondary development (cf. MDu. *nide*).

●PFRIS: *nīth

Goth. *neiþ* 'envy, malice', ON *nīþ* 'slander, mockery', OE *nīt* 'enmity; war; hate; affliction', OS *nīth* 'zeal; hate, envy' OHG *nīd*, MHG *nīt*, MLG *nīt* 'envy', MDu. *nijt*, *nijd* 'effort; hate; combativeness; malice' (also *nide* 'passion')

●PGMC: *nīþa-

● No clear IE etymology

The best match to the Germanic forms is OIr. *nīth* 'battle' [Pokorny 1959: 760]. This form suggest the reconstruction *nīto- (possibly *nīH-to-). However, the limited distribution (Germanic-Celtic) makes a substrate origin more likely.

Other comparisons are unlikely (Lat. *niteō*, *-ēre* 'gleam, shine' diverges too much in meaning; W *nwyd* 'passion' is reconstructed as **nei-to-*).

niugun num. card. 'nine' PIE

In R₁ both *niugun* as *nigun* are attested. Since /u/ was preserved in the final closed syllable in R₁, the opposition of /i/ ~ /iu/ was phonetically neutralised before this /u/. Hence the spelling of <i> as well as <iu>, cf. Boutkan (1998).

Ofris. also *niugin*, *niugen*, *niogen*. (Ofris. *nioghen*, *niochen*, *nyoghen* are orthographic variants of *niogen*, cf. Steller 1928: 32).

In these forms the conditioning factor /u/ is no longer present, the /u/ being lost in a non-accentuated position (cf. also van Helten 1890: 56). The "u-mutation" was no longer phonetically active. The spelling is therefore always <iu> or <io>. A complete discussion on "labial mutation" can be found in Boutkan (1998).

●PFRIS: **nigun*

Goth. *niun*, ON *níu*, OE *nigon*, OS *nigun*, OHG *niun*, MHG *niun*, MLG *nēgen*, MDu. *negen*, *negene* (dialectic also *noegen*), 'nine'
OE, MDu. <**nigun* < verb. **niguni* < **neguni* (with i < e in the sequence *e-u-i). OS, MLG could also be derived from **negun*.

●PGMC: **newun*

●PIE: **h₁neun*

POKORNY: 318-319

Skt. *nāva*, Av. *nauua*, Gr. *cnná* (the geminate is problematic, cf. Beekes 1995: 213), Lat. *novem* (with *-m* instead of **-n*), OIr. *noí*, OCS *devętb* (< **h₁neunti-*, with *d-* under the influence of *desętb* 'ten').

see also: *nigun*, *niuguntin* (in: *niuguntinda*), *niugunda*

niugunda num. ord. 'ninth' PIE

Ofris. also *niugenda*, *niogenda* (Jus also *nyogende*).

Derivation (*-da* < **-to-*) of *niugun*.

niuguntinda num.ord. 'nineteenth' PIE

MS R₁ IV, 59: Nsn *nivtinde* (= *nivguntinde*).

Expected *-tinda*-formation (see *achtatin*) to the numeral 'nine', cf. s.v. *niugun*.

nivent adj. 'bottomless, unfathomable' PIE[?]

Concerning the semantics and the reading of this word there are several theories:

(1) Buma (1961: 221) gives (MS) Nsf *niuent* 'bottomless, groundless, unfathomable', cf. also Boutkan (1996: 77). Etymologically, the basis of this reading is unsatisfactory, because this form is a hapax of which only the meaning is clear.

(2) van Helten (1907a: 250) wants to read **niuuēle* (= *nivule*) 'bottomless, etc.': the scribe wrote <*n*> instead of <*u*> and <*t*> instead of <*l*>, and

replaced the <e>; this last assumption is unnecessary, cf. Sjölin (1963: 324) at (4).

(3) Holthausen (1924: 463) wants to read **niugende* 'ninth'. This is not very plausible due to the likely meaning of the word. von Richthofen (1840: 953) points to a comparable passage in the MLG parallel text: "*de grundlose helle*"; (4) Sjölin (1963: 320, 324) wants to read **nīwul* 'bottomless, etc.'. He follows van Helten (1907a: 250), but ignores his replacement of <e>.

Etymologically speaking, the reading of Sjölin (and that of Van Helten) are the most appealing. von Richthofen (1840: 953) already mentions the etymology below.

●PFRIS: **nīwul*

Cognates are only found in North Sea Germanic:

OE *nīhol*, *nīol*; *nīwel*, *nīwol*, *nēowel*, *nēowol*, *nēol* 'headlong, obscure, deep down' (also: *nēo(we)lnes* 'abyss' < **-nassu-*), MLG *nīle*, *nīl* 'headlong', MDu. *niel* 'thrown down or lying headlong', cf. also:

MLG *vornēlen*, *-nielen* *-nīlen*, 'destroy, diminish' (de Vries 1992: 776), MDu. *vernīelen*, *vernelen* 'ruin, destroy' (< **-janaN*). OE *nīhol* (, etc.) < **nīh^w-ula-*. The expected suffix *-ila-* (< **-cla-*) is replaced by *-ula-* (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 427; Schaffner 1996: 171).

●PGMC: **nīh^w-ela-* (, **nīg^w-ela-*)

● No clear IE etymology

There are two views on the origin of **nīh^w-ela-*:

(1) The form could be a l-derivation of PIE **nīk^w-* (< **nī-h₃k^w-*), cf. Skt. *nīcā* 'decent' (Pokorny 1959: 312-313; also Heidermanns 1993: 427). However, note that Gmc. **nīh^w-* has a short vowel (Schaffner 1996: 132, with reff.).

(2) The form could go back to **nī-k^we-ló-*, derived from PIE **nī* 'down' (Pokorny 1959: 312), see Schaffner's 1996 summary on page 170-171.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 427; Schaffner 1996: 131-171

noma subst. m. 'name' PIE

In Old Frisian we find the following forms: *-noma*: East Frisian and Codex Unia; *-nama*: West-Frisian (Jus and Codex Unia); *-namma*: West-Frisian (Jus: Ds *namma*, As *namma*, Ap *nammen*; Codex Unia: *namna*).

The variation in spelling between <o> and <a> in the West-Frisian forms suggests that we are dealing with the vowel [ā]. There was no separate grapheme for this vowel. The geminate spelling in OWFris. points to a short vowel (Siebs 1901: 1264). That the geminate originates from the Gp **namna* > *-mm-* is very unlikely (Siebs 1901: 1181). Everything points to the preservation of a rounded non-lengthened vowel in OWFris., cf. Boutkan (1997).

●PFRIS: **nāma*

Goth. *namo*, ON *naftu*, OE *nama*, *noma*, OS *namo*, OHG *namo*, MHG *name*, MLG *nāmc*, ODu. *namo*, MDu. *name*, *naem* 'name'

●PGMC: **nam-an-*

●PIE: *h₃nh₃-mn

POKORNY: 321

Skt. *náman*-, Hitt. *lāman* (*la-a-ma-an*) (with dissimilation of *n- > l-), Lat. *nōmen*; Gr. *ónoma*, OIr. *ainm*, OCS *imę* 'name'. The PIE paradigm is reconstructed as follows: NAs *h₃neh₃-mn, Gs *h₃nh₃-mén-s, etc. A discussion of these forms can be found in Beekes (1987: 1-6).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

see also: nomia

nomia wk. vb. 2 'name, call' PIE

Ofris. also *namia*

For the vowel variation cf. *noma* ~ *nama* (s.v. *noma*). Ofris. also Jus XXV, 102 inf. pres. MS *ne'ya* (= *nenya* or *nemya*?) and Jus II, 2b 3s pret. ind. *nemde*. On the basis of these two forms, we can hardly assume a variant **nemia*. The orthography in Old West Frisian (Jus) <ae> and <oe> suggests a long root vowel.

●PFRIS: *nōmia

MHG *nuomen*, MLG *nōmen*, MDu. *noemen*, *nomen*, *nuemen* 'name' suggest a long root vocal (cf. Beekes 1987: 2). Cf. also

*namōjanaN: OE *namian*, OS *namōn*, OHG *namōn*, MHG *namen*, MDu. *namen*, 'name'.

●PGMC: *nōmōjanaN

Cf. s.v. *noma*.

see also: noma

north adv. 'north, northward' PIE[?]

Ofris. also *nord* (van Helten 1890: 98, 99), *noerth*, *noerd*.

In the course of the Old Frisian period, /p/ merged with /d/, cf. Sjölin (1969: 26, 29). The Old West Frisian forms *noerth*, *noerd* (Jus) suggest a long root vowel. Vowel lengthening before the tautosyllabic *rth* is generally assumed for East- and North Frisian (cf. Siebs 1901: 1200; Steller 1928: 11). Compare also the following forms: *nō^hdn* (Saterland), *nó^hardn* (North Frisian, Mor.), *noard* (Japicx) (cf. Siebs 1901: 1200). Normally, there is no lengthening in West Frisian. These forms are therefore likely to have been borrowed from MDu.

●PFRIS: *norþ

ON *norð*- 'north' (*norðr* 'due north'), OE *norþ*, OS *north* 'due north', OHG *nord*, *nort* 'the north', MLG *nōrt*- 'north', ODu. *north*- 'north', MDu. *nort*, *noort* 'in the north or to the north', cf. also

MHG *norden*, *nordent* 'from, in, to the north', MLG *nōrden* 'due north', Mod. Du. *noorden*

●PGMC: *nurþa-

●PIE: *nrto- [?]

POKORNY: 765-766

Gr. *nértēros* 'deeper, lower down', *nértē(n)* 'from below', *neirós* 'the lowest', Umbr. *nertru* 'sinistro', Osc *nertrak* 'a sinistra'.

In spite of the striking formal similarities, some reservations must be made due to the unclear semantic relationship between the Germanic and the other IE forms. The meaning 'north' is possibly caused by the notion that the sun was at its lowest point in the north whereas the south was its highest point, see Kluge (1995: 591).

Also Arm. *nerki'in* 'lower down' is derived from this root (Solta 1960: 356-358). However, this reconstruction is uncertain because the suffix of this form does not correspond to the above mentioned derivations. The etymology of Skt. *nāraka-* 'Hölle, Unterwelt' is unclear (Mayrhofer 1986: II 37).

see also: northhiri, northmon

northhiri subst. m. 'Northern army, Vikings' PIE[?]

Compound of *north* and *hiri* 1., cf. s.vv.

northmon subst. m. 'Northman, viking' PIE[?]

Compound of *north* and *mon*, cf. s.vv.

nosi subst. f. 'nose' PIE

Ofris. also *nosc*, *nosa*

Ofris. *nose* is the usual form. R₁ *nosi* suggests a short /o/. According to the vowel balance, -i follows a short root vowel. OFris. *nosa* is found in E₂ III, 81 (in E₃ I, 102 as As *nosa*). Two theories have been proposed to explain this variation:

(1) The spelling -a occurs more often than -e (van Helten 1890: 138, 148); this variation suggests a schwa pronunciation.

(2) This is the archaic form with -a < *-u (Siebs 1901: 1344; Steller 1928: 41). Outside R_{1,2} -e is always the reflex of the inflexional ending *-u (van Helten 1890: 50). Since -a can be simply explained as a spelling for schwa, the above mentioned sound law seems unnecessary.

●PFRIS: *nosi

OE *nosu* 'nose'; also OFris. *nosi* 'nose'. Likewise, MDu. *nuese*, *neuse* and *nose* (all with /ō/, cf. van Loey 1970: 49). With delabialisation: MDu. *nese* (cf. van Ginneken 1933: 88-9; Weijnen 1966: 57; Boutkan 1996: 27-8), cf. also

*nas-a-: Goth. *weinnas* 'drunk' is possibly a misspelling of **weinags* (cf. MHG *wīnic* 'drunk'), see Lehmann (1986: 400); ON *nos*, OE *nasu*, OS *nasa*, OHG *nasa*, MHG *nase*, MDu. *nase*, *naze* 'nose'. Also MLG *nāse* (next to *nāse*);

*nōs-on-, *nōs-ōn-: OE *nosa*, *nose* 'promontory, headland'.

●PGMC: *nus-ō-

Gmc. *nus- cannot be reconstructed as *nh₂-s- (for evidence for the laryngeal, see Lithuanian below). Possibly *nus- developed under the influence of the root(s) *neus-, *neuks- 'smel' [Pokorny 1959: 768, 769] (see also Griepentrog 1995: 325).

●PIE: *neh₂s-

POKORNY: 755

Skt. NDu. *nāsā* (< *neh₂-s-), GDu. *nasós* (< *nh₂-es-) 'nose', Lat. *nāres* (<

*neh₂-s-) 'nostrils, nose', Lith. *nósis* (< *neh₂-s-) 'nose', OCS *nosъ* (< *nh₂es-) 'nose'. The Lithuanian acute suggests a laryngeal, cf. Schrijver (1991: 143).

Lit: Fritz 1996: 1-20; Griepentrog 1995: 323-351; Lendinara 1990: 291

see also: *nostern*

nostern subst. n. 'nostril' PIE

Ofris. also *nosteren*

Ofris. *nostern* is a variant form with syncope (cf. van Helten 1890: 72).

●PFRIS: *nostir(i)n

MLG *nüster* (pl. -en), MDu. *noster*, 'nostril'. For Gmc. *nus-, cf. s.v. *nosi* [also Pokorny 1959: 768-769].

●PGMC: *nus-t(e)r-a- (< *nus-r-a-)

●PIE: *nh₂-es-ro-

POKORNY: 755

Outside Germanic, *nostern* can be compared to Lith. *nasraĩ* (pl.) 'mouth' (< *nh₂-es-r-), OCS *nozdrī* (pl.) 'nostrils' (cf. Aitzetmüller 1978: 43, 44).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 293; Walter 1911: 18, 77

see also: *nosi*

nu adv. 'now; from now on' PIE

Ofris. also *nv*

This is an orthographic variant (Sjölin 1969: 20). The adverb /nu/ probably became [nū] in a stressed position (van Helten 1890: 45).

●PFRIS: *nu, nū

Goth. *nu*, ON *nú*, OE *nu*, *nū*, OS *nu*, *nū*, OHG *nu*, *nū*, MHG *nū*, MLG *nū*, ODu. *nu*, MDu. *nu*, *nou*, *nuwe*, *noe* 'now'

●PGMC: *nu

●PIE: *nu(H)

POKORNY: 770

Skt. *nú*, *nū*, Lith. *nù*, 'now', Hitt. *nu* (conjunction) 'now; and', Toch. A *nu* Toch. B *no* (conjunction) 'now, but, also'; also Gr. *nūn*, Lat. *nunc*, 'now'.

Lit: Beekes 1995: 222

nune PIE

Compound of *nu* and *ne* I., cf. s.vv.

O

of 1 prep. 'of, from' PIE

Ofris. also *af*, *ef*

The form *ef* shows Ingvaeonic fronting of *a in stressed *af beside the originally unstressed form *of (van Helten 1890: 4). OWfris. *af* may represent Dutch influence.

●PFRIS: *of ~ ef

Goth., ON *af*, OE *æf*, *of*, OS *af*, OHG *ab*, *abe*, *aba*, MHG *ab*, *ap*, *abe*, MLG, MDu. *af*, *of* 'of', cf. also

adv. (prev.) *af(f)-: ON *af*, OE *of*, OHG *abe*, *aba*, *ab*, MHG *abe*, *ap*, *ab*, MLG *āve*, *af*, *of*, OFris. *of* (= *of* 2. q.v.), MDu. *ave*, *af(f)*, *of(f)* 'off'

•PGMC: *af

•PIE: *h₂epo

POKORNY: 53

Skt. *āpa*, Av. *apa*, Gr. *ápo*, *apó*, Lat. *ab* 'away from'

see also: fon

of 2 adv. 'off, hewn off, separated from the body'

cf. s.v. *of 1*.

ofbreka str. vb. IV 'sever, pull out' PIE

Compound of *of 2*. and *breka*, cf. s.vv.

offlecht subst. f. 'tearing off (of a nail) or punishment for it; skinning or punishment for it' Gmc.

Compound of *of 2*. and *-flecht 2.*, cf. s.vv.

ofgong subst. m. 'tearing off, sever, loss' PIE

Compound of *of 2*. and *gunga*, cf. s.vv.

ofledene subst. f. 'full responsibility of a leader during a blood feud raid; fine for unlawfull raid' Gmc.

Compound of *of 1*. and *-ledene*, cf. s.vv.

offive adj. 'lifless, dead' PIE

Compound of *of 1*. and *-live*, cf. s.vv.

ofnia cf. *ovonia*

ofnima str. vb. IV 'take away (from); prevent from' PIE

Compound of *of 2*. and *nima*, cf. s.vv.

ofsla str. vb. VI 'sever, hew off' Gmc.

Compound of *of 2*. and *sla*, cf. s.vv.

ofsnitha str. vb. I 'cut off' Gmc.

Compound of *of 2*. and *-snitha*, cf. s.vv.

ofsteta wk. vb. 1 'knock off, sever' PIE

Compound of *of 2*. and *steta*, cf. s.vv.

ofstonda str. vb. VI 'give up, renunciate' PIE

Compound of *of 2*. and *stonda*, cf. s.vv.

ogneil subst. m. 'mutilated nail, agnail' PIE

VI, 82 *og neil* must probably be read as *ongneil* (cf. Buma 1961: s.v. *ogneil*; cf. van Helten 1890: 85). On *-nīl* in R₂, cf. s.vv. *neil*, *nīl*.

The rise of the meaning 'Augenwinkel' must be attributed to a secondary development, viz. the confusion of the word under discussion here and the OFris.

equivalent of OE *ongnere*, *-nora* 'hirqui' (von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *ogneil*, etc.; also Holthausen 1924: 465-6, under reference to Heinertz; pace van Helten 1907a: 255, who assumes a diminutive formation *ongn- + *augila- 'das äugelein, insofern es die augenwinkelgegend ist'), which is not without formal complications.

●PFRIS: *āngneil

Compound of *ang- (cf. OFris. *angost*) and *neil*, q.v.

Also in OE *angnægl* 'paronychia'.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 263

ologia wk. vb. 2 'administer the extreme unction' LW

The remarkable second vowel is unclear; perhaps it is due to assimilation of the medial vowel to the preceding stressed *o* (van Helten 1907a: 255) or simply to a scribal error. Apparently, the *-g-* is an orthographical device to indicate a hiatus filler *-j-* (pace Van Helten loc. cit.); hence *olojja* < *oliⁱia beside *oliene* < *oliⁱene 'extreme unction'.

●PFRIS: *oloja < *olija

Denominative weak II verb of OFris. *olic* (beside *ele*) ← Lat. *oleum*.

Also in MHG *oleien*, *ol(e)n*, *öl(e)n*, MLG *ōli(g)en*, MDu. *oliēn*, *olen* 'id.', cf. Goth. *alew*, OE *cle*, OS *oli(g)*, OHG *ol(e)i*, MHG *ol(e)i*, *ol(e)*, *öl(e)*, MLG *ōlie*, *ōli*, *ōley*, *ōl*, MDu. *olei*, *oly*, *olic* 'oil'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *ologia* (cf. also *olic*, *oliene*, *ele*); Wollmann 1990: 533 as to *olie*

omma subst. m. 'breath' PIE

OFris. also *amma*

This OWFris. form shows the expected reflex *a* < PFRis. *o/_N.

●PFRIS: *omma

cf. s.v. *andern*.

on adv.; pref. 'at, in, upon' PIE

cf. sub a 4.

onawinna cf., s.v. *-awinna*

onbijen subst. m. 'beginning, commencement' Gmc.

Compound of *on* and *-bijen*, cf. s.vv.

onbijennna str. vb. III 'to begin, commence' Gmc.

Compound of *on* and *-bijenna*, cf. s.vv.

onbinda str. vb. III 'tie up, fasten' PIE

Compound of *on* and *binda*, cf. s.vv.

ond- pref. 'against' PIE

cf. s.v. *and I*.

ondhaved subst. n. 'mole, jetty, pier' Gmc.
Compound of *ond-* and *haved*, cf. s.vv.

Ondreus NP LW

Ondreusmisse subst. f. 'religious feast for st. Andread (30th nov.)'
Compound of *Ondreus* and *misse*, cf. s.vv.

ondwarde subst. n. f. 'answer, reply, defence' PIE
Compound of *ond* and *-warde*, cf. s.vv.

ondwardia wk. vb. 2 'respond, reply' PIE
Compound of *ond-* and a verbal derivation of *-warde*, cf. s.vv.

onfa str. vb. VII 'sieze (hold of), take possession of' PIE
Compound of *on* and *fa*, cf. s.vv.

onferd subst. f. 'taking into possession, appropriation' PIE
Compound of *on* and *ferd*, cf. s.vv.
see also: hiriferd

onfest adj. 'firm, attached, powerful, healthy' PIE
Compound of *on* and *-fest 2.*, cf. s.vv.
see also: frethofest

onfiuchta str. vb. III 'attack, combat' PIE
Compound of *on* and *fiuchta*, cf. s.vv.

ongost subst. m. 'fear' PIE
On the ending and historical interpretation of *ongosta*, cf. Boutkan (1996: 62) and van Helten (1890: 147).
OFris. also *ongest*, *angst*
The second vowel, originally PGmc. *u, could be weakened to /ə/ <e> or syncopated. The form *angst* shows the regular OWFris. reflex a < PFr. *o/_N.

●PFRIS: *ängust

OHG *angust*, MHG *angest*, MLG *angest*, *anxt*, MDu. *ang(e)st*, *ancst*, *anx(t)*, *anst*, *hanct*, *auxste* 'fear', cf. also the adjectival formations
Goth. *aggwus*, ON *øngr*, *øngr*, OE *enge*, OS *engi*, OHG *angi*, *engi*, MHG, MLG *enge*, OFris. *ong-* (cf. s.v. *ognil*), MDu. *enge*, *inge* 'narrow'

●PGMC: *angustu-

●PIE: *h₂eng^h-

POKORNY: 42-3

Skt. *amhú-* 'narrow', Gr. *ágkhō* 'to squeeze', Lat. *anguere* 'to oppress', Arm. *anjuk* 'narrow', OIr. *cum|ung*, Welsh *cyf|yng* < *h₂eng^h-. The medial vowel of the s-stem *h₂eng^h-c/os- (cf. Lat. *angustus* 'narrow', ON *angr* 'sorrow' < *h₂eng^h-os-) may have been influenced by the vowel *-u- of the adjective which resulted in PGmc. *angustu-; it may also be due to raising of medial *-a-

through a following *u (van Helten 1891).

see also: *ogneil*

oni prep. 'without, diminished with' PIE

Ofris. also *one, on, oen, an(e)*

The reconstruction of PFrís. is problematic. The Riustring form seems to be one of the very few exceptions of the vowel balance in absolute auslaut: one would expect either **ōne* or **ōni*. I think that we must read /*oni*/, i.e. an originally unstressed variant of earlier /*ōne*/, cf. Fivelgo *ōne*, OHG *āno*, which at a later stage received stress (cf. Kock 1904: 184; Boutkan 1996: 27). The final vowel could be dropped. The non-rounded vowel represents the OWFrís. Rückentwicklung of PFrís. **ō*/*o* before nasals to *ā*/*a*. The final vowel is at any rate remarkable as the other Gmc. dialects point to *-u, which is confirmed by IE evidence. Under further reference to the absence of i-mutation in OFrís. *ōni*, -e, van Helten (1907a: 263) concludes that the OFrís. final vowel cannot be original, but must be ascribed to the influence of the negation **ni*.

●PFRÍS: **ōni* ~ **oni*

As noted, the final vowel of the OFrís. form must represent a replacement of that in **ānu*:

ON *ón* (~ weakly stressed *án*), OS *āno*, OHG *ānu*, *āno*, *āna*, MHG, MLG *ān(e)*, ODu. *ana*, MDu. *aen, an(e)* 'without', cf. also

**āneu*: MHG *āniu* 'without';

**enu*: Goth. *inu* 'without'.

NB: Note that if we take the final vowel of OHG, ODu. form *ana* seriously (i.e. suggesting that it does not simply stand for /*ə*/), it could be coupled to OFrís. *ōni*, taking both forms as indications for a reconstruction **ānōN*; however, this reconstruction finds no support in IE.

●PGMC: **ānu*

●PIE: *(s)nh₁i ~ *(s)nh₁(e)u

POKORNY: 318

Lat. *sine*, OIr. *sain* < **snh₁i*. Gr. *áneu* < **nh₁eu*. See also Beekes (1990: 264-5).

The long vowel of Germanic is problematic; it requires the assumption of a lengthened grade **ēnh₁i*. However, the formal and semantic similarity with the other forms is obvious.

see also: *sunder*

onkeme, onkimi subst. m. 'entrance or penetration of a weapon' PIE

Compound of *on* and *-keme* or *-kimi*, cf. s.vv.

see also: *-kimi, koma, kuma*

onkimi cf., s.v. *onkeme, onkimi*

onklef subst. n. 'ankle' PIE

Ofris. also *ontclēf*

This by-form may represent some folk-etymological reinterpretation or a scribal error of correct *onclēf*.

●PFRIS: *ānklēf

OE *anclēow(e)*, OHG *anchlāo*, MLG *anclēf*, MDu. *anclau(we)*, *anclu(we)*, *ancluwen*, *anclief*, *enclau* 'ankle', cf. also

*ankjōn-: ON *ekcja* 'heel', OHG *ancha*, *enka* 'neck', MHG *anke* 'ankle, neck';

*ankjan-: OHG *ancho* 'neck';

*ankala-: OHG *anchal*, OWFris. *anckel*, MDu. *ankel* 'ankle';

*ankila-: OHG *enchil*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *enkel* 'ankle';

*ankVlan-: ON *ǫkkla* 'ankle';

*ankVlōn-: OHG *anchala*, *anchila* 'ankle'.

●PGMC: *ānklēwa-

This form must represent a folk-etymological reinterpretation of the *l*-form *ankVI- under the influence of PGmc. *klēwa-, *klawa- 'claw' (to a PIE root *gleu- [?], cf. Gr. *gígglu-mos* 'Knochengelenk', Pokorny (1959: 361-2); cf. also Buma (1969) s.v. *ankel*, who reconstructs PGmc. *klāwa-, which is impossible as a PGmc. form, however [but could be PWGmc.]). Less likely is an unparallelled development of a *wa*-stem nominative *ankleu (van Helten 1907a: 263-4).

●PIE: *h₂eng-

POKORNY: 45-7

The root has a basic meaning 'bend', especially with respect to body parts, cf. especially Skt. *āṅgam* 'limb'; furthermore Lat. *angulus*, Arm. *ankiwn* 'corner'.

Lit: Buma 1969 s.v. *ankel*

onsitta str. vb. V 'to touch someone' PIE

Compound of *on* and *sitta*, cf. s.vv.

onspreka str. vb. IV 'demand, make claim on' Gmc.

Compound of *on* and *spreka*, cf. s.vv.

onspreke subst. f. 'indictment; right of veto' Gmc.

Compound of *on* and *spreke*, cf. s.vv.

onwinna str. vb. III 'take away, rope' PIE

Compound of *on* and *winna*, cf. s.vv.

opa prep.; adv. 'on, in, against, in fear of, up' PIE [?]

OFRis. also *oppa*, *oppe*, *uppa*

As Riustring OFris. maintains geminates as phonemes (Boutkan 1996: 40-42), the form *opa* as against **uppa* ~ **oppa* in the other dialects is remarkable. It is only attested in the Riustring dialect. It may either represent a secondary reduction of the geminated form, or, more likely, another formation, cf. similar OFris. *up*, etc. with different auslaut (see below), perhaps also Goth. *iupa* (see below). The form *oppe* shows a reduced final vowel. In *uppa*, the result of a-UL is absent.

●PFRIS: *opa ~ *oppa ~ *uppa

The Riusting form *opa* has no direct formal counterpart (see above). We seem to be dealing with an abundance of formally similar forms, cf. also:

*uppanV: OE, OS *uppan*, possibly OFris. *uppa*, *oppa*, *oppe* 'up';

*upp-: ON *upp(i)*, OE *upp(e)*, OS *uppa*, *up*, OFris. *up-* (q.v.), possibly also *uppa*, *oppa*, *oppe* 'up', MLG *uppe*, *oppe*, *up*, *op*, ODu. *up*, MDu. *uppe*, *oppe*, *up*, *op* 'up';

*ūp-: OE *ūp*, OHG *ūf*, *ūf(f)an*, *ūf(f)en*, MHG *ūf*, *ouf*, *ūf(f)e(n)* 'up';

*uf-: Goth. *uf* 'under', ON *of* 'over, in', OE *ofe-* 'upper-', OHG *oba*, MHG *ob(e)* 'up', OFris. *ova* 'on, against; inland' (q.v.);

*ufer-: Goth. prep., pref. *ufar* prep., adv. *ufaro*, ON prep., adv. *yfir*, OE prep., pref. *ofer*, OS prep., pref. *ubar*, *obar*, OHG prep., pref. *ubar*, adv. *ubiri*, *obar*, MHG prep., pref., adv. *über*, MLG prep., pref., adv. *över*, *ōver*, *āver*, *ēver*, *āfer*, OFris. *over*, *-ir* (q.v.), *ūr- 2.* (q.v.), MDu. prep., pref., adv. *over* 'over';

etc.

Furthermore perhaps:

*(H)eup-: Goth. *iup* 'upward', *iupa* 'above', *iupana* 'from before, from above', *iupaþro* 'from above'

●PGMC: *up(p)-

● No certain IE etymology

Usually connected with Skt. *ūpa* 'to', Gr. *hupó* 'below', Lat. *sub* 'under' < *upo [Pokorny 1959: 1106-7], but the connection entails semantic (cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *op*) and formal complications, viz. the Gmc. consonantism, the long vs. short vowel, the problematic form *Heub- in Goth. *iup-*, the comparison of which seems attractive from a semantic point of view but yields formal difficulties (cf. also Hamp 1954). The variation between forms showing a long vowel followed by a single consonant (*ūp) beside a short vowel followed by a geminate (*upp-) is known from North European substratum words (Kuiper's category A₂), cf. e.g. sub *hōd*.

see also: *opawerpa*, *over 2.*, *ovir*, *up-*, *ur 1.*, *2.*, *uwra*

opawerpa str. vb. III 'charge (in court)' PIE [?]

Compound of *opa* and *werpa*, cf. s.vv.

opper- subst. n. 'sacrifice' LW

In: *oppermon* (q.v.).

●PFRIS: *oppir-

(?← MLG *opper* ← OS *opper*) ← ?Lat. *operari* 'give away an alms'

Also in OHG *opfarōn*; *ophar*, MHG *opfern*; *opfer*, *opher*, *opper*, MLG *opper(e)n* 'sacrifice'

The derivation of these words from Latin *operari* (possibly through Low German) is not entirely satisfying (van Helten 1907a: 268). The *-pp-form occurs beside the more wide-spread loan Church Lat. *offerre* 'give', cf. OHG *offarōn*,

OFris. *offria*, MDu. *offeren*, etc. 'sacrifice'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *oppermon* ('...l. *opus*, -*eris*'); not in Wollmann

see also: *oppermon*

oppermon subst. m. 'veger' PIE

Compound of *opper-* and *mon*, cf. s.vv.

or 1 num.; adj. 'one (of two); other (*alter*, *alius*)' PIE

●PFRIS: *ōr

Enclitic form of *ōther* 'second, etc.', q.v.; cf. Holthausen (1942) on analogical *ōrda*.

see also: *ores*, *other*, *others*

or- 2 pref. 'German *ur-*, Dutch *oor-*' PIE

In *ordēl*, q.v.

OFris. also *ur-*

This by-form retains the original vowel, whereas *or- 2* has undergone a secondary lowering at a stage in which stress was absent.

●PFRIS: *ur-, *or-

Cf. sub *a- 5*.

see also: *ordel*, *ur- 4*.

ord subst. m. 'spearhead, spear' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *ord

ON *oddr* 'spear, tip', OE, OS *ord*, OHG, MHG *ort*, MLG *ōrt*, MDu. *o(o)rt*, *hort*, *ord*, *noort* 'tip'

●PGMC: *uzda-

● No IE etymology.

There is not enough evidence in favour of a form *us-to- to an alleged IE root *ues- 'sting [?]' [Pokorny 1959: 1172], cf. Hamp (1969: 159 + abundant discussion and ref.). The (substratum) root may be represented in Baltic, cf. Lith. *usnis*, Latv. *usna* 'thistle', which, on the other hand, may equally be cognate with Gr. *heúō*, Lat. *ūrō* 'burn' (Hamp loc. cit.). Cf. Demiraj (1997: 404) on Alb. *usht* 'ear of corn', which need not be cognate.

see also: *ordling*

ordel subst. n. 'ordeal' PIE

Compound of *or- 2*. nominal prefix and *-dēl* 'part, juridical district', cf. s.vv.

ordling subst. m. 'tip, end (of a wound)' Gmc.

Pace van Helten (1907a: 268), this word must be considered as a derivation of *ord* (q.v.) given the parallel passage in R₂ which has *enda* (cf. Buma 1961 s.v.).

●PFRIS: *ordling

A complex suffixal derivation (i.e. *(V)l-*inga-*) to *ord* 'tip' → OFris. 'spear-(head)', q.v.

Also in MLG (rare; Eastfrisian) *ōrtlinc*.

see also: ord

ores adv. 'further(more)' PIE

Short form of *ōtheres*, q.v. (cf. also *ōther* ~ *ōr* 1., q.v.)

orlof subst. n. 'leave, permission' PIE

Compound of *or-* 2. nominal prefix, q.v., and *-lof*, cf. s.v. *liaf-*.

other num.; adj.; adv. 'second, one (of two); other (*alius*); again, twice' PIE
OFris. also *ōder*, *ōr*, *ander*

The first form shows the merger of medial **-þ-* and *-d-*. The second is an enclitic *by-*form. The form *ander* must be a loan from Dutch or Low German.

●PFRIS: **ōþir*

Goth. *anþar*, ON *annarr*, OE *ōþer*, OS *āðar*, *ōðar*, *andar*, OHG *andar*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *ander* 'other'

●PGMC: **anþera-*

●PIE: **on-tero-* (**h₂en-tero-*)

POKORNY: 37-8

Lith. *añtras*, Latv. *ñotrs*, *uōtrs* OPruss. *anters*, *antars* 'other, second', as Gmc. derived with **-tero-* from the pronoun **eno-*, **ono-* (earlier **h₂eno-*, cf. Beekes 1990: 243), cf. Skt. *aná-* 'this, that'.

see also: or 1., ores, otheres

otheres adv. 'otherwise' PIE

Gs form of *ōther*, q.v., used adverbially.

see also: or 1., ores, other

Otholric NP

ova prep.; adv. 'on, against; inland' PIE [?]

cf. s.v. *opa*.

see also: opa, altherova

over 1 subst. m. 'shore, bank' Gmc.

OFris. also *ōvir(a)*, *ōwer(a)*

The medial vowel underwent a weakening to /ə/, which could be expressed by <i> in OWFris.; in late-OFris., medial **-v-* appears as *-w-*. The inflexion of the word shows weak forms, cf. von Richthofen 1840, s.v. *overe*, *ovira*.

●PFRIS: **ōvir*

OE *ofer*, *-or*, MHG *uover*, MLG *ōver*, *över*, *auver*, MDu. *o(e)ver*

●PGMC: **ofer-* [P(W)Gmc.]

● No IE etymology.

The WGmc. word only has clear cognates in Greek, cf. *épciros*, *ápeiros* 'shore, mainland' [Pokorny 1959: 53] < **āperio-*. The alleged IE formation is problematic (Beekes p.c.). The long initial **ā-* has been unclear. Perhaps it is due to a *v̥rddhi*-derivation to **h₂epo* (cf. s.v. *of* 2.), cf. Specht *apud* Pokorny

(1959: loc. cit.); then we must reconstruct $*h_2\bar{e}per(i)o-$. The alternative reconstruction $*h_2eh_2perio-$ is unattractive. Remarkably, Arm. *ap'n* 'bank' must undoubtedly be connected to this complex for semantic reasons, but the root-final consonant yields a formal problem ($< *p^h < *pH$). Altogether, we might be dealing with a European substratum word (Kuiper's category A₁).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305

over 2 prep.; pref.; adv. 'against; as adv. and prefix, cf. Du. *ver-*' PIE
cf. s.v. *opa*

see also: *opa*, *ovir*

overdwa anom. vb. 'commit suicide' PIE

Compound of *over 2*. and *dwa*, cf. s.vv.

overhor subst. n. 'adultery' PIE

Compound of *over 2*. and *hor*, cf. s.vv.

ovir cf., s.v. *over 2*.

***ovirbelga** str. vb. III 'enraged' PIE

Compound of *ovir* and **-belga*, cf. s.vv.

ovirfiuchta str. vb. III 'waste something by fighting' PIE

Compound of *ovir* and *fiuchta*, cf. s.vv.

ovirhere adj. 'disobedient' PIE

Compound of *ovir* and *-here 3.*, cf. s.vv.

ovirtia str. vb. II 'neglect' PIE

Compound of *ovir* and *tia*, cf. s.vv.

ovonia, ofnia wk. vb. 2 'practice' PIE [?]

On the doublet form *ōfnia* reflecting syncope and Auslautverhärtung, cf. Boutkan (1996: 33-4).

OFris. also *ovenia*

This by-form shows a weakened medial vowel /a/ <e>.

●PFRIS: $*\bar{o}vonia$

MLG \bar{o} *ōfnen*, *ōf(f)enen*, MDu. *oefenen* 'practice, worship', cf. also

*objanaN: OS *ōbian* 'celebrate', OHG *uoben* 'practice, worship', MLG *ōven*, *ūven*, MDu. *oeven* 'practice';

*abnjanaN: ON *cfna*, OE *cfnan* (also *æfnan*), OHG *ebanōn* (with transition to weak 2) 'do, accomplish';

*ōbnjanaN: MLG *ōvenen* 'practice, worship';

*ōban-: OS *landōbo* 'inhabitant', OHG *uobo* 'farmer';

*ōbō: OHG *uoba* 'festivities'.

●PGMC: $*\bar{o}bnōjanan$

● No certain IE etymology

The complex has been connected with the IE root **h₃ep-* [Pokorny 1959: 780], cf. Skt. *ápas-*, Lat. *opus* 'work', Hitt. *ḫappina-* 'riches' — the absence of lengthening due to Brugmann's Law in Indo-Iranian points to **h₃e-* rather than **(H)o-* (Lubotsky 1990: 131). Although this connection is attractive from a semantic point of view, there are serious problems. First, the ablaut is problematic. The gradation form Gmc. **ōb-* can only be derived from a lengthened grade of **h₃ep-*. Remarkably, its distribution, coupled to the specific meaning 'practice' (and subsequent semantic developments) seems to be restricted to continental WGmc. On the one hand, its rise may be attributed to an innovation based on the inherited material deriving from **h₃ep-*; on the other, it cannot be excluded that we are dealing with a strictly Gmc. root **ōb-* 'practice' that must be disconnected from the IE root and its off-shoots.

P

-pal subst. m. '-pile' LW

Perhaps in *āpāl* (cf. s.v. *ā-* I.A; only in R₁) 'pile as part of a sheetpiling (against water); lit. 'water-pile' (cf. Miedema 1987: 178).

Ofris. also *pēl*

This OEFris. form must represent an older borrowing of Lat. *pālus* prior to the further raising of the substituted stem vowel /*ē*₁/ [æ] in Frisian. A similar early date of borrowing must be assumed for the High German forms which display the High German consonant shift (see below). van Helten (1907a: 141-2, Anm. 2) points to the possibility of earlier paradigmatic forms *pāl-/pēl-*, the colour of the stem vowel being due the following vowel of the ending.

On homonymous *pāl* 'crown', cf. Holthausen (1942: 265).

●PFRIS: **pēl*, **pāl*

← Lat. *pālus*.

Also in (ON *páll*) OE *pāl*, OS *pāl*, OHG, MHG *phāl*, *pfāl*, MLG *pāl*, *pōl*, MDu. *pael* 'pile'.

Lit: Not in Wollmann 1990; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *pāl*, *pēl*

palmere subst. m. 'pilgrim to the Holy Land' LW

●PFRIS: **palmiri*

← Middle Lat. *pālmarius*.

Mentioned after the custom of bringing back a twig of a palmtree as proof of the successful pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Also in ON *palmari* ← Middle English *palmer*.

Lit: Holthausen and Hofmann 1985 s.v. *palmere*; not in Wollmann 1990

panni(n)g subst. m. 'penny' Gmc.

Ofris. also *panneng*, *penni(n)g*, *penneg*

The vocalism in the stem reflects 'partial umlaut' (van Helten 1906: 175ff, Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: ix). The second vowel could be

weakened to /ə/ <e>.

A reduction of *-ng* to *-g* is often found, cf. e.g. van Helten (1890: 85).

●PFRIS: **pænning*

(ON *pen(n)ingr*, *pengr* ← OE or MLG, OE *pæning*, *-eg*, *pen(d)ing*, *penig*, OS *penni(n)g*, OHG *phantinc*, *pfentinc*, *phending*, *phennig*, MHG *phenni(n)c*, MLG *penni(n)c*, *pcnnich*, *pennin*, *pen*, *pfenni(n)c*, MDu. *penni(n)c*, *pen(n)ich*, *penech* 'penny').

●PGMC: **pan(n)inga-*

● No IE etymology.

Schröder (1918: 241-54) reconstructs **pandinga-* and connects the word with the etymon Gmc. *pfand*, etc. (also of unclear origin; perhaps [← OFrench *pan*] ← Lat. *pannus* 'piece of cloth', or ← Vulgar Lat. **pantum* < Lat. *pactum*, or ← Lat. *pondus*, cf. de Vries (1992: s.v. *pand* I.). This connection is problematic given such early BS. loans as Lith. *piningas*, OCS *pěnč(d)ь* 'money', which seem to indicate that the form without *-d-* is the older one. The problem of the *n*-forms being the older ones also makes the reconstruction by Gysseling (1987: 50-1) of a substratum form **pand^h*- (allegedly nasalized **pad^h*-, variant of **pat-* 'take', cf. French *patte*, furthermore **padin* OHG *fazzōn*, Mod. Du. *vatten* 'grab, take') unlikely.

Chronological problems occur if one wishes to connect the word with **panna* 'pan' under reference to the form of bracteates, because pan-shape bracteates only occur from the 12th century onwards. The connection with *pannus* 'piece of cloth' (under reference to the use of cloth as *valuta*) is not attractive for semantic reasons: *pannus* actually means 'rag vel sim.' and does not refer to valuable cloth. Formal problems also make these last two hypotheses improbable: they cannot account for the forms containing *-d-*; the coexistence of geminated *-nn-* and *-n-* in OE and ON is a further problem.

Perhaps the forms containing *-d-* are epenthetic innovations (cf. Du. *minder* < MDu. *minre*, etc.) or (folk-etymological) rebuildings (after *pund*?). The variation *-nn-* ~ *-n-* may represent a feature of the substratum language from which the word was borrowed (cf. also Kuhn 1961: 11).

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *panni(n)g*, *penni(n)g*; *pand* (after Schröder 1918:) not in Wollmann 1990 van Helten 1907a: 271-5 on the value.

papa subst. m. 'priest, member of the clergy' LW

●PFRIS: **papa*

← Gr. *papās*. Not ← Lat. *papa*, which was used for higher clergymen, cf. also s.v. *paus*. It appears that the word spread from Southern Germany which was converted by the Goths. The Gothic use of this word for members of the lower clergy was based on the Greek tradition.

Also in: (ON *papi* ← OIr. *pāpa*) OHG *pfaffo*, MHG *phaffe*, MLG *pāp(e)*, *paffe*, MDu. *pape*, *paep* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *papa* not in Wollmann 1990

see also: *paus*

pascha- subst. pl. 'Easter' LW

In *pāschatīd*, q.v.

●PFRIS: **paska*

The Frisian form is borrowed from Lat., Gr. clerical term *pascha* ← Hebrew *pēsah*, Aramaic *peṣḥā*.

The use of this word is restricted to the North-Western part of continental WGmc. and NGmc., cf. OHG *ōstarūn* (HG *Ostern*), OE *castron*.

Also in Goth. *paska*, (ON *pāskar* ← MLG, OS *pāscha*, MHG *pāsche*, MLG *pāscha*, *pāsche(n)*, *pārschen*, MDu. *paesschen*, *paschen* 'id.')

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *pāscha*; not in Wollmann 1990 Krogmann 1958: 115-19.

see also: *paschatid*

paschatid subst. f. 'Eastertime' PIE [?]

Compound of *pāscha*- 'Easter' and *tīd* 'time', cf. . s.vv.

paternoster subst. m? n? 'the Lord' LW

●PFRIS: **pater noster*

Directly borrowed from Lat.; called after the first words *pater noster* 'our Father' of the Lord's prayer in Christian liturgy.

Also in MHG *paternoster*, MLG *pater(#)noster*, MDu. *paterno(o)ster*, etc.

Lit: Not in Holthausen 1921 Not in Wollmann 1990

patriarcha subst. m. 'patriarch' LW

●PFRIS: **patriarka*

← Gr. *patriárkhēs*

Also in: ON *patriarki* ← MLG MHG *patriarche*, *patriarke*, *patriarc*, MLG *patriarcha*, *patriarche*, *patrierche*, *patriarsch*, MDu. *patriarke*, *patrierke*, *patriarch*, etc.

Lit: Not in Holthausen 1921 Wollmann 1990: 533

paus subst. m. 'Pope' LW

OFris. also *pāves*, *pāgus*, *pāwis*

These by-forms remain disyllabic as the source form. On incidental -g- for -v- (as also in *progost*, q.v.), cf. van Helten (1890: 89).

●PFRIS: **pawes*

← Romance (**pab-es* ~ [?]) *pape(s)* < Lat. *papa*.

See de Vries 1992 s.v. *paus* as to the complications.

Perhaps a by-form **pab-es* beside *papes* (which accounts for the -s) may be assumed in order to explain the medial fricative. Otherwise we have to assume that in the source language the phonetic realization of the medial -p- was lenis and was therefore interpreted as (/b/) b.

Also in: OHG *bābes*, OS *pābos*, MHG *bābes(t)*, *bābst*, MLG *pāwes(t)*, *pāves-*(*t*), *pāfs(t)*, *pās*, MDu. *pa(e)us*, *paves*, *pa(e)wes*, *paefs* 'id'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *paus*, *pāves*, *pāgus*; not in Wollmann 1990

see also: *papa*

Peder NP LW

pet subst. m. 'pool, puddle' Gmc. [?]

In: *pet* and *apol* = a *pet* and a *pōl* (van Helten 1907a: 19 s.v. *apol* [?])

●PFRIS: *pett

ON *pyttr* 'pool, puddle', OE *pytt* 'pit, puddle', OHG *pfuz(z)i*, *puzzi*, *puzze*, *fuzze*, *p(f)uzza*, *buzza* 'pit, pool', MHG *pfütze* 'pit', MLG *put(te)*, ODu. *putte*, MDu. *put(te)*, *pit(te)*, *pet* 'pit, puddle, hole', cf. also

*paut-: Mod. Norw. *pøyta* 'muddy pool', Mod. Westfalian *pōt* 'pit';

*putt-: Mod. Swe., Mod. Norw., Mod. LG *putt* (without UL) 'pit'

●PGMC: *putt- [?]

This word has been considered as a loan from Lat. *puteus* 'well'. An early borrowing has been assumed on the basis of the presence of the word in OE. As far as Frisian is concerned, the borrowing must at any rate have preceded the derounding of the stem vowel *ü (cf. also Wollmann 1990: 531). The assumption of a loan word has been criticised by Kuhn (1961: 9-10), who, in my view correctly, points to several formal problems: the geminate rather than single *-t-, the by-forms containing an 'ablaut'-grade *au and the forms without umlaut. He assumes a substratum word *putt(i)-, *paut-. Instead of assigning the word to Kuhn's IE substratum, we can perhaps better start from a non-IE North European substratum word (Kuiper's category A₂, cf. 1995: 67; cf. also Boutkan 1998a). This origin is confirmed by the variation in syllable structure, viz. long vocalism + single consonant (*paut-) as against short vocalism followed by a geminate (*putt-), cf. also s.v. *hōd*. Perhaps Lat. *puteus* was borrowed from the same substratum layer (Kuhn 1961: 10).

The semantics have also been considered problematic. The Latin word would have been taken over as a technical term for 'well' (cf. also Gildemacher 1990: 155-6). However, the meaning 'puddle' is widely spread, and even occurs as the only one in ON. In addition, another etymon **saup* — as attested in Frisian *sāth*, OE *sēap* and Mod. LG *sōd* already denotes 'pit' in the technical sense of *puteus* 'well'. It has been suggested that a Gmc. word **pauta-* ~ **putt-* 'pool, puddle' existed beside the Latin loan with possible later contaminations (e.g. de Vries (1992) s.v. *put* + *reff.*). On the other hand, the Latin word also covers such meanings as 'hole' and 'cistern' and a semantic shift towards 'puddle' would be possible if not trivial.

If the substratum origin is correct, one is tempted to connect this word with formally similar terms for 'puddle *vel sim.*', such as OE *patte* 'mud' < **pat-*, Middle English *pande*, *ponde* = Mod. English *pond* < **pand*(^h)-, but also

puddle, OE *puddel* < *pudd- itself. Although this connection remains speculative, the assumed non-IE 'ablaut' *a ~ *u, the consonantal variation involving variants of the same place of articulation (dentals, labials, etc.) in root-final position and optional prenasalisation are well-attested features of the substratum layer A₂ (Kuiper 1995: 68ff).

Gysseling (1987: 56) assumes a substratum root *pew- 'Schlamm' with several extensions and connects *puddle*, etc. < *pu-dh- with *pu-l- in such forms as ON *pollr*, OE *pull*, *pyll* 'puddle'. In my view, such abstract reconstructions remain too speculative as long as we do not know the details of stem-formation in the substratum language concerned. Incidentally, the long vowel of the OE by-form *pūl* of *pull*, *pyll* cannot be explained from an IE vowel gradation process, which suggests a non-IE substratum origin of the *l*-forms (see also s.v. *pōl*).

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *pet*; Wollmann 1990: 531

see also: *pol*

pilugrīm subst. m. 'pilgrim' LW

Ofris. also *pilegrim*

This form reflects a weakening of the medial vowel *-i-, cf. OHG *piligrīm*; the medial vowel of the Riustring form must be of secondary origin (after *walubera*?, cf. van Helten 1907a: 275).

●PFRIS: *piligrim

← Late-Lat. *pelegrīnus* ← Lat. *peregrīnus*

Also in (ON *pelagrīmr*, *pilagrīnr* ← MLG OHG *piligrīm*, MHG *pilgerīm*, *bilgerīm*, -in, MLG *pilgrīne*, *pelegrīm(e)*, -grim, *grēme*, -gerīm, *pellegrīm* etc., MDu. *pelg(e)rijm*, *pelgerijū*, *peel-*, *pele-*, *pere-*, -grim, -grom 'id.')

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *pīlu- pilegrim* not in Wollmann 1990

pine subst. f. 'pain, torture, corporal punishment' LW

●PFRIS: *pīni

← Middle Lat. *pēna* 'punishment in Hell' ← Lat. *poena* ← Gr. *poinë* 'punishment'

Also in (ON *pīna* ← MLG *pīn* ← OE, cf. *pīnian* 'torture'), OS, OHG *pīna*, MHG, MLG *pīn(e)*, MDu. *pine*, *pījn* 'pain, etc.')

Lit: Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: list s.v. *pīne* Wollmann 1990: 524 fn. 55, 526, 529

pinkostra- Gp subst. 'Whitsuntide' LW

Ofris. also *pinxt(e)ra*, *pynxtera*, *pinster-*

These three forms reflect weakenings of the longer form that was retained in Riustring OFris., cf. the syncope of the medial vowel and the simplification of the resulting consonantal cluster in the form *pinster-* from E₁ (cf. also van Helten 1890: 130 and 146 where this form is emended to *pinstera-; also Wollmann 1990: 534).

●PFRIS: *pinkustra-

← Goth. *paintekuste* ← Gr. *pentēkosté* (*hēméra*) ‘fiftiest (day after Easter)’. The old explanation of the genesis of the *r*-suffix after the example of *ōstara/āstara* (q.v.) has been considered problematic (e.g. van Helten 1907a: 275-6, de Vries 1992 s.v. *Pinkster*), but seems possible now (Krogmann 1958: 116-7). Spread from the South as a religious term of the Gothic Arian Mission.

Also in (ON *píkisdagr*, *pikisdagr* ← MLG OE *pentecosten*, OS *te|pinkoston*, MHG *pfingsten*, MLG *ping(e)sten*, *pingste*, *pingsteren*, *pingsgesten*, etc., MDu. *pinxter(en)*, *pinster*, *pinxten*; OHG *fona fimfchustim* based on Gr. original.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *pinkostra*, *pinxtera*; Wollmann 1990: 534

pinkostratid subst. f. ‘feast of Whitsuntide’ LW
Compound of *pinkostra-* ‘Whitsuntide’ and *tīd* ‘time’, cf. s.vv.

Pippi(n)g NP LW

plicht subst. f. ‘obligation, responsibility, risk’ Gmc.

In: *an plicht nema* ‘to accept the responsibility for sth.’

●PFRIS: *pliht

OE *pliht* ‘risk’, OHG *phliht*, MHG *phliht(e)*, MLG ° *plicht*, MDu. *plicht(e)*, *plecht* ‘obligation’, cf. also

*plixtiga- adj.: OFris. *plichtich* (q.v.), MDu. *plichtich*, *plechtich*, etc. ‘obliged to’;

*pleganaN: (ON *plega*, *plaga* ← MLG OE) OS *plegan*, OHG *p(f)legan*, MHG *pflegen*, MLG ° *plēgn*, MDu. *plegen* ‘be responsible for’;

*plehanaN: OE *plēon* ‘dare’, MDu. *plien* ‘be responsible for’;

*plegojanaN: OE *plegian* ‘play, move quickly’, OFris. *plegia*, *pligia*, *pligia* ‘be accustomed to’;

*plegan-: OE *plega* ‘game’, OFris. *plega*, *pliga*, *pliga* ‘custom’

●PGMC: *plehti-

● No IE etymology

Cf. Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *plegen* for the older IE etymologies that have long been given up. The comparison with Lat. *lacio* ‘entice’ < *dlok-, which is offered as an alternative (loc. cit.) can hardly be correct either, because *a* < **o* is attested e.g. after labials (e.g. *mare* < **mori*) but no certain evidence can be adduced for the position *l/_CV* (Schrijver 1991: 475-6 only mentions possible *lacus* ‘lake’, but this is suspect as a non-IE etymon). If one wishes to maintain an IE origin, the alternative is the assumption of a laryngeal yielding *a* in the Latin form, but this renders the comparison of the Gmc. forms definitely impossible.

Another suggestion starting from the view that initial Gmc. **pl-* reflects **dl-* is the comparison of MWelsh *d(y)lyet*, OIr. *dliged* ‘duty’ < **dligeto-* and perhaps of Lat. *in|dulgēre* ‘be indulgent’. The Latin word is semantically deviant and formally not entirely clear. The Celtic forms need not be cognate from a semantic point of view. Moreover, the *vclar* would have to be reconstructed as

PIE *g^h, which would make the Gmc. forms with *-x- (OE *plēon*, MDu. *plien*) incomprehensible.

In any case, a Celtic(-Latin?)-Gmc. isogloss would be given, which is more likely to represent a common substratum term than an IE heritage. Given the wide range of meanings, one can start from a basic meaning 'sich einsetzen' (Seebold 1970: 364) from which the other meanings are derived. Franck et al. (1976) doubt whether the forms meaning 'play' belong here. At any rate hardly to be connected with 'plough', cf. s.v. *plōch*.

Lit: Gysseling 1987: 49; Kuhn 1961: 14; Seebold 1970: 363-4

see also: plichtich

plichtich adj. 'obliged to (the maintenance of sth.)' Gmc.

cf. s.v. *pflicht*,

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 21

see also: plicht

ploch subst. m. 'plough' Gmc.

In: *plōchfretho*, q.v.

•PFRIS: *plōh

ON *plógr* 'plough', OE *plōh*, OHG *pfluog*, MHG *phluoc*, MLG ° *plōg*, *plūg*, MDu. *ploech*, *plouch* 'plough'

•PGMC: *plōga-

• No IE etymology

A priori, the initial *p-* points to a probable non-IE origin. The IE root for 'ploughing' was *h₂erh₃- [Pokorny 1959: 62-3], with several derivations, cf. OS *erida*, Lat. *aratrum*, Gr. *árottron* 'plough'. A *Wanderwort* is certainly possible for such a device as a (type of) plough. See Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *ploeg* for a nice overview of the problematic etymological interpretations formulated thus far, such as the comparison of Raetic Gaulish *plau-mo-rati* (Plinius Nat. Hist. 18, 172) < *plōg^wmo-raþa- - [?], which is actually more likely to represent an innovation in Gaulish. The comparison of Langob. *plōvum* (still Lombardian dialect *piò*; Meringer's explanation) is tempting, but yields also formal difficulties. The word has furthermore been linked with the root *pleg-, cf. s.v. *pflicht*, but this is (very) unlikely (Seebold 1970: 363).

Alb. *plúar* 'plough' is etymologically unclear (Demiraj 1997: 327-8 with abundant reff.) and may have the same, apparently Central-European origin as the Gmc. etymon. On the other hand, the word may represent a North-European innovation which would also be found in OIr. *dlongid* 'split' < *tlong-.

Lit: Kuhn 1961: 14

plochfretho subst. m. '(lit.) plough-fretho, fretho during the work on the land' PIE

Compound of *plōch* 'plough' and *fretho* 'peace, (legal) protection, safety; compensation for breach of the peace', cf. s.vv.

pol subst. m. 'pool, puddle' Gmc.

In: *pet and apol* = a *pet* and a *pōl* (van Helten 1907a: 19 s.v. *apol* [?]).

•PFRIS: *pōl

OE *pōl*, OHG, MHG *pfuol*, MLG ^o *pōl*, *pul*, MDu. *poel*, cf. also

*paul-: Mod. Norw. *pøyla*, *pøla* 'puddle';

*pull-: ON *pollr* 'pond', OE *pull*, *pyll* 'puddle';

*pul-: Mod. Icel. *pula* 'marsh', Du. *polder* 'polder';

*pall-: Mod. East Frisian *paller(d)* 'marsh'

•PGMC: *pōl- (~ *paul- ~ *pul(l)- ~ *pall-)

• No IE etymology

The Balto-Slavic 'marsh'-etymon *bal- has been compared, cf. Lith. masc. *balà*, OPruss. **balo* 'marsh' < *b^(h)olo-; OCS *blato* 'lake, marsh', Russ. *bolóto* 'marsh' < *b^(h)olH-t-; cf. perhaps also Albanian *baltë* 'swamp' (Demiraj 1997: 87-8). However, the Baltic forms have actually been grouped with words meaning 'white' (√*bhel- [i.e. *b^hel(H)-, Pokorny 1959: 118-120]). The whole complex cannot support an IE etymology.

The status of the Gmc. forms as substratum material already becomes clear from the initial *p-; furthermore, the attested vowel grades do not conform to a gradation pattern known from any IE language. I am reluctant to connect this complex with the 'marsh'-etymon *pal- (Kuhn 1961: 9), because the primary meaning seems to have been 'puddle' rather than 'marsh'. The variants more or less conform to a specific syllable structure: short vowel + geminate — long vowel (or diphthong) + single consonant, which pattern is frequent in the words listed by Kuiper (1995: 68ff) as belonging to a specific layer of substratum words which he labels A₂, cf. e.g. s.v. *hōd*.

It has furthermore been suggested that the forms actually reflect a contraction of *pudel-, which would render the comparison of the etymon *pet* a further possibility; at any rate, it has been demonstrated s.v. that this word probably originates from the same substratum.

Lit: Gysseling 1987: 56; Kuhn 1961: 9

see also: *pet*

Polnere NP 'Inhabitant of Poland' LW

Polneralond NL PIE

Compound of Gp *polnere* to *Polnere* (q.v.) and *lond* 'land', cf. s.vv.

-ponna subst. f. '-pan' Gmc.

In: *brīnponna* 'brain-pan, cranium'

OFris. also *panna*

This by-form shows the OWFris. Rückentwicklung of prenasal *o (< PGmc. *a) to *a, cf. especially Boutkan (1997).

•PFRIS: *pānna

ON *panna*, OE *ponne*, OHG *pfanna*, MHG *phanne*, MLG ^o *panne*, MDu.

pan(ne) 'pan'

•PGMC: *pannō

• No IE etymology

The word has long been considered as a loan from Vulgar Lat. *panna* < *patina* ← Gr. *patánē* 'pan'. Kuhn (1961: 11) points to the early presence of the form *panna* in Latin (already in the first century), which makes the derivation from *patina* unlikely. He rather assumes a substratum word shared by Gmc. and Latin.

The word belongs to a semantic field that is likely to have contained substratum words.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *panne, ponne* ('... in brein ~ hirnschale: Lat. *patina* (?).')

-porte subst. f. 'gate, entrance' LW

In *hilleporte* 'entrance to Hell', q.v.

•PFRIS: *porti

← Lat. *porta*.

Also in: (ON *port* ←) OE *port*, OS *porta*, OHG *p(f)orta*, MHG *porte, porze*, MLG *porte*, ODu. *porta*, MDu. *po(o)rte* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *porte*; Not in Wollmann 1990

prester(e) subst. m. 'priest' LW

Both forms *prēster* and *prēstere* are attested in R₁. We can start from two different formations, i.e. an *o*-stem beside a *io*-stem. Although the form without *-e* is attested only once in R₁ (VIII, 65), other MSS confirm the doublet (von Richthofen 1840: s.v. *prēster*).

•PFRIS: *prēstir(i)

← Lat. *presbyter* (← Gr. *presbúteros*); the long vowel may be due to secondary influence of the Lat. prefix *prae-* (Wollmann 1990: 525) or to an actual Romance intermediate rather than a direct Latin origin, cf. Romance *prêtre* < *presbyter* (e.g. de Vries 1992: s.v. *priester*).

Also in: OS *prēstar*, OHG *prestar, priestar*, MHG *priester*, MLG *prēster*, MDu. *priester, prcester* 'id.'; ON *prestr* ← OE *prōost* ← *presbyter*.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *prēster(e)*; Wollmann 1990: 525

profeta subst. m. 'prophet' LW

OFris. also *prophēta*

This by-form shows a more authentic orthography *ph* for *f*.

•PFRIS: *profēta

← Lat. *propheta* (← Gr. *prophētēs*)

Also in: MHG *prophēte*, MLG *prōphēte*, MDu. *prophete, profete* 'id.'; Goth. *prauftetes*, *-us* must be a (recent) direct borrowing of the Gr. form.

Lit: Not in Holthausen 1921; not in Wollmann 1990

progost subst. m. 'dean' LW

OFris. also *progest, provest*

These by-forms show weakening of the second vowel to /ə/. The remarkable variation *-g-* ~ *-v-* is attested in a few OFris. words, cf. van Helten (1890: 89) (*g* for **v*) and 113 (*v* for **g*).

●PFRIS: **provost* (~ **progost*)

← OFrench *provost* < MLat. *propositus* < Lat. *praepositus*

Also in OE *profost* 'head of a cloister', OHG *probast*, *-ist*, *-est*, MLG ^o *prō(ve)st*, *prāvest*, MDu. *provest*, *proofst*, *proost* 'dean';

ON *prófastr* 'dean' < OE

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *prögost*, *-vest*; not in Wollmann 1990

pund subst. n. 'pound (as a currency)' LW

OFris. also *pond*

This OWFris. by-form shows the OWFris. lowering of **u* to **o* before nasals (if not representing a loan from MDu.).

●PFRIS: **pund*

← Lat. *pondo* to *pondus* 'weight'

Also in: Goth. *pund*, (ON *pund* ← OE or MLG OE, OS *pund*, OHG, MHG *pfunt*, MLG ^o *punt*, MDu. *pon(d)t*, *punt* 'id.')

Lit: Bremer 1893: 328 + ref. on the value; van Helten 1907a: 277-8 on the value; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *pund*, *pond*; Wollmann 1990: 514

Q

querka wk. vb. 1 'strangle' PIE

OFris. also *kwerka*, *querdza*

The use of *q* and *kw* for /kw/ represents an orthographical free variation; the form *querdza* shows assibilation of the medial *-k-* under influence of the former *-j-* in **kwerkjan-*. The variation of the assibilated and non-assibilated forms is due to the optional spelling of assibilation (due to the deficient spelling system).

●PFRIS: **kwerća*

ON *kyrkia*, MLG ^o *querken* 'id.', cf. also

**kwerkō*: ON *kverk*, OHG *qucrka*, MLG ^o *querke*, *quarke* 'throat';

**kwerkilō*: OHG *qucrk(c)la* 'throat';

**kwerranaN*: OE *ācworren* 'drunk, overeaten';

**kwerra-*: OHG *querder* 'bait';

etc.

●PGMC: **kwerkjanaN*

●PIE: **g^wcrh₁-g-*

POKORNY: 474-6, esp. 475

With the same extension but unexplained vocalism Lat. *gurgulio* 'throat' < **g^wr-g-*?. Other formations to this root are abundant, e.g. Skt. *girāti* 'devour', Lith. *gėrti* 'drink'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 304; Seebold 1970: 318.

quetha str. vb. V 'speak, say' Gmc.

OFris. also *kwetha*, *queda*, *quan*

The use of *q* and *kw* for /kw/ represents an orthographical free variation; *-d-* for *-th-* is due to the late-OFris. merger of /-þ-/ and /-d-/. The OWFris. form *quan* is an analogical rebuilding after such haplological forms as 3s ind. pres. *queth*, *quit* (Goth. still *qīþīþ*).

●PFRIS: *kweþa

Goth. *qīþan*, ON *kveþa*, OE *cweþan*, OS *quethan*, *quedan*, OHG *quedan*, MHG *queden*, MLG *queden* 'say', cf. also

*kwadejanaN: ON *kveþja*, OS *queddian* 'greet, salute', OHG *quetten* 'cry out', MDu. *quedden* 'greet';

*kwedi-: ON *kvīþr* 'talk', OE *cwide* 'order, curse', OS *quidi*, OHG *quidi*, *quiti* 'word';

etc.

●PGMC: *kweþanaN

● No (certain) IE etymology.

The word has been connected with Skt. *gadati* 'speaks', but in that case this form (in its present form pointing to a non-canonical root structure in PIE) must have undergone a secondary development of some sort, e.g. a contamination of PIE *wed- and *g^wet- [=Gmc.] in order to make possible the comparison with Gmc.

This is complicated. Moreover, only Arm. *kočem* 'call' is the only possible form outside Gmc. pointing to *g^wet- [Pokorny 1959: 480-1]. A connection with Lat. *vetare* 'not allow', OIr. *feth-* 'say', Old Welsh *guetid* 'say', Welsh *gwadaf* 'deny, disown' is equally difficult from a formal point of view, unless one disconnects the Celtic evidence which points to *wot-. This is unattractive because the semantics are very similar, cf. Schrijver (1991: 472-3) on the etymology of the Latin word.

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990; Seebold 1970: 318-20

quik cf. *kwik*

R

rad adj. 'red' PIE

OFris. also *raed*

The spelling <ae> denotes *ā*.

●PFRIS: *rād

Goth. *rauþs*, ON *rauðr*, OE *rēad*, OS *rōd*, OHG, MHG, MLG *rōt*, MDu. *root*, *rood*, *roit* 'red'.

●PGMC: *rauþaN

●PIE: *h₁reud^h-

Lat. *ruber*, Gr. *eruthrós*, Lith. *raūdas* 'red'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

raf subst. n. 'loot, booty' PIE

Ofris. also *raef*

The spelling <ae> denotes *ā*.

●PFRIS: **rāf*

ON *reyfi* 'fleece, plucked wool', OE *rēaf* 'loot, booty; textile/cloth', OS *rōf*, OHG *roub*, *raub* (also *-raupa*, Lex Bajuv.; Langob. *-raub*), MHG *roup*, *roub*, MLG *rōf*, ODu. *rouf*, *rōf*, *gerouvi* MDu. *roof* 'loot, booty', cf. also

**reufanaN*:- ON *rjúfa* 'tear, break, destroy';

**raubō*: ON *rauf* 'hole, tear';

**raubōjanaN*: Goth. *biraubon*, ON *raufa* 'destroy, pierce', OE *rēafian*, OS *rōbon*, OHG *raubōn*, OFris. (*bi*)*rāvia* q.v., MHG *rouben*, MLG *roven* MDu. *roven*, *rooven* 'rob, deprive sb. of sth.';

**raubejanaN*: ON *reyfa*, OE *beriefan*, OHG *roufen* 'rob, strip, despoil';

With *-pp*-

**ruppō*: ON *ruppa* 'plunder', OHG *ropphen* 'pluck';

**rupplō*: ON *rupla* 'plunder'.

The semantic link between these words seems to be 'to pluck (wool)', from which there was a two-way development to 'textile' (that which is made of plucked wool) on the one hand and 'to plunder, loot' on the other. The forms with *-pp*- are explained as 'intensive'-geminations (Seebold 1970: 378).

●PGMC: **raubaN*

●PIE: **Hreup-*

POKORNY: 869-70

Forms like Lat. *ruptiō* 'rupture' and Skt. *riṇyati* 'Reißen im Leibe haben' derive from PIE **Hrup*-, which together with the Gmc. forms point to an ablauting root **Hrup-*, **Hreup-* (Schrijver 1991: 236).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 378; Schrijver 1991: 236; Holthausen 1942:274

see also: *londraf*, *nedraf*, *raflike*, *-ravia*, *unberavad*

raflike adv. 'unlawful, illegal, wrongful' PIE

Compound of *raf* 'loot, booty' and *-like* 2. 'like', cf. s.vv.

-ravia wk. vb.2 'rob, strip, despoil, deprive sb. of sth.' PIE

In: *biravia* 'id.'

Ofris. also *rāva*, *rāwia*

The *-v-* (also spelled <u>)/-w- alternation is the well-attested OFris. reflex of Gmc. *-b-* (Steller 1928: 27). The form *rāva* represents a shift to class 1 of the weak verbs, cf. also *-rēthia*.

●PFRIS: **rāvia*

Lit: Seebold 1970: 378; Lendinara 1990: 301; Holthausen 1942: 274; Steller 1928: 27

see also: *raf*

red 1 subst. m. 'council, advice' PIE

Ofris. also *reed*

The spelling <ee> denotes ē.

●PFRIS: *rēd

Goth. *garedaba* 'honorably', OR *frawa|radaz* NP, ON *rād*, OE *ræd*, OS *rād* 'council, advice', OHG, MHG *rāt* 'council, supplies, stock', MLG *rāt* ODu. *rāt*, *gerēde*, MDu. *raet*, *rait*, *raedt* 'council, advice', cf. also

*rē₁danaN: Goth. *garēdan* 'aim at', ON *ráða*, OE *rædan*, OS *rādan*, OHG *rātan*, MHG *rāten*, MLG *rāden*, 'advis, entrat', OFris. *rēda 1.* (q.v.), MDu. *rāden*

●PGMC: *rē₁diN

● No certain IE etymology

Two reconstructions are possible:

*Hrēd^h-, cf. Skt. *rādhnóti* 'makes right', Av. *rādaiti* 'makes ready', OIr. *imm-rádím* 'think about, consider' [Pokorny 1959: 59] or *Hreh₁d^h-. If the latter reconstruction is correct, then it is plausible that *rēd 1.* and *rēd 2.* (q.v.) and their related word groups ultimately belong to the same root *Hreh₁- with respective extensions -d^h- or -t-.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 365-6; Kluge 1989: 584; Schrijver 1991: 307

see also: *reda 1.*, *redgeva*, *redieva*, *redskipi*

red 2 subst. m. 'means of defence, evidence that a charge is unfounded' PIE

●PFRIS: *rēd

cf. s.v. *-rethia*

reda 1 str. vb. VII 'advise, entreat' PIE

●PFRIS: *rēda

cf. s.v. *red 1.*

reda 2 (R₂) wk. vb. 1/2 'speak, declare, prove (that a charge is unfounded)' PIE

●PFRIS: *rēda

cf. s.v. *-rethia*

Redbat NP

rede 1 adj. 'ready, at hand, finished' Gmc.

Ofris. also *reed*

The spelling <ce> denotes ē.

●PFRIS: *rēdi

Goth. *garaiþs* 'fixed', ON (*g*)*reiðr*, *greitt*, *greiðliga*, *greiðastr* 'ready, simple, clear', OE *gerād*, *geræde* 'right, intelligent', OHG *reiti*, MHG *bereit(e)*, *gcreit(e)* MLG (*ge*)*rēd(e)*, MDu. *gereet*, *gereit* 'ready, at hand, finished'.

●PGMC: *raiða-

● No IE etymology

The form has long been considered to belong to the root **reid-*, cf. Gmc. str. vb. I **rīdanaN* 'ride', with a semantic link 'ready to go'. However, both Seebold (1970: 368) and Heidermanns (1993: 434) separate **raiða-* from **rīdanaN*, therefore the PIE root *(H)*reidh-*, can no longer be connected to **raiða-*, cf. Mlr. *rīad(a)im* 'ride', Latv. *raidīt* 'send hastily' [Pokorny 1959: 861]. Since there are only Baltic cognates, cf. Lith. *raidūs*, Latv. *raids* 'ready', we could be dealing with a North-European substratum word.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 367-8; Heidermanns 1993: 433-4

-rede 2 subst. n. 'partition, membrane' PIE

In: *midrede* 'diaphragm, midriff'

Ofris. also *-rhetter*, *-rether*, *-rithere*, *-rith*

The variant OFris. forms *-rede* and *-rith* point to a secondary formation **hrithi*. The forms *rhetter* and *rether* show an *e* in the stem for expected *i*, which we also encounter elsewhere in OFris. (Boutkan 1996: 23-4).

●PFRIS: **hrithira*, **hrithi*

OE *midhriðre* 'midriff', *hrīder*, *hriðder* 'siff', OS *hriðeron* 'siff (vb.)', OHG *rītera* 'large siff', MLG *middere* 'midriff'.

●PGMC: **hrīþraN*

●PIE: **krei-*

POKORNY: 946

The above mentioned PIE form is considered as one of a group of extensions to a PIE root *(s)*ker-* 'to cut' [Pokorny 1959: 938-47]. Closest parallels are Lat. *cribrum* 'sieve', cf. also *certus* 'separated, decided, certain', Gr. *krīnō* 'distinguish, decide', OIr. *criathar* 'sieve'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 274; Lendinara 1990: 309

see also: *rēne 2*.

redgeva subst. m. 'judge' PIE

Compound of *rēd I*. 'council, advice' and *jeva* 'give', cf. s.vv.

see also: *redieva*

redieva subst. m. 'judge' PIE

Compound of *rēd I*. 'council, advice' and *jeva* 'give', cf. s.vv.

see also: *redgeva*

Rednath NP

redskipi subst. n. 'judge' PIE

Compound of *rēd I*. 'council, advice' and *-skipi* '-ship', cf. s.vv.

see also: *red 1.*, *reda 1.*, *redgeva*, *redieva*

reg- subst. m. 'back' PIE

In: *reglemithe* 'paralysis of the back'

Ofris. also *hreg*, *regg*, *reggh*, *regk*

The spelling <ggh> is OWfris. and denotes a fricative. The spelling <regk>

occurs only once (on a total of 21 forms in the OFris. corpus), in the form <regkes> in the OWFris. *Codex Unia*, and may be a scribal error. If it is not, it would point to a stop rather than a fricative.

●PFRIS: *hregg

ON *hryggr*, OE *hrycg*, OS *hruggi*, OHG *hrukki*, *rucki*, MHG *rück(e)*, MLG **rugge*, ODu. *ruggi*, MDu. *rugge*, *rucge*, *rigge*, *regge*, *rucke*, *ric*, *rec* 'back'.

●PGMC: *hruggiN

●PIE: *kreuk-

POKORNY: 938

Lat. *crux* 'orig.: round pole', Corn. *cruc* 'hill' are a few of the closest cognates of a large group of extensions to an IE root *(s)ker- 'bend, turn' [Pokorny 1959: 935-938].

reglemithe subst. f. 'paralysis of the back' PIE

Compound of *reg-* 'back' and *lemithe* 'paralysis, mutilation', cf. s.vv.

reil- 1 subst. n. 'textile, clothing' PIE

In: *reilmerk* 'currency (mark) with the value of a certain amount of textile'

OFris. also *hreil*, *hreyll*, *hreiil*, *reyl*

The spellings with <y> are OWFris., where <i> and <y> are free variants. The spelling <ij> has probably arisen under MLG (or MDu.) influence, where <y> and <ij> are freely interchangeable.

●PFRIS: *hreil

ON *hræll* 'reed (as used in weaving)', OE *hrcol* 'reel', *hræg(e)l*, OHG *hregil* 'robe, clothing'

●PGMC: *hregilaN

●PIE: *kreuk-

POKORNY: 618

The structure of this root, together with the fact that only Gr. and Gmc. cognates are known (a possible cognate Latv. form *krēkls* 'shirt' left aside), makes this PIE form rather suspect as a possible European substrate word, or a loanword from the south.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 309

reil- 2 subst. m. 'chain, fetter' PIE/LW

In: *reilbende* 'id.'

●PFRIS: *reil

The interpretation of *reilbende* is disputed. van Helten (1907a: 184) connects the first part of this hapax legomenon with OHG *rigil* 'chain, fetter', instead of OFris. *hreil* 'textile'. However, according to de Vries 1992: 568 (and Kluge 1989: 590), the OHG form is a semantic development of the Gmc. loan of Lat. *regula* 'rule (of a monastic order)'. With this in mind, the following possible explanations arise: the OFris. form a) is derived from OHG in the particular meaning 'chain, fetter', b) has independently undergone the same semantic development as OHG *rigil*, c) does indeed derive from OFris. *hreil* 'textile', so that *reil- 1*. and *reil- 2*. are identical, d) < Gmc. *rahō 'pole' < PIE *(H)rek-

[Pokorny 1959: 863].

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 184

reilbende subst. n., f.? 'tie, chain, fetter, shackle' PIE

Compound of *reil-* 2. 'chain, fetter' and *bende* 'tie, chain, fetter, shackle', cf. s.vv.

reilmerk subst. f. 'value of a currency (mark) in a certain amount of textile (cloth)' PIE

Compound of *reil-* 1. 'textile, clothing' and *merk* 'certain currency', cf. s.vv.

reka wk. vb. 1 'give, pay' PIE

Ofris. also *re(s)za*, *retsa*, *retza*, *retsza*, *hreka*

The spellings <z, sz, ts, tz, tsz> denote the palatalisation and assibilation of *k* > *č*.

●PFRIS: **rēka*

OE *rācan*, OHG *reihhen*, *reichen*, MHG *reichen*, MLG *rēken*, MDu. *reken*, *reiken* 'give, reach out, get', cf. also:

ON *reik* 'parting (in hair)'

●PGMC: **raikejanaN* [PWGmc.]

●PIE: *(H)*reig*/(H)*roig-*

POKORNY: 862-3

Lith. *reizi* 'stretch', OIr. *riag* 'torture', MWelsh *dirrwyn* 'torture, pain'.

rend subst. m. 'tear, tearing (of clothes)' PIE

Ofris. also *reynd*

The spelling <ey> seems to point to *ē*, which is unexplicable.

●PFRIS: **rend*

OE *rendan* 'tear (vb.)', OHG *rinda*, *rinta* 'crust, bark', MLG ° *rende* (pl.) 'something broken', MDu. *renden* 'tear (vb.)'

●PGMC: **rendaN*

●PIE: *(H)*rend^h*-

POKORNY: 865

Skt. *rāndhram* 'opening, cave'(?), but cf. s.v. *lond*.

-rene 1 subst. m. 'flow, stream' PIE

In: *inrene* 'the act of flowing into sth. (of blood)', *utrene* 'flowing out (of saliva)'

Ofris. also *renne*

●PFRIS: **reni*

Goth. *runs*, ON *runi*, OE *ryne* 'flow, stream', OHG *run* 'course, run', MDu. *rinne*, *renne* 'course, run, flow, stream', cf. also

**renwaN*: Goth. *rinnan*, ON *rinna*, OE *rinnan*, *iornan*, *iernan*, OS, OHG *rinna*, MHG *rinnen* MLG ° *rinnen*, *runnen*, OFris. *runna*, *renna*, *rinna*, ODu. *rinnan*, MDu. *rinnen*, *runnen* 'run'.

●PGMC: **run(n)iN*

● No certain IE etymology

It is doubtful, as Seebold has pointed out, that this etymon can be derived from a PIE root *(H)ren- [Pokorny 1959: 326-332, especially 331], among others because of the poor attestations of related forms in other IE languages (OCS *uzroniti* 'pour (vb.)', Lith. *nurendėti* 'go down (of the sun)', Gr. *rhainō* 'sprinkle'). More likely candidates are -nu-formations to the PIE roots *h₃r- [Pokorny 1959: 326-332] or *(H)rei- [Pokorny 1959: 330].

Lit: Seebold 1970: 375-377

rene 2 adj. 'clean, pure' PIE

OFris. also *reen*

The spelling <ec> denotes ē.

●PFRIS: *hrēni

Goth. *hrains*, ON *hreinn*, OS *hrēni*, OHG *hreini*, *reini*, MHG *reine*, MLG **rein*, MDu. *reine*, *rene*

●PGMC: *hrainiN

●PIE: *krei-

POKORNY: 946

Gr. *krínō* 'distinguish, decide', *krísis* 'decision', Lat. *cernere* 'discriminate'

Lit: de Vries 1977: 253, 257

see also: -rede 2.

resta wk. vb.1 'rest' PIE

●PFRIS: *resta

OE *restan*, OS *restian*, OHG *reston*, *resten*, MHG *rasten*, MLG **rasten*, *resten*, *rusten*, ODu. *raston*, *restan*, MDu. *rasten*, *resten*, *rusten* 'rest (vb.)', cf. also **rastō*: Goth. *rasta* 'mile', ON *rǫst* 'mile, rest (subst.)'

●PGMC: *rastejanaN

●PIE: *(H)reH- ?

POKORNY: 338-9

Cf. Pokorny (1959: 338-9) s.v. *rē 2., but no obvious cognates and a doubtful root etymology.

reth subst. n. 'wheel (as an instrument of torture)' PIE

OFris. also *rad*

This by-form must be a MDu. or MLG loan.

●PFRIS: *raþ

OS *rath*, OHG *rad*, MHG *rat*, *rad*, MLG **rat*, MDu. *rad*, *rat* 'wheel', cf. also Goth. *raþs* 'easy', ON *rǫðull* 'aura, sun', OE *rador*, *rodor* 'heaven'

Only the WGmc. languages have retained this etymon for 'wheel' (orig. 'spoked wheel'), the others have used PGmc. *h^wch^wlaN < PIE *k^wek^wlo- 'disk-wheel' (cf. OFris. *fial*).

●PGMC: *raþaN

●PIE: *(H)rotHo-

POKORNY: 866

Skt. *rátha-* 'chariot', Lat. *rota*, Irish *roth* 'wheel'.

rethe subst.f. 'defence' PIE

●PFRIS: *rethi

cf. s.v. *-rethia*

-rethia wk. vb. 2 'speak, declare, testify' PIE

In: *birethia* 'find guilty of'

Ofris. also *redia*, *retha*, *radia*

It is likely that the Form *radia* arose under MLG or MDu. influence, but we find more instances of an alternation *a/c*. The form *retha* implies a shift to weak class 1, cf. also sub *-rāvia*.

●PFRIS: *rethia

Goth. *garaþjan*, 'count', OS *rethiōn*, OHG *red(i)ōn*, *redinōn*, MHG *reden*, MLG *rēden*, MDu. *rēden* 'speak', cf. also

*raþjō: Goth. *raþjō* 'count', OS *rethia* 'account', OHG *radja*, *red(i)a*, *redina* 'conversation, account', MHG *rede* 'reason, story, account', MLG ° *rede* 'account, case', OFris. *rethe* 'defence', MDu. *rēde*, *rēden(c)* 'reason(ing), argument, account, case';

*rōdejanaN: Goth. *rōdjan*, ON *rœða* 'speak', OFris. *rēda* 'speak, declare, prove (that a charge is unfounded)', cf. s.v. *rēda* 2.

●PGMC: *raþejanaN

●PIE: *Hrh₁t-

Skt. *rādhnóti* 'make right, perform', OIr. *imm-rādim* 'consider, think about'

Lit: Schrijver 1991: 307

see also: red 1., red 2., reda 2., rethe

rib subst. n. 'rib' Gmc.

Ofris. also *reb*

The alternation *e/i* is well attested in OFris. (e.g. Boutkan 1996: 23).

●PFRIS: *ribb

ON *rif*, OE *ribb*, OS *ribb(i)*, OHG *rippi*, *ribbi*, *rippa*, MHG *rippe*, *ribbe*, *ribe*, MLG °, MDu. *ribbe*, *rebbe* 'rib'

●PGMC: *rebjaN

●No certain IE etymology

The old derivation from PIE *h₁rebh- 'to cover, put a roof over sth.', cf. Gr. *créphō*, *eréptō* 'cover' [Pokorny 1959: 853] is doubtful, particularly because the alleged semantic development to 'rib' is only found in Gmc. and Slavic.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

riddere subst. m. 'knight, horseman' LW

Ofris. also *riddere*

●PFRIS: *riddiri

← MDu. *riddere*

This derivation of Gmc. *rīdaN 'ride' emerged in Flanders ca. 1100 to denote Lat. *miles* 'knight' and spread from there to the north.

Also in: ON *riddari* (late, ← MLG, MHG *ritter*, *riter*, *rītære*, MLG° *ridder*, MDu. *riddere*, *ridder*, *riddare*, *reddere*, *ruddere* 'knight, horseman'.

Lit: not in Holthausen 1921; not in Wollmann 1990

-rif subst. n. 'belly, abdomen' PIE

In: *inrif* '(wounding of the) intestines'

OFris. also *ref*

The alternation *e/i* arose under influence of paradigm variation (Ns *hrifi, Gs *hrefa).

●PFRIS: *hrif

OE *hrif* OHG *href*, *ref*, ODu. *ref* 'belly', MDu. *middelrijf* 'midriff'.

●PGMC: *hrefiN [PWGmc.]

●PIE: *krep-

POKORNY: 620

Skt. *kṛp-* 'appearance, beauty', Av. *kəhrp-* 'appearance, body'.

-rik NP

In: Otholric

rike 1 adj. 'powerful, mighty; rich' LW

OFris. also *rijk*, *rijck*

The spelling <ij> is OWFris. and denotes *ī*; <ck> is an allograph of *k*.

●PFRIS: *rīki

ON *rikr*, OE *rīce*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rihhi*, MHG *rīche*, *rīch*, *rich*, MLG° *rik(e)*, MDu. *rike*, 'powerful, mighty; rich', cf. also

*rīk: Goth. *reiks* 'ruler';

*rīkiaN (subst.n.): Goth. *reiki*, OR *rikipiR*, ON *rīki*, OE *rīce*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rīhhi*, MHG *rīch*, MLG°, OFris. *rike 2.* (q.v.), ODu., MDu. *rike* 'empire, kingdom'.

●PGMC: *rīkiaN

PGmc. loan ← PCelt. *rīx to PIE *h₃reg-, cf. Lat. *rēx*, OIr. *rí* 'king'

see also: *rike 2.*, *himulrike*, *irthrike*, *kinigrike*

rike 2 subst. n. 'empire, kingdom' Gmc.

OFris. also *rik*

●PFRIS: *rīki

cf. s.v. *rike 1.*

Riostri(n)g subst. m. 'inhabitant of Riustring' NP

Riostringalond subst. n. 'Riustring' NL

risa str. vb. I 'rise, arise; happen' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *rīsa

Goth. *ur/risan* 'stand up', ON *rīsa* 'rise', OE, OS, OHG *rīsan*, MHG, MLG *risen*, MDu. *risen*, '1. rise; 2. fall', cf. also

*raisinōN or *raisīniN: ON *blóðrīsa* adj. 'bloodstained', MLG *blōtrisene* 'bleeding wound', OFris. *risne*, *rēs(e)ne* 'flood, stream'.

●PGMC: *rīsanaN

●PIE: *h₃rei- [?]

POKORNY: 330-2

Since only Gmc. *rīsanaN and its cognates are attested as *s* derivations of this PIE root, it is possible that we must look in a different direction for the origin of this etymon, i.e. an European substratum.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 371-2

see also: -risne

-risne subst. f. 'flood, stream' PIE

In: *blodrisne* 'bleeding wound, haematoma'

OFris. also *rēs(e)ne*

The alternation *e/i* is well attested in OFris. (Boutkan 1996: 23).

●PFRIS: *rēsini

cf. s.v. *risa*

Lit: van Helten 1890: 24, 145; Ahlsson 1960: 11

rither subst. n. 'cow, cattle' PIE

OFris. also *hrither*, *reder*, *reer*, *hrīder*, *reeder*, *rīder*, *rier*, *ryer*, *hrinder*, *rinder*

The forms *reder*, *reer*, *reeder* must derive from a PFRis. form *hruther (> *hryther > *(h)rether > *reder*), which is also attested in OE *hryþer*, *hruðer*.

The forms *hrinder*, *rinder* are probably MDu. or MLG loans, the former is furthermore representing a contamination of the OFris. and MDu. or MLG form (because the combination #*hr-* no longer existed in the latter languages).

However, it is also possible that the forms are not loans, but are to be explained as the outcome of 'Grammatischer Wechsel', due to which PGmc. *p* > *d* without a loss of the preceding *n*. The forms *hrīder*, *rīder*, *rier*, *ryer* are developments of *hrīther; *p* > *d* > \emptyset .

●PFRIS: *hrīther, *hruther

OE *hriþer*, *hrīðer*, *hryþer*, *hrīð*, *hruðer*, OS *hrīth*, OHG *hrint*, MHG *rint*, MLG " *runt*, *ront*, *rint*, ODu. *Rint*/*sclē*, MDu. *rent*, *rint*, *ront*, *runt* 'cattle'

●PGMC: *hrinþez- [PWGmc.]

The ending *-ez represents a generalization of the IE -es-suffix throughout the paradigm (not original in Ns).

●PIE: *k_{er}-

POKORNY: 574

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 306

riucht 1 adj. 'rightful, just, legal, official' PIE

OFris. also *riocht*

The product of 'breaking' of *e shows an alternation -*iu*-/-*io*- (which must be explained as a lowering), which is already attested in R₁ as an allophony. In OWFris. -*io*- becomes more common.

●PFRIS: *riucht

Goth. *rihts* ON *réttr*, OE *riht*, OS *recht*, OHG, MHG *reht*, MLG ° *recht*, ODu. *reht*, MDu. *recht* 'rightful, legal', cf. also

*rehtuN: ON *réttr*, OE *riht*, *ryht*, *reohht*, OS *recht*, OHG, MHG *reht*, MLG ° *recht*, OFris. *riucht* (cf. s.v. *riucht* 2.), ODu. *reht*, MDu. *recht* 'right, law';

*rehtejanaN: Goth. *garaihtjan* ON *rétta*, OE *rihtan*, OS *rihtian*, OHG *rihtan*, MHG *richten* 'make right', MLG ° *rechten*, *richten* 'make right, administer justice, adjudicate', OFris. *riuchta* 'raise; administer justice; adjudicate; give satisfaction; expiate', ODu. *rihten* 'make right', MDu. *richten*, *rechten* 'make right, steer, give direction';

*rehtē: ON *réttt*, OE *rihte*, OE *rihte*, OS, OHG *rehto*, MHG *rehte*, MLG *rechte*, OFris. *riuchte*, MDu. *rechte*, *richte* 'rightfully, legally'.

●PGMC: *rehtaN

●PIE: *h₃reg-

POKORNY: 854-7

Skt. *rjú-*, Av. *ərəzu-*, Lat. *rēctus* 'straight', Gr. *orégō* 'stretch out'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300; Boutkan 1998a

see also: *riucht* 2., *riuchta*, *riuchte*, *londriucht*, *unriuchte*, *upriuchta*

riucht 2 subst. n. 'right, law; verdict' PIE

OFris. also *riocht*

●PFRIS: *riucht

cf. s.v. *riucht* 1.

riuchta wk. vb. I 'raise; administer justice; adjudicate; give satisfaction; expiate' PIE

OFris. also *riochta*

●PFRIS: *riuchta

cf. s.v. *riucht* 1.

riuchte adv. 'right(ful)ly, truthfully, legally' PIE

OFris. also *riucht*, *riocht(e)*

●PFRIS: *riuchti

cf. s.v. *riucht* 1.

-roft subst. m. 'call, cry' Gmc.

In: *tīānūtrōft* 'alarm cry', *wēpinrōft* 'call to arms, alarm cry'

OFris. also *rofft*, *ruft*, *roeft*

The spelling <ff> is an allograph of *f*, <oe> denotes *ō*.

●PFRIS: *hrōft

OHG *hruoft* 'murder cry, indictment, cult song', *gehruafti* 'calling', MHG *geruoft*, *gerüefte* 'calling', *gerücht* 'rumor', MLG (*ge*)*ruchte*, (*ge*)*rochte*, MDu. (*ghe*)*ruchte* 'calling, alarm, fame, rumor'

cf. also

*hrōpan: Goth. *hropjan*, ON *hrópa*, *hrœpa*, OE *hrōpan*, (*h*)*ruofan*, OS *hrōpan*,

MHG *ruofen, rüefen*, MLG *rōpen*, OFris. *rōpa* (q.v.), ODu. *ruopen, ruopon*, MDu. *roepen, ropen, roupen, ruepen* 'call, cry'.

●PGMC: *hrōftaN

● No certain IE etymology

Pokorny (1959) already doubts the derivation from a root *kh₂r- 'praise', cf. Skt. *carkarti* 'praise', Gr. *karkaírō* 'resound' [Pokorny 1959: 531], perhaps because the Gmc. root *hrōpaN and its cognates would then be the only 'b-Erweiterungen'; Seebold (1970: 280) remarks that it is difficult to find cognates in other languages, and 'Schallwörter auf der Grundlage qer- sind nicht selten'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 279-280

see also: -ropa, biropa

-ropa str. vb. VII 'call, cry' Gmc.

In: *biropa* 'indicate a culprit by screaming'

OFris. also *hropa, roepa*

The spelling <oe> denotes *ō*.

●PFRIS: *hrōpa

cf. s.v. *-roft*

Rume NL 'Rome' LW

OFris. also *Rome*

The form with <u> seems strange, since the Latin original has <o> and is found only in the OEFris. tradition. Parallels like OFris. *munster* 'monastery' < Lat. *monasterium* and OFris. *munte/monte* 'coin' < Lat. *monēta* seem to imply that Lat. *oN* → OFris. *uN/oN*, probably through a MLat. or Old French intermediary.

see also: Rume, rumere 1., 2., rumfara, rumisk

Rumere 1 subst. m. 'Roman, inhabitant of Rome' LW

OFris. also *Romere*

Cf. s.v. *Rume* for the alternation *o/u* in Lat. loans. An *-iri*-derivation of *Rumc*, q.v.

see also: Rume, rumere 2., rumfara, rumisk

rumere 2 subst. m. 'Rome-pilgrim, someone who undertakes a pilgrimage to Rome' LW

OFris. also *roemere*

The spelling <oe> denotes *ō*; cf. s.v. *Rume* for the alternation *o/u* in Lat. loans. An *-iri*-derivation of *Rume*, q.v.

see also: Rume, Rumere 1., rumfara, rumisk

rumfara subst. m. 'Rome-pilgrim, someone who undertakes a pilgrimage to Rome' PIE

Compound of *Rume* 'Rome' and *fara* 1. 'travel', cf. s.vv.

see also: Rume, Rumere 1., rumere 2., rumisk

rumisk adj. 'Roman (as in 'Holy Roman Empire')' LW

Ofris. also *roemsch*, *romsch*, *roemissch*, *romesch*

An *-iska*-derivation of Rume, q.v.

Cf. s.v. *Rume* for the alternation *o/u* in Lat. loans. The spelling <oe> denotes *ō*; <(s)sch> is a OWfris. rendering of /sk/

Also in: MHG *röm(e)sch*, *römisch*

see also: Rume, Rumere 1., rumere 2., rumfara

runna str. vb. III 'run, flow' PIE

Ofris. also *renna*, *rinna*

The forms *runna* on the one hand and *renna*, *rinna* on the other must be explained as two alternative formations, cf. s.v. *-rene* 1.

●PFRIS: *rinna or *runna

Ruszlond NL 'Russia' LW

See Boutkan (1996: 37)

S

sa adv.; conj 'thus, as, ... ever, then, therefore; as, or, depending on, if, when' PIE

The quoted meaning '... ever' refers to the use of *sa* as a device to stress indefinite meaning, e.g. *sa hwa (sa)* 'whoever'.

Ofris. also *sō*

This OWfris. form (as a rule in E₄, cf. van Helten (1907a: 287); also in R₂ II, 54, E₁ IV, 189, VI, 92, E₂ III, 170), displaying non-Fris. vocalism, must be attributed to Dutch and Low German influence.

●PFRIS: *sā

Goth. *swa*, ON *svá*, OE *swā* 'thus', cf. also

*swē: Goth. *swe* 'when, as, about', OE *swæ*, *s(w)ē*;

*swō(N), *swau: ON *sō*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, ODu. *sō*, MDu. *so(o)*, *zo(o)* 'thus' (*swau allows OFris. *sā* to be cognate as well);

furthermore:

+ *leika-: (cf. sub *-līk* 1., 2. respectively): Goth. *swaleiks*, ON *slīkr*, OE *swelc*, *swilek*, *swylc*, OS *sulik*, OHG *sulih*, *solih*, MHG *sulich*, *sölch*, *solch*, MLG *sül-(li)k*, *söl(li)k*, *sūk*, OFris. *sel(i)k*, *sellech*, *sullik*, *sulch*, *suk*, (-)sek (q.v.), *salk*, MDu. *swelc*, *zwelc*, *swilc*, *su(i)lc*, *zule*, *selc*, *so(e)lc*, *suelc*, *sulic*, *sulec*, *sul(li)ch* 'such';

*seina-: Goth. *seins*, ON *sínn*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, OFris. (cf. s.v. *sīn* 2.), ODu. *sīn*, MDu. *sijn*, *zijn* 'his';

*selba-: Goth. *silba*, ON *sjalfr*, OE *se(o)lf*, *sylf*, OS *self*, OHG *selb*, MHG *selp*, MLG *self*, *selve(n, -r, -st)* *sülff(st)*, *sülve(n, -r, -st)*, *silve(n, -r, -s)*, *sölve(n, -st)*, OFris. *self* (q.v.), *selva*, ODu. *self*, *selvo*, MDu. *self*, *selve*, *zelve*, *sulve* 'self';

*swēsa-: Goth. *swes* 'own', ON *sváss*, OR Ds *suasum* (Ålum, 1000 AD) 'dear', OE *swāes*, OS, OHG *swās* 'dear, one's own', OFris. *swēs* (q.v.) 'related';

*sebja-: Goth. *unsibjis* 'unlawful', ON *guþsifi* 'godfather', OE (*ge*)*sibb*, OHG *sibbi*, *sippi*, MHG *sippe*, MLG *sibbe*, OFris. *sibbe* (cf. s.v. *sibbe* 2.), MDu. *sib*(*be*), *seb*, *zibbe* 'related';

*sebjō: Goth. *sibja*, ON pl. *sifjar*, OE *sibb*, OS *sibbia*, OHG *sibba*, *sipp(e)a*, MHG *sippe*, MLG *sibbe*, OFris. *sibbe* (cf. s.v. *sibbe* 1.), MDu. *sibbe*, *sebbe*, *zibbe* 'relationship'.

●PGMC: *swa(t)

●PIE: *suod (*swoh₁, *swōⁿ)

POKORNY: 882-884, especially 884

The general view is that the Gmc. words for 'thus' ultimately belong to PIE *se as represented in the reflexive Lat. *sē*, Goth. *si-k* and in the other Gmc. derivations quoted sharing a reflexive meaning. A form *sue-, e.g. Gr. (Pamph.) *whē* may have arisen due to influence of the PIE 3s possessive pronoun *suos, cf. Lat. *suus*, etc., cf. also Skt. *svayám* (Beekes 1990: 251).

As to the details of the Gmc. forms, several reconstructions have been proposed, however. To a certain extent, it remains unclear which Gmc. forms can be taken together as going back to one proto-form, because secondary developments such as dialectal lengthenings (and qualitative changes) may have blurred the expected correspondences.

Concerning the OFris. form and its cognates with *ǣ*, the standard view has been a reconstruction *suod > Gr. *hótti* 'whatever'. The Greek form appears to belong to PIE *io-, however (e.g. Pokorny 1959: 884, after Schwyzler). As to the words showing *ā*, we can assume lengthening in monosyllables. Lehmann (1986) doubts this specific reconstruction, though still opting for a derivation from PIE *s(w)e, and reconstructs a form *swō, cf. Gr. *hós* 'as, like' < Is *swō (= swoh₁) + -s, etc., yielding both Goth. *swa*, ON *svá*, OE *swā*, OFris. *sā* and the Gmc. *ō*-forms quoted sub *swō(N). Starting from a general NWGmc. transition of *ō to *ū, Hollifield (1979: 55) only reconstructs *swōⁿ for the latter forms, discussing some of the complications. He takes both Goth. *swa* and *swe* to be cognate with OE *swā*, *s(w)ē*.

Franck et al. (1976) s.v. *zoo* suggest the possibility that the WGmc. *ō*-forms and OFris. *swā* reflect *swa-u, based on *swa > Goth. *swa*, etc., but admit that other possibilities are possible. Without further comment, de Vries (1992) s.v. *zo* separates the WGmc. *ō*-forms and OFris. *sā* from Goth. *swe*, *swa*, OE *swā*, *swē* and ON *svá*, *sō*.

Gmc. 'self' only has one parallel, viz. Venetic *sselboi sselboi* 'sibi ipsi' (cf. discussion in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *silba*).

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990

see also: *alsek*, *-sek*, *self*, *sin* 2., *swes*, *swesbed*, *swesdel*

sa hwsa indef. pron. 'whoever' PIE

Compound of *sa* and *hwsa*, cf. s.vv.

sa hwelik (sa) indef. pron. 'whoever' PIE

Compound of *sa* and *hwelik*, cf. s.vv.

sa hwersa adv., conj. 'wherever' PIE

Compound of *sa* and *hwersa*, cf. s.vv.

salt adj. 'salty' PIE

Ofris. also *saut*

This OWfris. by-form shows a late diphthongisation of *al* to *au*, cf. also Mod. Wfris. *sâlt* [sã:t].

●PFRIS: *salt

ON *saltr*, OE *sealt*, OHG *salz*, MLG *solt*, *salt*, MDu. *sout(e)*, *zout* 'salty'.

subst.n. o-st.: Goth., ON *salt*, OE *scalt*, OS *salt*, OHG, MHG *salz*, MLG *solt*, *salt*, MDu. *sout*, *zout*, *saut*, [eastern Dial.:] *solt*, *salt* 'salt';

*sult-: OS *sultia*, OHG *sulza* 'salt water, salted sausage', MLG *sulte* 'salt water, salted food', ODu. *sulta* 'salt water', MDu. *sult(e)*, *silte* 'salted food'

●PGMC: *salta-

●PIE: *sh₂-l-

POKORNY: 878-9

Gr. *hâls* 'salt' < *sh₂-el; Lat. *sâl* 'salt', Lith. *sôlymas* 'brine' < *seh₂-l-; Lat. Gen. *salis* < *sh₂-l-. The ablaut forms thus reconstructed must once have functioned in a hystero-dynamic l-stem paradigm, cf. e.g. Kortlandt (1985: 119), Beekes (1990: 217). Gmc. has added a dental suffix *-d-. The zero-grade forms PGmc. *sult- must represent *sh₂-l-d- > sH₂d- with a laryngeal and exclude a reconstruction PIE *sâl- (Schrijver 1995: 32).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305; Schrijver 1991: 129-30

sama = *sa ma*

cf., s.v. *hwasa*, *hwersa*, *ma* and *sa*

san(c)te adj. 'holy, saint' LW

Ofris. also *sent(e)*, *sint*, *sunkt*

The abundance of root vowels has a parallel in the MLG and MDu. forms, see below. Although Wollmann (1990: 534) does not distinguish them, it seems probable to me that the form containing *a* and (originally) *-k-* <*c*> was directly borrowed from Lat. *sancte*, vocative of *sanctus*. The OWfris. form *sunkt* betrays the rounded back realisation of /a/ before nasals. The other forms must be explained from borrowing of French *saint(e)*, as must the MDu. forms (cf. de Vries 1992 s.v.).

The form *sint* represents a later, OWfris. development that is paralleled by Du. and LG. As to the syncope of *-k-*, cf. Wollmann (1990: 534 with reff.), who starts from a phonological process. This is confirmed by the doublet forms *san(c)te* ← Lat. *sanctus*, e.g. in R₁. In the remaining forms, the absence of the velar in French *saint* must be held responsible.

●PFRIS: *sankt (~ *sent ← French)

← Lat. *sanctus* 'holy' (~ French *saint(e)*).

Also in: OE *sanct(e)*, OS *sancte*, MHG *san(c)te*, *sant*, *sente*, MLG *sante*, *sente*, *sinte*, *sūinte*, MDu. *sint(e)*, *sent(e)*, *sonte*, *sunte* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *san(k)t*, *sēnt*, *sint*, *sunkt*; Wollmann 1990: 534

sane = *sa ne*

cf., s.v. *sa*, and *ne* 1.

sante cf., s.v. *san(c)te*

sare = *sa re*

cf., s.v. *sa*, *hweddersa* and *hi*

sase = *sa se*

cf., s.v. *sa*, *hi* and *se* 2.

sax subst. n. 'knife' PIE

●PFRIS: *saks

ON *sax*, OR Ds *sAkse* (Eggjuun 700 AD), OE *seax*, OS, OHG *sahs*, MHG *sa(h)s*, MLG *sāks*, *sak*, *sach* 'short sword, knife', cf. also

*matisahs-: OE *meteseax*, OHG *mazsahs*, *mezzisahs*, *mezzirahs*, *maces*, MHG *mezzar*, MLG *mes(set)*, *metset*, *mēst*, *metscs*, *messer*, MDu. *mes(se)*, *mes(t)*, *messer*, *metser* 'knife':

*skara/isahs-: OE *scarseax*, *scierscax*, OS *skersahs*, OHG *scar(a)sahs*, MHG *scharsa(h)s*, MLG *scharsas*, *scharrāš*, ODu. *scarsahs*, MDu. *sca(e)rs*, *sce(e)rs* 'razor'.

●PGMC: *sahsa-

●PIE: *sok(H)-so-

POKORNY: 895-6

Lat. *seco*, OCS *sěsti* 'cut', Alb. *shatë* 'mattock' < *sak-to- < *sk-to- (Demiraj 1997: 358-9, s.v.). The root is usually considered as PIE, but only attested in European (Albanian, Balto-Slavic, Gmc., Italo-Celtic).

Saxa subst. m. 'Saxon' NP

se 1 subst. m. 'sea' Gmc.

OFris. also *zee*

This OWFris. form is only an orthographical variant showing indication of vowel length and initial *z-* for *s-* after the example of Middle Dutch.

●PFRIS: *sē

Goth. *saiws* 'sea, marshland', ON *sær*, *sjór*, *sjár*, OE *sā*, *sā*, OS *sē(o)*, OHG *sē(o)*, *seu*, MHG, MLG *sē* 'sea, lake', ODu. *sēo*, *sēu* 'sea', MDu. *se(e)*, *zee* 'sea, lake'

●PGMC: *saiwa-

● No IE etymology

An IE etymology has generally been doubted, viz. the comparison of Lat. *sae-vus* 'wild, furious, raging' (< *sel₂i-uo-?, cf. Schrijver 1991: 270), which does not fit the apparently original Gmc. meaning 'lake, inland water' (probably,

Ofris. *hef*, etc. was the old word for 'sea'. A derivation from PIE **soikw-* > PGmc. **saigw-* > **saiw-*, cf. OE, OS *sīgan*, OFris. *sīga* 'flow down' (on the evidence cf. Seebold 1970: 388ff.) is not very attractive, either. There was no IE word for 'sea', which makes the assumption of a loan *a priori* very likely. Some interesting Uralic evidence has long been recognized, cf. Finnic *saivo* 'transparent place in the sea', Norw.-Lappish *saivvā* '(holy) lake, idol'. A further, inner-Gmc. connection may be **saiwa-lō* 'soul', cf. Goth. *saiwala*, OFris. *sēle* (q.v.), etc., which finds support in a mythological parallel, viz. the popular belief in both Gmc. and Lappish sources that the souls of mankind dwell in the water until birth and return there after death (Weisweiler 1940).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305 (as a Gmc. innovation)

see also: *hef*, *sele*

se 2 pers. pron. 3sf, 3pmfn 'she, they' PIE

Enclitic form of OFris. pers. pron. 3sf *siu* and pmfn *sī* (not in R), respectively.

●PFRIS: **se*

cf. also

3sf: Goth. *sī*, OHG *sī*, MHG *sī*, MLG *si(e)*, *sē*, MDu. *sī*; OS *siu*, *sia*, *sie*, *sea*, OHG *siu*, *sia*, *sie*, MHG *sie*;

pmfn: MHG *sī*, MLG *sē*, *si(e)*, ODu., MDu. *sī*; OS *sia*, *sie*, *sea*, *siu*, OHG *sie*, *sio*, *siu*, MHG *sie*, *siu*, ODu. *sia*, MDu. *sie*

●PGMC: **sī*; **(s)ei* > **sī*, **sī-*

Originally, we are dealing with forms of the anaphoric pronoun PIE **h₁e*, cf. Beekes (1990: 243ff.), serving as personal pronouns in Gmc. Both forms were enlarged with the **s-* from the demonstrative PIE **so* (Beekes 1990: 247). The fem. singular reflects PIE **ih₂*, the plural forms were masc. **h₁ei* > PGmc. **ei* > **ī*, fem. **h₁i-es* (Goth. *ijos*), neuter **ih₂* (identical with fem. sing.), which apparently merged in a PWGmc. **sī-*. The absence of /i/ in the Goth. form *sī* (rather than **sei*) proves that the laryngeal was (vocalised and) lost before it could contract with the preceding vowel (Boutkan 1995: 94, 231-3).

●PIE: (**so* and) **h₁e*

POKORNY: 978-9

Skt. *ayām* < **h₁e-(i)-* (not **i-*), Lat. *is*; as to **so*, cf. s.v. *thī*.

Lit: Beekes 1990: 243ff.

see also: -er 2., *hara*, *hem-*, *hiara*, *hi*, *hir*

se 3 suppletive 3s opt. pres. to *wesa* 1 'be' PIE

Ofris. also *sie*

This OWfris. form may betray Dutch influence. The current form is *sē*.

●PFRIS: **sē*

Goth. *sijai*, ON *sé*, OE *sī(e)*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *sī*, MDu. *si(j)* 'id.'

●PGMC: **sīt*

●PIE: **h₁s-ih₁-t*

POKORNY: 340ff.

Based on the root **h₁es-*, cf. Skt. *santi* '(they) are' < **h₁s-enti*, *ásti*, Lat. *est*, Goth. *ist*, OFris. *is(t)* < **h₁es-ti*, and the PIE optative suffix **-i(e)h₁-* (+

secondary endings, i.e. 3s *-t) on which cf. Beekes (1990: 292ff.).
see also: is, send, son, wesa 1.

seburch subst. f. 'sea-dike' Gmc.
Compound of *se 1.* and *-burch*, cf. s.vv.

secht subst. f. 'disease' Gmc.
OFris. also *syocht*, *siukte*, *syuke*

The OWFris. form *syocht* must contain another ablaut grade, i.e. **eu*, probably after **seuka-* 'sick'; cf. also OFris. *siak*, q.v. The form *syuke* may represent another formation PGmc. **seukei* (see below; also van Helten 1890: 155), if not simply representing a scribal error for *syukte*.

●PFRIS: **sext* ~ **siuxt*

Goth. *sauhts*, ON *sótt*, OE, OS, OHG *suht*, MHG *suht*, *sucht*, MLG *suftē*, *sucht(e)*, *socht*, MDu. *sucht*, *socht* 'disease' cf. also

**seuka-*: Goth. *siuks*, ON *sjúkr*, OE *sēoc*, OS *siok*, OHG *sioh*, MHG *siech*, MLG hap.(?) *sük*, OFris. *siak* (q.v.), MDu. *siec*, *zic* 'sick';

Bremer (1893: 334) correctly discards the hapax OFris. *sek* (cf. von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *siak*, *sick*, *sek*) as a variant of *siek*.

**seukin-*: Goth. *siukei*, OHG *siuhhi*, MLG *sûke*, OFris. *syuke* (?; see above) 'sickness';

**seukipō-*: MHG *siuchede*, MLG *sûkede*, *sûkte*, OFris. *siukte*, MDu. *suucte*, *siecte* 'sickness'.

●PGMC: **suxti-*

● No IE etymology

Several unattractive IE etymologies, often to semantically remote words have been proposed, cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *siuks*, de Vries (1992) s.v. *ziek*.

The standard etymology is found in Pokorny (1959: 915) s.v. *seug-* 'bekümmert, gekränk't, krank, traurig', who considers OIr. *socht* 'silence, gloom, stupor' and Arm. *hiucanim* 'sicken' to be cognate. However, together with Bret. *souezh* 'surprise, stupor' the OIr. form is better connected with Lat. *stupere* 'to be astonished', i.e. *socht* < **stup-tV-* (Schrijver 1995: 424). This leaves only Arm. *hiucanim* a possible cognate. This is a weak basis for a PIE etymology. Furthermore, the Gmc. and Arm. forms do not fully agree formally and semantically. Hamp (1991) reconstructs the Armenian form as **seng^w-n-ē* and connects it with the etymon *sink*, ON *søkkva*, etc.

Although the Gmc. variation **eu* ~ **u* seems to conform well to a PIE ablaut pattern, the etymon is probably non-IE in origin.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294 (on non-IE origin)

see also: *siak*

-sega subst. m. 'sayer' PIE [?]

In *āsega*, q.v.

OFris. also *-siga*, *-syga*, *-sga*

On these variants cf. s.v. *āsega*, *āsiga*

●PFRIS: *-sega

(OS, OHG [*sago*]-*sago*, MLG *sege*, all ← OFris.?, cf. s.v. *āsega*, *āsiga*), cf. also **sagjana*N: ON *segja*, OE *secgan*, OS *seggian*, OHG *seggen*, MLG *se(g)gen*, *sigen*, *sagen*, OFris. *sed(s)za*, *seka*, *sega*, *sidsa*, MDu. *seggen*, *zeggen*, *secgen* 'say';

**sagējana*N: OE *sagian*, OHG *sagēn*, MHG *sagen*, MDu. *sagen*, *zagen* 'say';

**sagō*: ON *saga*, OE *sagu*, OHG *saga*, MHG *sag(e)*, MLG *sāge*, OFris. *sege*, MDu. *sage*, *zage* 'account'.

To the latter formation not Goth. *in/sahts* 'account, report', cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v.

●PGMC: *-segan-

● No certain PIE etymology

Allegedly identical with **sek*⁠- 'follow' [Pokorny 1959: 897-8], e.g. Skt. *sácate* 'follow', having developed semantically towards 'see', cf. s.v. *sia*, and finally 'speak'. At any rate, this meaning 'say, tell, speak' is only found in European, cf. Gr. *ennépō* 'tell', Lat. *inquit* < **en-sk*⁠-et 'says', Lith. *sekū* 'tell', MWelsh *hebu* 'say'. This connection is doubted by Seebold (1970: 388).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290; Seebold 1970: 388

see also: *sia*

-*sek* pron. dem. 'such' PIE

OFris. also: *scl(i)k*, *sellech*, *sullik*, *sulch*, *suk*, (-)*sek* (q.v.), *salk*,

Cf. s.v. *sa*

seka 1 wk. vb. 1 'accuse (of), challenge' PIE

OFris. also *seza*

This by-form occurs only once (E₂ VI, 22) and shows palatalisation of the medial -*k*-, probably a restricted, dialectal phenomenon (Loopstra 1935: 145-6).

●PFRIS: **sēka*

Goth. *sokjan*, ON *søkja*, OE *sēcan*, OS *sōkian*, OHG *suohhen*, MHG *suochen*, MLG *sōken*, *su'ken*, MDu. *soeken*, *zoeken*, *so(u)ken*, *sueken* 'seek', cf. also

**sakana*N: Goth. *sakan* 'quarrel, rebuke, scold', ON *saka*, OE *sacan* 'quarrel', OS *sakan* 'scold', OHG *sahhan* 'quarrel', MHG *sachen* 'quarrel', MLG *sāken* 'accuse', OFris. *seka* 'challenge' (cf. s.v. -*scka* 2.), MDu. *ver/saken*, -*saecken*, -*seken* 'deny';

**sakō*: ON *søk* 'accusation', OE *sacu* 'quarrel', OS *saka*, OHG *sahha*, MHG *sache* 'case', ODu. *saca* 'res, causa', MLG *sākc*, OFris. *seke* (q.v.), *sake*, MDu. *sakc*, *zake*, *sacc(ke)* 'case';

**sakjō*: OE *sæcc*, OHG *seccea* 'quarrel';

**sakjōn*:- Goth. *sakjo* 'quarrel';

**sök(i)ni*:- Goth. *sokeins* 'investigation', *sokns* 'query', ON *sókn* 'fight', OE *sōcn* 'refugium', OHG *suohni* 'inquisitio', OFris. *sēk(e)ne* 'investigation';

etc.

●PGMC: *sōkjanaN

The connection of Gmc. *sak- 'quarrel' and *sōk- 'seek' as ablaut forms of one root is safeguarded by the confusion of the two meanings attributed to both root forms (Seebold 1970: 384).

●PIE: *seh₂ǵ-

POKORNY: 876-7

Gr. *hēgéomai* 'to direct, lead', Lat. *sāgus* 'wise', *sāgire* 'have a good nose' < *seh₂ǵo-, *sagāx* < *sh₂ǵ-, OIr. *saigid* 'try to reach', Hitt. *šak(k)-* 'know, remark, come to know'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303

see also: -seka 2., seke

-seka 2 str. vb. VI 'deny, dispute' PIE

In: *bī-*, *beseka*, cf. s.v.

●PFRIS: *sēka

Cf. s.v. *seka 1*.

seke subst. f. 'accusation, feud; charge, attack' PIE

●PFRIS: *sēke

Substantive feminine formation to *seka 1*, q.v.

sele subst. f. 'soul, oath (sworn to the soul)' Gmc.

OFris. also *siele*

This OWFris. by-form must represent MDu. influence. van Helten (1906: 198) as to the root vowel *ē*.

●PFRIS: *sēli

Goth. *saiwala*, (ON *sál(a)* ←) OE *sāwol*, OS *seola*, *siola*, OHG *sē(u)la*, MHG *sēle*, MLG *sēle*, *si^ole*, ODu. *sēla*, MDu. *siel(c)*, *ziele* 'soul'

●PGMC: *saiwalō

● No IE etymology

The word may be cognate with Gmc. *saiwa- 'sea', cf. s.v. *sē 1*. On untenable alternatives cf. de Vries (1992) s.v. *ziel* and Lehmann (1986) s.v. *saiwala*. The old connection to Gr. *aiólos* 'fast' must be given up. The Gr. word has no etymology and an initial *s- is no longer reconstructed (Chantraine 1968, Frisk 1960-1972 s.vv.; < *h₂iel-? cf. Beekes 1969: 95).

Lit: Weisweiler 1940

see also: *se 1*.

self pron. dem. 'self' PIE [?]

OFris. also *selva*

Cf. s.v. *sa*

sella wk. vb. 1 'give, pay, hand over, deliver' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *sēlla

Goth. *saljan*, ON *selja*, OE *s(i)ellan*, OS *sellian*, OHG *sel(l)en*, *sellan*, MHG

sel(le)n, MLG *sellen*, MDu. (Fris. context) *sellen*, *zellen* 'hand over', cf. also **sala-*: ON *sal* 'payment', MHG *sal* 'property'; **salō*: ON *sala*, OE *salu* 'sale', OHG *sala* 'transmission'; **sal(l)ingō*: OHG *salunga*, MLG *sellenge*, OFris. *sellonge* (Ahlsson 1960: 83), MDu. (Fris. context) *sellenge* 'sale'.

●PGMC: **saljanaN*

●PIE: **sel-* [?]

POKORNY: 899

Only attested in European, cf. Gr. *heleîn* 'take', OIr. *selb*, Welsh (*h*)*elw* 'possession' < **seluā*. Though meaning is the opposite, the Gmc. forms can be connected semantically by taking into consideration that we are dealing with a causative **sal-*ej-anaN** 'lit. make take' → 'hand over'. Besides, words meaning 'give' and 'take' are often mixed up, cf. also sub *have*.

Apart from the limited geographical distribution, the alleged coexistence of several PIE roots **sel-* (cf. de Vries 1977: 469, s.v. *selja*; cf. also Schrijver 1995: 437, fn. 1 as to a comparable abundance of formally similar roots in Celtic) raises questions as to the reconstruction of a PIE form.

Lit: Not in Lendinara 1990

see also: *have*, *sellonge*

sellonge subs. f. 'sale' PIE

Substantive formation to *sella*, q.v.

selond subst. n. 'Sea-land, one of the seven Frisian sea-lands in the middle ages' NP

selover subst. n. 'silver' Gmc.

OFris. also *selver*, *selvir*, *silver*

These by-forms show syncope of the original medial vowel; the shwa of the second syllable is spelled as <i> in OWFris. *selvir*. The root vowel of OWFris. *silver* may betray Dutch influence.

●PFRIS: **sēluvir*

Goth. *silubr*, ON *silfr* (> *syldr*), OE *silofr*, *sioluf* (> *seolubr*), *siolfor*, OS *silubar*, OHG *sil(a)bar*, MHG *silber*, *silver*, *selver*, MLG *sülver*, *silver*, *selver*, *sölver*, *sülfr*, *sölf*, MDu. *silver*, *zilver*, *selver*, *silver* 'silver'

●PGMC: **silabur-*

On the interpretation of the Gmc. evidence, cf. Boutkan and Kossmann (2000). On the traditional view, cf. Weyhe (1906: 64ff.).

OFris. and OE unambiguously point to earlier e-vocalism in the root (cf. also Campbell 1959: 91 fn. 1). However, the outer-Gmc. cognates (see below) as well as ON suggest an earlier *i*. Hence we can start from *e* < **i* due to a-mutation (similarly van Helten 1890: 11). In its turn, this suggests an earlier *a* in the second syllable, which is also confirmed by outer-Gmc. forms. The Goth. *u* may represent a reduction of **-a-* (incidentally in Goth., cf. Krause 1968: 90, 65), hardly an anaptyctic vowel as (allegedly) in *miluks* 'milk' (Lehmann 1986

s.v. *silubr*). The NWGmc. *-u-* instead of the **-a-* may be due to Van Helten's rule (1891: 460ff.), i.e. raising of medial **-a-* to *-u-* before a following **u*. This new *-u-* arose early enough to cause raising of an *e* to *i* in German, which may directly account for the *i* in OS *silubar*, OHG *sil(a)bar*, etc. These forms are not likely to have retained the root old vowel *i*, because *a*-umlaut — although its attestation is problematic — is most clearly attested in OHG of all Gmc. languages.

Usually, the forms pointing to *i* rather than *e* as a first vowel are derived from the adjective, e.g. OE *sylfren*, OHG *silberin* < **selubrīn-* (but OFris. *selvirn*) with *i* that can be explained from earlier **e* that was raised in a sequence **e-u-ī* (e.g. Campbell 1959 loc. cit. and on p. 138; on the raising rule cf. e.g. Kluge 1913: 253, Cercignani 1979: 75) or from the verb, e.g. OE *ppp besi(l)frede* (cf. Campbell 1959: 91 fn. 1; less likely).

• No IE etymology

On the whole etymon, cf. Boutkan and Kossmann (2000), with reff. The word has long been recognised as a Wanderwort. Its ultimate origin has been unclear, Akkadian *šarpu* having been considered a candidate. This must be given up, however. Vennemann (1995: 61-2) points to the problem that an eastern origin of the word is less likely in view of its attestation in the North-West European languages Gmc. and Lith. only, which makes some connection with the Basque forms more obvious. Basque *zilharr* is usually considered as a loan from Gmc. (cf. Löpelmann 1968, s.v. *silharr*).

The assumed PGmc. form can now be formally identified with the Hispano-Celtic form *silāPuř* (Eska 1989: 96-7 with abundant references). Interestingly, the rest of the Celtic branch has the *argentum*-word, cf. Gaul. *arcanto-*, OIr. *arggat*, etc. which suggests a Hispano-Celtic innovation due to an Iberian donor language. In this connection, the old comparison of Basque *zilharr* is attractive.

The word is furthermore attested in Baltic where it displays several formal problems but mostly confirms the first and second vowel, cf. Lith. *sidābras*, Latv. *sidrabs* < **sidabrs* < **sirabras*, OPruss. *siraplis*. OCS has a less clear form *sǫrebro* < **su/irebro-*. Forms with a root vowel **u* are also found in Lith. *sudābras*, Latv. *sudabrs* (reff. in Fraenkel 1962-1965, s.v. *sidābras*).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302 as to the problematic origin

-semin adv. 'together' PIE

In: *alsemin* 'altogether', q.v.

OFris. also *samin*, *samen*

The variation *sam-* ~ *sem-* cannot be explained from 'partial' umlaut, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX), in view of the common Gmc. evidence of a medial vowel *-a-* rather than **-i-*. One could start from a variation caused by presence vs. absence of fronting of **a* to *e*, arisen in the variants **saman-* (> **sem-*) ~ **samn-* (> **sam-*). This

is possible, but note that e-grade forms must be assumed for part of the MDu. and MLG forms (see below).

●PFRIS: *sem(a)n-

MLG *sēmene*, *semmene*, MDu. (Low Rheinisch) *semen*, cf. also

*samnōjanaN: ON *samna*, *safna*, OE *samnian*, OS *samnon*, *samnoian*, OHG *sam(a)nōn*, MHG *sam(e)nen*, MLG *sām(e)nen*, OFris. *somnia* (q.v.), *sōgenia*, MDu. *samenen*, *zamenen* 'collect';

*sama-na-: Goth. *samana*, ON *saman*, OE *samne*, OS, OHG *saman*, MHG *samen(e)*, MLG *sāmen(e)*, *sammene*, MDu. *samen(e)*, *zamen* 'together';

*saman-: Goth. *sama*, ON *sami*, *samr*, OE *same*, OS *sama*, *samo*, OHG *samo*, MHG *sam*, 'same';

*suma-: Goth. *sums*, ON *sumr*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG *sum*, MLG *sum*, *som*, OFris. *sum* (q.v., in R₁ only adverbially: 'partly'), MDu. *som*, *som(m)lich*, *zomlich*, *summlich* 'some, any';

*sumilika-: MLG *sōmel(i)k*, *sāma-*, *sume-*, *sommel(i)k*, *summe-*, *somlik*, *sum-*, *somt-*, OFris. *sumilik* (q.v.) 'one or another';

*sin-: Goth. *sin-*, ON *sí*, OE *siŋe-*, *siŋon-*, OS *sin-*, OHG *sin(a)-*, MHG *sin(e)-*, *sint-*, MLG *sin-*, *sene-*, OFris. *sin-* (cf. s.v. *sin-3*), MDu. *sin(e)-*, *sinde-* 'forever, durable' (← 'in one'), cf. such forms as Goth. *sinteins* 'daily', OS *sinnahti* 'eternal night', OHG *sinvluot* 'long-lasting flood'.

●PGMC: *sema-na-

●PIE: *somHo-no-

POKORNY: 902-5, especially 905

Skt. *samanā-* 'together', derived from *somHo-, cf. Skt. *samā-* 'one, a certain', Gr. *homós* 'common, similar'; cf. furthermore Ved. *sá*, Lith. *sam-* 'together with'.

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990

see also: *alsemin*, *-semine*, *sin-3*, *sinhigen*, *somnia*, *son*, *sum*, *sumilik*

-semine adv. 'together' PIE

In: *tosemine* 'together'

= petrified Ds of *-semin*, q.v.

cf. s.v. *-semin*

senā wk. vb. I 'reconcile' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *sēna

OS *gijsōnian*, OHG *suonen*, MHG *sūenen*, MLG *sōnen*, *suⁿen* (→ Da., Norw. *soene*), *swōnen* (= South Westfalian), MDu. *soenen*, *zoenen*, *suenen*, *swoenen*, Norw. Dial. *sōna* 'reconcile', cf. also *swōnō: OHG *suona*, MHG *suon(e)*, MLG *sōne*, *suⁿe*, *swōne* (= South Westfalian), OFris. *sōne* (q.v.), *sōn*, MDu. *soen(e)*, *zoene*, *swoene* 'reconciliation';

probably also

*swōn-: Norw. Dial. *sōnast* 'faint';

*swē₁n-: Norw. Dial. *svæna* 'diminish, stop';

*swan-: Norw. Dial. *svana* 'calm down'

●PGMC: *swōnjanaN

● No IE etymology

We must assume a proto-form *swōn- as a root given the MLG and MDu. evidence; the other dialects may have lost the *-w- before a rounded vowel.

see also: sone, sonswitthe

send = 3s ind. pres. (PGmc. *sendi < PIE *h₁sentī) of *wesa I.*, q.v.

cf. also s.v. *is*, *sē 3.*, *sōn*

senda wk. vb. 1 'send' PIE

Ofris. also *sanda seinda*

These by-forms show 'partial' umlaut, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX), and the transition of (lengthened) *ē* to *ei* that is sporadically encountered in older, especially Emsingo records (van Helten 1890: 6, 8) and more often in later sources.

●PFRIS: *senda

Goth. *sandjan*, ON *senda*, OE *senda*, OS *sendian*, OHG *senten*, MHG *senten*, MLG *senden*, *sennen*, MDu. *senden*, *zenden*, *s(e)inden* 'send', cf. also *senþnanaN: OE *sinnan* 'walk', OHG *sinnan* 'travel', MHG *sinnen* 'state, understand', OFris. *sinna* 'have in mind' (, [eastern] MDu. *sinnen*, *zinnen* 'contemplate, understand' ← MHG)

●PGMC: *sond

● No IE etymology

A root *sent- can be reconstructed on the basis of Lith. *siunc̄iù*, older *suntu*, *siūsti* 'send'; also *sin̄ciù* 'think'; OIr. *sét*, Welsh *hynt* 'road'. Perhaps also Lat. *sentio* 'state'. We can furthermore add Toch. A *šont* 'road' as evidence from a non-European language (Hilmarsson 1986: 23-7). This form must be reconstructed as *sch₁n-tu-, which implies that the European forms show vowel shortening due to Osthoff's law.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 394-5

see also: sendeboda

sende subst. f. 'sin, guilt' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *sonde*

This OWfris. by-form must be attributed to MDu. influence.

●PFRIS: *sendi

ON *synd*, OE *synn*, OS *sundia*, OHG *sunt(e)a*, MHG *sünde*, *sünste*, *sunte*, MLG *sünde*, *sönde*, OFris. also *siunc* (q.v.), MDu. *sonde*, *zonde*, *sunde*, *sende* 'sin'

●PGMC: *sundiō

●PIE: *h₁snt- [?]

POKORNY: 340-2

The word has been connected with Lat. *sons* 'guilty', cf. also ON *sannr* 'true' < *h₁sont-, but this connection may go back to an early borrowing of the Lat. word rather than to a genetic relationship.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300; Seebold (1969: 41-4); van Helten (1903: 249)

sendeboda subst. m. 'representative, delegate' PIE

Compound of *send-, cf. s.v. *senda* 'send', and *boda* 'messenger, ambassador', q.v.

-septha subst. m. 'scar' PIE [?]

In: *inseptha*, q.v.

Always in formula: *abel and inseptha* (V 21, 34[As], 123) 'erhöhte und vertiefte Narbe' (Munske 1973: 141), cf. also s.v. *ābēl*

Ofris. also *-septa*, *-cepta*

The former by-form shows *-t-* for **p* due to phonetic uncertainty, cf. van Helten (1890: 98). The use of the *-c-* in the latter by-form (F and OWfris.) has been unexplained (cf. also van Helten 1907a: 195).

●PFRIS: **-sepþa*

●PGMC: **-sipapaN*

The formation is uniquely Fris. (Walter 1911: 13), and has been explained as a dental derivation of the root of MDu., MLG *sipen*, MHG *sifen* 'drip', cf. van Helten (1907a: loc. cit.), who assumes the semantic development '*stillatio*' → 'durch triefen ausgetrocknete, zusammengeschrumpfte stelle'.

●PIE: **sei-b-* [?]

POKORNY: 889, 893-4

The labial element only has a parallel in Gr. *eibō* 'drip'. If one accepts a root etymology, i.e. a further analysis of **scib-* as **sei-* + *-b-*, one can compare semantically similar forms with labio-velars, cf. Skt. *sécate* 'pours', Gr. (Ionic) *ikmās* 'humidity'.

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990; Nauta 1941: 141; Walter 1911: 13; Seebold 1970: 391, 389ff.

see also: *sever*

setta wk. vb. I 'set, put, place, appoint, institute, command' PIE

●PFRIS: **setta*

Goth. *satjan*, ON *setja*, OE *settan*, OS *settian*, OHG *sezzen*, MHG *setzen*, MLG *setten*, ODu. *settan*, MDu. *setten* 'put', cf. also

**setjanaN*: Goth. *sitan*, ON *sitja*, OE *sittan*, OS *sittian*, OHG *sizzan*, *sizzen*, MHG *sitzen*, MLG *sitten*, MDu. *sitten*, *zitten* 'sit'

●PGMC: **satejanaN*

●PIE: **sed-*

POKORNY: 884-7

Skt. *sīdati*, Gr. *hézomai*, OIr. *saidid* 'sit'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Seebold 1970: 396-7

see also: *sitta*

sever subst. n. 'drivel' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *saver*

This by-form (E, H) shows the reflex *ā* <a> of **ai*.

●PFRIS: **sēvir* ~ **sāvir*

OE **sāfor* (for <sapor>), OHG *scivar*, MHG *seifer*, MLG *sēver*, MDu. *sever*, *zever* 'sputum'

●PGMC: *saifra-

●PIE: *soi-b-ro- [?]

POKORNY: 894

The word has been connected with the root *sei- 'drip, etc.', cf. s.v. *-septha*, which is not very obvious from a semantic point of view. Interestingly, the MHG form requires another root-final consonant, viz. *p. Perhaps the whole complex, with its specific meaning, represents a substrate etymon. Schrijver (p.c.) draws my attention to the Latin river-name *Sabrina* that may represent a variant *sabr- beside *saibr-, showing the typical variation *a ~ *ai in European substratum words (see also Schrijver 1997: 303ff.).

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990; Seebold 1970: 391, 389ff.

see also: *-septha*

sex card. num. 'six' PIE

●PFRIS: *sēks

Goth. *saihs*, Crimean Goth. *seis*, ON *sex*, OE *siex*, *sex*, *seox*, *six*, *syx*, OS, OHG, MHG *sehs*, MLG *ses*, MDu. *ses(se)*, *zesse* 'six'

●PGMC: *sehs-

●PIE: *seks

POKORNY: 1044

Skt. *śaś*, Gr. *héks*, OIr. *scé*. Several reconstructional problems remain. PIE (by)forms also seem to point to *sueks (Av. *xšuuas*, Gr. Delph. *ueks*, Gaul. *suxos*) and *ueks (OPruss. *uschts*). Perhaps the latter form was the original one, the *-s- being added secondarily yielding *sueks. This form may have been simplified to *seks.

Lit: Beekes 1990: 255; not in Lendinara 1990

see also: *sex* and *thritich*, *sexbete*, *sexmete*, *sexta*, *sextich*, *sextin*, *sextinda*

sex and thritich card. num. 'thirty-six' PIE

Compound of *sex* and *thritich*, cf. s.vv.

sexbete adj. 'six-double fine' Fris.

Compound of *sex* and *-bete*, cf. s.vv.

sexmete subst. f. 'a wound measuring six lengths' PIE

Compound of *sex* and *mete*, cf. s.vv.

sexta ord. num. 'sixth' PIE

Ordinal derivation of *sex*, cf. s.v.

sextich num.card. 'sixty' PIE

A cardinal *-tich* derivation of *sex*, cf. s.vv.

sextin card. num. 'sixteen' PIE

Expected *-tin*-formation (see *achtatin*) to the numeral 'six', cf. s.v. *sex*.

sextinda ord. num. 'sixteenth' PIE

Expected **-to*-formation functioning as ordinal (e.g. van Loey 1970: 155;

Prokosch 1939: 292-3) of *sextin*, cf. s.v. *-tinda*.

see also: *-tinda*, *achtatinda*

si subst. m 'victory' PIE

The vocalism may represent /i/ < PFr. /ei/ < *-agi- which is supported by the rest of the Gmc. evidence.

●PFRIS: *sei

Goth. *sigis*, ON *sigr*, OE *sige*, OS *sigi-*, OHG *sigu*, -o, MHG *sige*, *sic*, MLG *sēge(n)*, ODu. *sigi*, MDu. *seg(h)e*, *zege* 'victory'

●PGMC: *segēs-

●PIE: *seǵʰos

POKORNY: 888-9

Skt. *sáhas-* 'victory', Celtic NP *Sego-mārus*; from the same root Av. *haz-* 'get, obtain', Gr. *ékhō* 'have, keep'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

sia str. vb. V 'see' PIE

OFris. also *sian*

On the forms with and without final *-n* (analogical after *gān*, *stān*, cf. van Helten 1890: 218, 241), cf. Meijering (1990: 336).

●PFRIS: *sia

Goth. *sailvan*, ON *sjá*, OE *sēon*, OS *sehan*, OHG *seh(h)an*, MHG *sehen*, MLG *sēn*, *si'n*, ODu. *sian*, MDu. *sien*, *zien*, (eastern Dial. *seen*) 'see', cf. also

*seǵʰni-: Goth. *siuns*, ON *sýn*, *sjón*, OE *sīen*, *sēon*, *sýn*, OS *siun*, OHG *gijsiuni*, MHG *siunc*, *sīne*, MLG *sūnc*, OFris. *sione* (q.v.), *siunc*, MDu. *sūne*, *sien*, *zien* 'sight'

●PGMC: *schwanaN

●No certain PIE etymology

Perhaps to PIE *sekʰ- with original meaning 'follow', e.g. Skt. *sácate* 'follow' [Pokorny 1959: 897-8], allegedly having developed semantically towards 'see', cf. s.v. *siā*, and finally 'speak'. The latter meaning 'say, tell, speak' is only found in European, cf. s.v. *-sega*. This connection is doubted by Seebold (1970: 388).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 289-290; Seebold (1970: 388)

siak adj. 'sick, ill' Gmc.

OFris. also *sick*, *sek*

The former OWFr. by-form can represent either a later development of *siak* or a Dutch loan; *sek* (one attestation, cf. von Richthofen (1840) s.v. *siak*) is probably a scribal error.

●PFRIS: *siak

cf. s.v. *sccht*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

sibbe 1 subst. f 'relationship' PIE

●PFRIS: *sibbi

cf. s.v. *sā*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

sibbe 2 adj. 'related' PIE

Ofris. also *sib*

This by-form represents another adjectival formation, i.e. an o-stem type (beside the io-stem type *sibbe* < PGmc. *sibja-).

●PFRIS: *sibbi ~ *sib

cf. s.v. *sā*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

side 1 subst. f 'side (of the body = hip)' PIE

Ofris. also *sīthe*

This OWfris. by-form represents an orthographical variant that is due to the later merger of medial /-d-/ and /-þ-/.

●PFRIS: *sīdi

●PGMC: *sīdō

ON *sīþa*, OE *sīde*, OS *sīda*, OHG *sīt(t)a*, MHG *sīt(c)*, MLG *sīde*, *sīt*, MDu. *side*, *zide*, *sie*, *sijt* 'side', cf. also

adj., adv. ON *sīþr* 'long, hanging down', OE *sīd* 'hanging down; wide', adv. OHG *sīto* 'laxe', MLG *sīde*, *sīt* 'deep, down', OFris. adv. *sīde* 'deep, down' (= *sīde* 2, q.v.), MDu. *side*, *zide*, *sie*, *sijt* 'deep, down'

●PIE: *sh₁itel₂

POKORNY: 889-91

The root is *sch₁, e.g. Lat. *setius* 'later, worse', followed by an i-extension, cf. also OIr. *sīth*- 'continuous', Welsh *hyd* 'length'. The long vowel must be explained from metathesis of *-Hi- to *-iH- (Schrijver 1991: 527). The semantics must have been specialised from original 'long, expanded' to 'expanded to below' which gave rise to both meanings 'side' and 'below, down' (cf. also van Helten 1907a: 295).

side 2 adv. 'deep, down' PIE

●PFRIS: *sīdi

cf. s.v. *sīde* 1.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 295

-**sigā** cf. s.v. *āsega*, *āsiga*

sigun card. num. 'seven' PIE

Ofris. also *siugun*, *sogon*, *sogen*, *soven*, *sav(e)n*

The coexistence of *sigun* and *siugun* (labial mutation) in R₁ can be explained from the neutralisation of the opposition /i/ ~ /iu/ due to the retention of the mutation factor -u- in the second syllable, cf. Boutkan (1998).

The remaining forms *sogen*, etc. show weakening of the second syllable and the transition *iu* > *io* > *o*. OWfris. *sav(e)n* shows a further stage of development, cf. Mod. Wfris. *sān*.

The forms showing medial *-g-* are OEFris., those displaying *-v-* OWFris. The *-g-* has been explained as the result of an Old East Frisian analogical process after the example of '9'. However, some scholars opt for a phonological explanation, which seems certainly possible (van Helten 1890: 89, Markey 1984: 70-1). The *-g-* of '9' appears to be an 'intrusive' *-g-* of Ingvaemonic origin, cf. Proto-Indo-European **h₁neun* > PGmc. **newun* > Goth. *niun*, ON *nío*, OHG *niun*; but OE, OS *nigun*, MDu. *negen*; cf. also s.v. *nigun*.

●PFRIS: **sigun*

Goth. *sibun*, ON *sjau*, OE *seofon*, *siofun*, OS *sibun*, OHG *sibun*, MHG *siben*, MLG *sēven*, *sōven*, ODu. *sivon*, MDu. *seven(e)*, *zeven*, *so(e)ven*, *seuven*

●PGMC: **sebun*

On the (many) complications as to the reconstruction, cf. Boutkan (1995: 55-6).

●PIE: **septm*

POKORNY: 909

Ved. *saptá*, Gr. *heptá*, Lat. *septem*, etc. The evidence of Vedic, Greek and Germanic (Verner) suggests that the accent fell on the final syllable.

Lit: Boutkan 1998; not in Lendinara 1990; Markey 1984

see also: *sigun* and *twintich*, *sigunda*, *siugun*, *siugunda*, *siuguntich*, *siuguntin*, *siuguntinda*

sigun and twintich card. num. 'twenty-seven' PIE

Compound of *sigun* and *twintich*, cf. s.vv.

sigunda ord. num. 'seventh' PIE

An ordinal derivation of *sigun*, cf. s.v.

sikur adj. 'free of guilt, not guilty' LW

Ofris. also *siker*

This by-form shows weakening of the second vowel.

●PFRIS: **sikur*

← late Lat. *sicurus* < *securus*.

Also in OE *sicor*, OS *sikor*, OHG *sihūr*, *sichūr(e)*, *zichor*, *sihhar*, MHG *sicher*, MLG *sēker*, MDu. *seker*, *zeker* 'sure', cf. also

OS *sikoron*, OHG *sihhorōn*, MHG *sichern*, MLG *sēkeren*, OFris. *sikuria*, *sik(e)-ria*, MDu. *sekeren*, *zeker* 'secure'.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *sikur*, *-er*; Wollmann 1990: 526 (also on the reconstruction of the first vowel)

see also: *sikuria*

sikuria wk. vb. 2 'secure' LW

Ofris. also *sik(e)ria*

The medial vowel could undergo weakening and syncope.

●PFRIS: **sikuria*

Weak 2 verbal formation to *sikur*, q.v.

sin 1 subst. n. 'sense' PIE

●PFRIS: *sinn

OHG, MHG, MLG *sin* (*nn*), MDu. *sin*, *zin*, *sen* 'sense', cf. also

*-sind-: Goth. *sinþs* 'time', ON *sinn(i)*, OE (*ge*)*sīð*, OS (*gi*)*sīð*, OHG (*gi*)*sind*, MHG (*ge*)*sint*, OFris. *sīth* 'way, time';

*-sinþan-: Goth. *gasiþa*, ON *sinni*, OE *gesīð(a)* OS *gisīth*, OHG *gisindo*, MHG, MLG *gesinde*, MDu. *gesinde*, *gesinne* 'companion'

●PGMC: *sinna-

●PIE: *sent-

POKORNY: 908

OIr. *sēt* 'way'. The original meaning 'set out, go; perceive' developed towards a more abstract meaning 'concentrate one's thoughts' → 'observe, feel', cf. also cognate Lat. *sentīō* < *snt-iō.

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990

sin 2 poss. pronoun 'his' PIE

cf. s.v. *sā*.

sin- 3 'remaining, steady, lasting, durable'

In: *sinhigen* 'married couple', q.v.

cf. s.v. *-semine*

Lit: not in Lendinara 1990

sinhigen subst. n. plural 'married couple' PIE

OFris. also *sinnane*, *sennene*, *senne*

On these by-forms, cf. van Helten 1889: 251. The form *sinnane* shows an assimilation *nh* > *nn* and the spelling *-a-* for */-ǣ-/*; *sen(nc)ne* shows *e* < **i*/*_n* (van Helten 1890: 11) and optional syncope. On *sinhigen*, cf. s.v. *-higen*.

●PFRIS: *sinhiuna

Compound of *sin-* 3. pref. 'remaining, etc.' and *-higen* 'couple, married people', cf. s.vv.

Also in OE *sinhīwan*, OS *sinhī(w)un*, *sini(h)un*, OHG *sinhīun* 'married couple'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

see also: hem-, -higen, hion(a), alsemin, -semine, sin- 3., *sinhigen*, sum, sumilik

sini subst. f. 'tendon, sinew' PIE

OFris. also *sine*, *sin*, *sene*

The form *sine* shows a weakened second vowel, which underwent syncope in OWFris. *sin*. The OWFris. by-form *sene* may be a loan from MDu. (cf. Mod. Fris. *sine*). It is also possible that it represents a by-form with a-umlaut, cf. also the OS doublet quoted below.

●PFRIS: *sini

ON *sin(a)*, OE *si(o)nu*, OS *senawa*, *sinawa*, OHG *senawa*, MHG *sen(e)we*, *sen(n)e*, MLG *sēne*, *senne*, *sēnuwe*, MDu. *senuwe*, *zenuwe*, *senewe* 'id.'

●PGMC: *sinwō

●PIE: *sinueh₂

POKORNY: 891-2

Derived from a root meaning 'bind *vel sim.*', cf. Ved. *syāti*, Hitt. *išhija-*, Lith. *siēti* 'bind'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

Sinkfal NL

Lit: Boutkan 1996 + reff.; Boutkan 1998b

sinne subst. f. 'guilt, crime' PIE

●PFRIS: *sinni

cf. s.v. *sende*

Lit: van Helten 1890: 37, 136; van Helten 1907a: 296

sinunge subst. f. 'making of the sign of the cross' LW

OFris. also *seinenge*, *sēninge*, *sēnenge*

The Riustring variant *sīn-* corresponds to *sein-* and points to heterosyllabic *seg#n-; the form *sēn-* may result from analogy after *sēn < *segn- (van Helten 1890: 112). The Riustring form shows a suffix *-ung-* that is different from the other form *-ing-* (> *-eng-* / *-ong-*).

●PFRIS: *seinungi ~ -ingi

Deverbativ noun (cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *zegen 1*; pace Holthausen 1921 s.v. *sinunge*, *se(i)ninge* [with incorrect interpretation of vowel length] ← Lat. *signum*) to *signia ← Lat. *signare* 'make a sign'.

Lit: van Helten 1890: 112, 113; Holthausen 1921 s.v. *sinunge*, *se(i)ninge*; van Helten 1907a: 296; Not in Wollmann

sinuth subst. n. 'synodical court' LW

OFris. also *sineth*, *sind*

The first by-form shows weakening of the second vowel; the second one shows syncope of this weakened vowel.

●PFRIS: *sinuþ

← Lat. *synodus* ← Gr. *sinodos*.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *sinuth*, *-th*, *sind*; not in Wollmann

see also: *sinuthia*, *sinuthkost*

sinuthia wk. vb. 2 'have a synodical court' LW

OFris. also *sinethia*, *sindia*

The first by-form shows weakening of the second vowel; the second one shows syncope of this weakened vowel.

●PFRIS: *sinuþia

Denominative verb derived from *sinuth*, q.v.

see also: *sinuth*, *sinuthkost*

sinuthkost subst. f. 'food and provision for the synodical judges' LW

Compound of *sinuth* 'synodical court' and *kost* 'food', cf. s.vv.

sinuwerdene subst. f. 'mutilation of a tendon' PIE

Compound of *sini* 'tendon, sinew' and *-werdene* 1. 'mutilation, damage', cf. s.vv.

sinwerdene subst. f. 'damage of (one of) the senses' PIE

Compound of *sin* 1. 'sense' and *-werdene* 1. 'mutilation, damage', cf. s.vv.

sione subst. f. 'sight' PIE

OFris. also *siune*

This by-form shows the original variant /iu/.

●PFRIS: *siuni

cf. s.v. *sia*.

sitta str. vb. V 'sit, attend' PIE

●PFRIS: *sitta

cf. s.v. *setta*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Seebold 1970: 396-7

siugun cf., s.v. *sigun*

siugunda cf., s.v. *sigunda*

siuguntich card. num. 'seventy' PIE

A cardinal *-tich* derivation of *siugun*, cf. s.vv.

siuguntin card. num. 'seventeen' PIE

Expected *-tin*-formation (see *achtatin*) to the numeral 'seven', cf. s.v. *siugun*.

siuguntinda ord. num. 'seventeenth' PIE

Expected *-tinda*-formation (see *achtatin*) to the numeral 'seven', cf. s.v. *siugun*.

skadu- adj. 'sharp' Gmc.

OFris. also *skade*, *skathe*

These by-forms show weakening of the second vowel; the second one shows the result of the merger of /-d-/ and /-þ/.

●PFRIS: *skadu

[Goth. *skapuls* 'harmful', OHG *scadal* 'evil'], cf. also

*skap-i-: Goth. *skapis* 'harm';

1.*skap-an-: ON *skapi*, OE *scapa*, OS *skatho*, OHG *scado*, MHG *schado*, MLG *schāde*, OFris. *skatha* (cf. s.v. *skatha* 1.), *skada*, *schada*, MDu. *sc(h)ade* 'harm';

2.*skap-an-: OS *skatho*, OHG *scado*, OFris. *skatha* (cf. s.v. *skatha* 2.), etc. 'injure';

*skōdi-: ON *skædr* 'harmful'

●PGMC: *skadwa-

● No IE etymology

The etymon is limited to Celt.-Gmc. OIr. *skíth* 'tired', *escid* 'indefatigable' ~

Welsh *esgud* 'lively' with unclear vocalism. The vocalic variation *ē ~ *o (= Gmc. *a) ~ *ō may reflect different vowel substitutions in an original European substrate etymon (cf. Boutkan 2000:). The comparison of (Dial.) Gr. *askēthēs* 'unharméd' cannot be upheld because the root-final consonants do not match (Gr. *th* < *d^h, but Gmc. *p* < *t; cf. also Frisk 1960-1972: 164 s.v., Chantraine 1968: 124 s.v.).

Lit: van Helten 1890: 77; Heidermanns 1993: 488, 499; Not in Lendinara 1990
see also: skaduwepin, skatha 1., 2., skathia, -skathinge

skaduwepin subst. n. 'sharp weapon' PIE

Compound of *skadu-* 'sharp' and *-wepin* 'weapon', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1890: 77; van Helten 1907a: 296

skalk subst. m. 'servant' Gmc.

Ofris. also *schalk*

This OWfris. by-form shows the MDu. spelling.

●PFRIS: *skalk

Goth. *skalks*, ON *skalkr*, OE *scealc*, OS *skalk*, OHG *scalch*, MHG *schalc*, MLG *schalk*, MDu. *schalc*, *schallic* 'servant'

●PGMC: *skalka-

● No IE etymology

Cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *skalks* for untenable attempts towards formulating an IE etymology. Pokorny (1959: 929) groups it under a clearly non-IE root *(s)kel- 'jump'. Possibly a name of a subjugated people (Lehmann 1986: 309).

skat subst. m. 'lap, skirt' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *schāt*

This OWfris. by-form shows the MDu. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: *skāt

Goth. *skaut* 'hem, edge', ON *skaut* 'skirt', OE *scēat* 'tip, edge', OHG *scōz*, MHG *schōz*, MLG *schōt(e)*, MDu. *shoot* 'skirt', cf. also

*skaut-an-: ON *skauti* 'cloth used for wrapping', OE *scēata*, OHG *scōzo* 'hem of dress', etc.

●PGMC: *skauta-

●PIE: *skoudo- [?]

POKORNY: 955-6

A very abstract and uncertain semantic development ('*etwas hervorragendes*', cf. de Vries 1977, s.v. *skaut*) is required by the derivation of this PIE root *(s)kend- 'shoot, throw', cf. Skt. *códati* 'push', Lith. *skudrùs* 'rapid', ON *skjóta* 'shoot'. Especially words for clothing are often borrowings from substrate languages.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

skatha 1 subst. m. 'harm' Gmc.

Ofris. also *scada*, *schada*

These by-forms show the merger of medial /-p-/ and /-d-/ as well as the optional spellings <c> and <ch> for /k/.

●PFRIS: *skāpa

cf. s.v. *skadu-*.

skatha 2 subst. m. 'criminal' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *skāpa

cf. s.v. *skadu-*.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 298

skathia wk. vb. 2 'damage, injure' Gmc.

OFris. also *skadia*, *skaia*

These by-forms show the merger of medial /-p-/ and /-d-/ as well as the later weakening of medial -d- to -j-.

●PFRIS: *skāpia

Denominative verb to *skatha 1*.

Also in MLG *schāden*, MDu. *schaden* 'id.', etc. cf. s.v. *skadu-*.

-skathingē subst. f. 'damage' Gmc.

In: *inskathingē* 'injury', q.v.

OFris. also *-scathenge*

This by-form shows the allograph <c> for /k/ and shows weakening of the second vowel to /ə/ <e>.

●PFRIS: *-skāpingi

Nominal *-ing*-derivation to *skatha 1*.

Also in MLG *schādinge* 'id.', etc.

cf. s.v. *skadu-*.

skeld subst. m. 'shield' PIE

OFris. also *schield*, *schild*

The former of these OWFris. by-forms shows the transition of lengthened *e* > *ē* > *iē*/_ld, cf. also OWFris. *fiēld*. The latter form may represent a MDu. loan.

●PFRIS: *skeld

Goth. *skildus*, ON *skjoldr*, OE *scield*, *scyld*, OS *skild*, OHG *schilt*, MHG, MLG *schilt*, MDu. *schild*, *schelt*, *skilt* 'shield', cf. also

*skel-jan-: Goth. *skilja* 'butcher';

*skelejanaN: ON *skilja* 'split, distinguish', OE *ā/scelian* 'separate', etc.

On the current derivation of the 'shilling'-etymon from *skeld(u)-linga-, allegedly belonging here as well, cf. s.v. *skilling*.

●PGMC: *skeldu-

●PIE: *skelHto-

POKORNY: 923-7, especially 924

Allegedly from a root meaning 'split *vel sim.*', cf. Hitt. *iskalla-* 'split open', Gr. *skállō* 'dig, weed', Lith. *skélti* 'split'. The shield would originally have

been called after the wooden planks ('split off' from a tree) it was made of. If we accept the derivation of the word from this root, it seems more probable to me that the word designated a means of protection, i.e. a separation between the fighter and the enemy. Given the specific meaning, it cannot totally be excluded that the word does not belong here at all, but represents a non-IE word that coincidentally resembles the members of the IE etymon 'split'.

see also: skilling

skelde subst. f. 'tribute, debts, crime' Gmc.

OFris. also *schielda*, *schild*, *schuld*

The first of these OWFris. by-forms shows the transition of lengthened $e > \bar{e} > i\bar{e}/_ld$, cf. also OWFris. *fiel*. The second form may represent the OWFris. variation of $e < *ü$ and i (e.g. Steller 1928: 12), cf. also Mod. Fris. *skild*. The third form is a MDu. loan.

●PFRIS: *skeldi

ON *skuld*, *skyld* 'cause', OE *scyld* 'guilt, crime, sin', OS *skuld* 'tribute', OHG *sculd(a)*, *scult* 'tribute, sin, crime, cause', MHG *s(ch)ult*, *s(ch)ulde*, MLG *schult*, MDu. *sc(h)ult*, *sc(h)out*, *sc(h)olt*, *sc(h)ulde*, *sc(h)oude* 'debt', cf. also *skuldiga-: ON *skuldgr*, OE *scyldig*, *sceldig*, *scildig*, OS *sculdig*, OHG *sculdīg*, MHG *schuldec*, *schuldic*, MLG *schüldich*, OFris. *skeldich*, *-ech* (q.v.), MDu. *schuldich*, *scheldich*, *schoudich* 'guilty';

*skulanaN: Goth. *skulan*, ON *skulu*, OE *sculan*, *scolan*, OS *skulan*, OHG *sculan*, *scolan*, MHG *schuln*, *scholn*, MLG *scölen*, OFris. *skila* (q.v.), *skela*, *schela*; OHG *sulen*, *sulan*, MHG *suln*, *soln*, MLG *sölen*, OWFris. *sela*, ODu. *sulan*, MDu. *sullen*, *zullen* 'shall'

●PGMC: *skuldi-

● No IE etymology

The alleged PIE root *(s)kel- [Pokorny 1959: 927] is limited to Gmc. and Balto-Slavic and is likely to represent an innovation on the basis of North European substrate material, cf. Lith. *skelù* 'owe', OPruss. *skellānts* 'indebted'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: klipskelde, skeldich, -skeldiges, skeltata

skeldich, -ech adj. 'indebted, guilty' Gmc.

OFris. also *scheldich*, *scheldech*, *skildich*, *skieldich*, *schieldich*, *schuldich*

In R₁, the variation *-ich* ~ *-ech* points to the neutralisation of the opposition /e/ ~ /i/; elsewhere, the *e* is a spelling of the only unstressed vowel /ə/.

The root vowel $e < *ü$ may be lengthened to $\bar{e} > i\bar{e}/_ld$, cf. also OWFris. *fiel*; the *i*-forms represent the OWFris. variation of $e < *ü$ and i (e.g. Steller 1928: 12). Finally, initial *sk-* may appear as <sch->. The form *schuldich* is a MDu. loan.

●PFRIS: *skeldix

cf. s.v. *skelde*, *-skeldiges*

-skeldiges adv. 'guilty' Gmc.

In: *unskeldiges* 'not guilty', q.v.

Adverbial use of the Gs of the adj. *skeldich*, q.v. cf. s.v. *skelde*, *-skeldich*

skeltata subst. m. 'legal magistrate, bailiff' PIE

Ofris. also *skelta*, *schelta*

These by-forms lost the second syllable as the result of haplology. The second by-form shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: *skeltata

Compound of *skelde* 'tribute, debts, crime' and *-hāta*, weak m. derived from *hēta* 'be called, order', cf. s.vv.

WGmc. term for a legal magistrate that spread northward from Langobardian (cf. de Vries 1992 s.v. *schout*).

Also in OE *scylðhæta*, *sculthēta* 'exactor, postulator', OS *skulthētio* 'centurio', OHG *scultheizzo*, *schultheizo* 'tribunus, praefectus, centurio', MDu. *schou-thet(e)*, *scoutete*, *scout(e)*, *scout(h)ate* 'legal magistrate', etc.

Lit: reff. in Buma 1961 s.v.

see also: *heta*, *skelde*, *skeldich*, *-skeldiges*

skene adj. 'beautiful' PIE

Ofris. also *skon(e)*, *schen*, *schon*

Some by-forms show the spelling *sch-* for *sk-*. The *ō*-vocalism is due to Low German and MDu. influence.

●PFRIS: *skēni

Goth. *skauns*, ON *skjóni*, OE *sciene*, OS *skōni*, OHG *scōni*, MHG *schön(e)*, MLG *schōn(e)*, MDu. *schone*, *schoon* 'beautiful', cf. also

*skauwōjanaN: OE *scēawian*, OS *skauwon*, OHG *scouwōn* 'look at', etc.

●PGMC: *skauni-

●PIE: *skouH-ni-

POKORNY: 587-8

Skt. *ā-kúvate* 'intends to', *ākūti-* < *kuH-ti- 'intention', Gr. *koéō* 'notice, understand', Lat. *cavēō* 'beware, take heed'.

see also: *hera* 1.

skeppa str. vb. VI 'create, destine' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *scheppa*

This by-form shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: *skēppa

Goth. *ga|skapjan*, ON *skepja*, OE *scieppan*, OS *skeppian*, OHG *scepfen*, *scef-fen*, MHG *schepfen*, MLG *scheppen*, *schippen*, MDu. *scheppen*, *schepen* 'create', cf. also

*skapōjanaN: ON *skapa* 'order', OHG *skaffōn* 'give form, realise';

*ga|skafti: Goth. *gaskafts*, OE *gesceaft*, OS, OHG *giscaft* 'creation', etc.

abstract suff.

*-skepi-: OE *-sci(e)pe*, *-scip*, OS *-skipi*, *-skepi*, OFris. *-skipi* (q.v.), *skip(e)*,

MDu. *-scip* 'ship';

**-skap-*: ON *-skapr*, OHG *-scaf*, MLG *-schap*, *-schop*, *-schup*, ODu. *-scap*, *-scepi*, MDu. *-scap*, *-scepe* 'ship';

**-skapti-*: OE *-scaft*, OS *-skaft*, OHG *-scaft*, MHG *-schaft* 'ship';

**skepnisjō*: OE *gesceapennys*, MHG *schepfenisse* 'creation', MLG *scheppenisse*, *schepnisse*, *schipnisse*, OFris. *skipnisi* (q.v.), MDu. *scheppenisse*, *schepnisse* 'state, constitution';

**skeparis*: OHG *scepfāri*, *scaffāre*, MHG *schepfāre*, OFris. *skippere* (q.v.), MDu. *schepper(e)*, *scheppare*, *scheper* 'creator', etc.

●PGMC: **skapjanaN*

●PIE: [?] **skob-*

POKORNY: 587-8

Allegedly to a root 'carve, split' that mainly has European representatives (cf. perhaps Mod. Persian *kāfād* 'dig, split' < **kap-*, however) with problematic different root final consonants, cf. Lat. *scabō* 'scrape', Lith. *skabiù* 'pluck, shave', also Goth. *skaban* 'to shear', ON *skafa*, OE *scafan* 'to shave' < **skob^h*. Only Gmc. **skapja-* 'create' would attest to **b*. An original, concrete meaning 'carve (with a tool)' would have developed towards 'create'. Possibly, the Gmc. verb is of non-IE origin and must be disconnected from the other forms.
Lit: Seebold 1970: 406-8

sker subst. n. 'ploughshare' PIE

In: *mith niugun skeron untgunga*, cf. MLG *de schēre trōden*, an ordeal whereby one can prove one's innocence by walking over nine red-hot ploughshares.

OFris. also *schere*

This by-form shows the late-OFris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: **skēr*

OE *scer* 'ploughshare', OS *scer/sahs* 'razor', cf. also

**skara-*: OHG *scar* 'ploughshare';

**skerez-*: OE pl. *scerero* 'scissors';

**skē|rja-*: ON pl. *skæri*, OHG pl. *scāri*, OFris. *skēre* (q.v.) 'scissors';

**skē|rō*: OE *scear* 'scissors, tongs', OHG *scāra* 'tongs';

**skarda-*: OE *scard* 'full of nicks', OS *scart* 'wounded', OHG *scart*[*lidi* 'circumcision', OFris. *has*/*skerd* (q.v.) 'split in two, with a harelip';

**skeranaN*: ON *skera*, OE *scieran*, OHG *sceran*, MHG *schern* 'cut', MLG *schēren* MDu. *scheren* 'shave',

etc.

●PGMC: **skera-*

●PIE: *(s)ker(H)-

POKORNY: 938-947

Skt. *cārman-* 'leather', Gr. *keirō* 'cut off, shave' < **ker-*; with *s-* OIr. *scaraid* < **skrH-*; several extensions, e.g. Ved. *kṛntāti*, Hitt. *kartai-* 'cut' with **-t-*.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 300; Lendinara 1990: 302; Seebold 1970: 413-4

see also: *hasskerd*, *-skerd*, *skere*, *-skirma*, *skredene*

-skerd adj. 'split in two' PIE

In **hasskerd* (for *ha skerde* VI, 37) 'split in two, with a harelip' (q.v.).

●PFRIS: **skērd*

cf. s.v. *skere*.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 300

see also: *hasskerd*, *sker*, *skere*, *-skirma*, *skredene*

skere subst. f. 'scissors' PIE

Ofris. also *schēre*

This by-form shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: **skēri*

cf. s.v. *sker*

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 300

see also: *hasskerd*, *skere*, *-skerd*, *-skirma*, *skredene*

sketha wk. vb. 1 'separate, divorce' PIE

Ofris. also *skēda*, *schēda*

The former by-form shows the late-Ofris. transition of *-þ* to *-d-*, the latter the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: **skēþa*

Goth. *skaidan*, OE *scādan*, OS *skēdan*, OHG *skeidan*, MHG *scheiden* (later also *schiden*), MLG *schēden*, MDu. *schc(i)dcn*, *scheien*, *scheen* 'separate', cf. also

**skif[t]ejanaN*: ON *skipta*, OE *sciftan*, MDu. *schiffen*, *schiften*, *schichten*, OFris. *skifta* (q.v.), *skiffa*, MDu. *schiften*, *schichten* 'divide, separate'

●PGMC: **skaiþ/danaN*

The OFris. verb has become weak.

●PIE: **sk^(h)oh₂i-t-*

POKORNY: 921

Derivative of the root **sek-*, cf. also Skt. *chyāti* 'cuts off', Gr. *skháō* 'carve' < **skh₂-io-*, perhaps Lat. *sciō* 'know' with long *ī* < **skih₂-* < **skh₂i-*; Gmc. exclusively shows an extension **-t-* whereas other cognates show **-d-*, cf. Lat. *scindō* 'split', Lith. *skiedžiū*, *skiesti* 'divide'. A labial extension is attested in OE *sciftan*, etc.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 402-4

skia str. vb. V 'happen' Gmc.

Ofris. also *schia*

This by-form shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: **skia*

OE (*gc*)*scēon*, OHG *gīskhan*, MHG (*ge*)*schchen*, (*ge*)*schēn*, MLG (*ge*)*schēn*, MDu. *geschien*, (eastern Dial.) *goscheen* 'happen'

●PGMC: **skehanaN*

The OE verb is probably weak (Seebold 1970: 408 after Campbel).

● No IE etymology

The *e*-vocalism of the Gmc. form is unique as compared with possible, though doubtful North European cognates, viz. OIr. *scochid* 'leaves, stops', OCS *sکوچѡ*, *sکوčiti* 'jump' < *skok-; note the different semantics as well. Seebold (1970: 409) tentatively adduces a possible 'Anlautvariante' Lith. *šókti* 'jump' with equally deviant semantics, which would require an *s*-less form with initial *k- and a root vowel reflecting *-eh₂-. This comparison cannot be upheld.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 408-9

skiata str. vb. II 'shoot, supply' Gmc.

Ofris. also *skieta*, *schia*

The former by-form shows the late-Ofris. form *ic* of earlier *ia*; The latter shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: *skiata

ON *skjóta*, OE *scōotan*, OS *skietan*, OHG *scioz(z)an*, MHG *schiezen*, MLG *schēten*, ODu. *scietan*, MDu. *schieten*, (eastern Dial.) *scheten* 'shoot'

●PGMC: *skeutanaN

● No IE etymology

The only possible cognate is Lith. *šáuti*, *šáuju* 'shoot, run' (Seebold 1970: 418; see further Pokorny 1959: 955-6).

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 109, 301; Seebold 1970: 417-18

skif adj. 'separated' Gmc.

In: *uniskif* 'unseparated'

●PFRIS: *skiff

Probably a new formation replacing *skifta-, ppp to ON *skipta*, OE *sciftan*, MDu. *schiffen*, *schiften*, *schichten*, MDu. *schiften*, *schichten* 'divide, separate'

●PGMC: *skifja-, *skiffi-

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 30(1-2)

see also: *sketha*

skifta wk. vb. 1 'divide, separate, arrange, settle' PIE

Ofris. also *skiffa*

This variant is also attested in MLG *schiffen* and may represent the original formation *skifejanaN; the *-t-* is probably secondary.

●PGMC: *skiff(t)ejanaN

cf. s.v. *skētha*

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 30(1-2)

skila pret. pres. IV 'shall' Gmc.

Ofris. also *skela*, *schela*, *sela*

The *i*-vocalism of *skila* represents a Riustring peculiarity: *ü > *i*. Ofris. *schela*, shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for *sk-*.

●PFRIS: *skela

Cf. s.v. *skelde*.

skillere verb + pron. 'he must' PIE

Consists of *skila*, and Nsm 3s postclitic pers. pron. *-ere 2* (under *hi*), cf. s.vv. see also: van Helten 1890: 244

skilling subst. m. 'shilling' PIE

Ofris. also *schilling*, *skilleng*

The former by-form shows the late-Ofris. spelling *sch-* for */sk-/*. The latter form shows a reduced second vowel /ə/ <c>.

●PFRIS: *skilling

Goth. *skilliggs*, ON *skillingr*, OE *scilling*, OS *skilling*, OHG *scilling*, MHG *schillinc*, MLG *schillink*, MDu. *sc(h)illinc*, *sc(h)ellinc* 'shilling'.

●PGMC: *skel- + -inga-

●PIE: *(s)kelh₁-

POKORNY: 548-50

The word is generally derived (e.g. Lehmann 1986, s.v. *skilliggs*, Lehmann 1986, s.v. *schilling*) from the root *skelH- [Pokorny 1959: 923-7, especially 924], cf. Hitt. *iskalla-* 'split open', Gr. *skállō* 'dig, weed', Lith. *skélti* 'split', cf. s.v. *skeld*. The shilling would be called a 'little shield'. Conclusive counterarguments were brought in against this view by Arngart (1945-1946), who focusses on formal problems. He furthermore solved the drawbacks of the alternative view, viz. the derivation from the PIE root *(s)kelh₁- 'make sound vel sim.', e.g. Gr. *kalcō*, Lat. *calō* 'call', OHG *(h)lōian* 'cry out, howl'. Three objections have been formulated against this derivation (cf. Arngart 1945-1946: 107):

(1) In the older stages of Gmc., the *-ing*-derivations are denominal;

(2) coin names are never derived from sounds;

(3) the shilling was originally used as ornament rather than money.

However, rather than taking the verb, cf. ON *skjalla*, OE *sciellan* 'sound', as the point of departure for the derivation, we can derive the word from the adjective *skel-, cf. ON *skjall*, OE *scyl*. Arngart furthermore challenges the semantic objections (2) and (3). He adduces several arguments against the claim sub (2), e.g. MLG *klinkert*, but also OFris. *klipskelde* (q.v.). Finally, the earliest attestations refer to the use of the shilling as a currency.

Lit: Arngart 1945-1946

see also: *kona*, *skeld*, *skilling* (wicht)goldis, *skilling cona*

skilling (wicht)goldis subst. m. 'certain currency' PIE

Compound of *skilling*, *wicht* and *gold*, cf. s.vv.

skilling cona subst. m. 'semantics unclear; probably certain currency' ??

Compound of *skilling* and *kona*, cf. s.vv.

skilma verb + pron. 'must one' Gmc.

Syntagm containing *skila* and *ma* 'one' (indef. pron.), cf. s.vv.

skilmat verb + pron. + art. 'shall one it' Gmc.

Compound of *skila*, *ma* (indef. pron.) and *hi* (neuter *hit 1*, encl. *-t*), cf. s.vv.

skilre verb + pron. 'will he' Gmc.

Syntagm of *skila*, and Nsm 3s postclitic pers.pron. *-ere 2* (under *hi*), cf. s.vv.

Same as *skillere*, q.v.

skilse verb + pers. pron. 'will they' Gmc.

Syntagm of *skila* and *se 2.*, cf. s.vv.

skina str. vb. I 'shine, gleam' PIE [?]

OFris. also *schīna*

This by-form shows the late-OFris. spelling *sch-* for */sk-/*.

●PFRIS: **skīna*

Goth. *skeinan*, ON *skína*, OE *scīnan*, OS, OHG *skīnan*, MHG *schīnen*, MDu. *schinen* 'shine', cf. also

**skeininga-*: OFris. *-skīninge* 'proof' (q.v.), MDu. *schīninge* 'gleam', etc.

●PGMC: **skeinanaN* [?]

●PIE: **skeiVn-* [?]

POKORNY: 917-8

The only direct cognate is OCS *sinŏti*, also *sijajŏ*, *-ati* 'gleam', probably with *s-* < **K-* (i.e. from a form without *s*-mobile, frequent in words of both PIE and North European substratum origin). Traditionally, the verb is compared with words deriving from a root **skeh*₁- [Pokorny 1959: 917-8, Mayrhofer 1986: I, 559] (with *skei-* < **skeh*₁-*ih*₂-), which have the meaning 'shadow', however, cf. Gr. *skiá*, Toch. B *skiyō*, Alb. *híc* 'shadow' (Demiraj 1997: 201, s.v. with abundant ref.).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 409-10

-skininge subst. f. 'proof' PIE [?]

In: *nedskininge* '(proof of) force majeure'

●PFRIS: **skiningi*

cf. s.v. *skīna*

-skinz(i)e adj. '-legged' PIE

In: *berskinz(i)e* 'baro-legged'

OFris. also *-skinsze*, *-skinse*, *-schinse*

In these by-forms, the palatal */-c-/* is represented by different orthographical variants. The third by-form shows the late-OFris. spelling *sch-* for */sk-/*.

●PFRIS: **skūnci*

OFris. *skunk(a)* 'shank, femur', East Fris. *schunke* 'leg', Mod. HG Dial. *schunke* 'shank, femur', cf. also

**skank-*: OE *scanca*, MLG *schenke*, East Fris. *chanke*, Norw. *skonk*, *skank* 'shank', etc.;

**skenk-*: OS *skinka*, OHG *scinko*, *scinka*, MLG *schinke* 'shank', etc.

●PGMC: **skunkia-*

●PIE: **skeng-*

POKORNY: 930

This root is not very well attested, but cf. Skt. *sákthi-* 'shank' (if from **skakthi-*, with *-thi-* for **ti-* after *ásthi*), Gr. *skázō* 'limp'. The Gmc. ablaut appears to

represent an archaism, and is a rather unique phenomenon in Gmc. nominal roots of IE origin (cf. also Boutkan 2000 on non-IE ablaut in Gmc.).

Lit: van Helten 1890: 37

skip subst. n. 'ship' Gmc.

OFris. also *schip*

This by-form shows the late-OFris. spelling *sch-* for /sk-/.

●PFRIS: *skip

Goth., ON *skip*, OE *scip*, OS *skip*, OHG *scif*, *scef*, MHG *schif*, *schef*, MDu. *schip*, *sche(e)p* 'ship'

●PGMC: *skipa-

● No certain IE etymology

Traditionally [Pokorny 1959: 922] considered as belonging to *skh₂-i- + an extension -b-, a derivative of the root *sek- 'cut', cf. s.v. *skētha*. However, this is semantically not obvious. Perhaps a European substratum word or a Wanderwort to be connected with Gr. *skáphos* 'belly of a ship' (Bréal 1892: 147).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

-skipi suff. '-ship' PIE [?]

OFris. also *-skipc*, *-skip*

These by-forms show a weakened vowel /-o/ <-e> that could undergo apocope.

●PFRIS: *skipi

cf. s.v. *skeppa*.

skipnese subst. f. 'state, constitution' PIE [?]

This word only occurs twice in R₁, XI, 7, 27. Von Richthofen's translation 'Schöpfung' was corrected by (Bremer 1893: 336).

●PFRIS: *skipnisi

cf. s.v. *skeppa*.

Lit: Bremer 1893: 336; Ahlsson 1960: 122

skippere subst. m. 'creator' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *skippiri

cf. s.v. *skeppa*.

-skirma wk. vb. 1 'protect, defend' PIE [?]

In: *biskirma* (q.v.)

OFris. also *-schirma*, *-schyrma*

These by-forms show the late-OFris. spelling *sch-* for /sk-/: *y* is an allograph of <i>.

●PFRIS: *skirma

OS *biskirmian*, OHG *scirmen*, MHG *schirmen*, *schermen*, MLG *scermen*, ODu. *biscirman* MDu. *sche(e)rmen*, *besch(a)ermen*, *bescharmen* 'protect', cf. also *skermi-: OHG *skirm*, *skerm*, MHG *schirm*, *scherm*, MLG *scherm*, *scharm*, MDu. *sche(e)rm* 'protection'.

●PGMC: *skirmjanaN

●PIE: *sker(H)-m- [?]

POKORNY: 939-947

The noun and its derivative verb under discussion here are restricted to WGmc. The rather abstract etymology to the PIE root 'to cut', cf. s.v. *sker*, requires a complex semantic development, viz. ('to cut' → 'skin, leather' → 'skin of a shield' → 'shield' → 'protection'). We may be dealing with a substrate term.

see also: *hasskerd*, *-skerd*, *sker*, *skere*, *skredene*

skredene subst. f. 'the act of cutting' Gmc.

Ofris. also *scrēden*, *scredane*

The former by-form shows apocope of final -e; the latter by-form shows a spelling <a> for the medial reduced vowel. Both forms display the allograph c of <k>.

●PFRIS: *skrēdini

This form is to be separated from *skredene*, to *sker(H)-, cf. also Ahlsson (1960: 24, fn. 2).

cf. also

str. VII: OHG *scrōtan*, MHG *schroten*, MLG *schrōden* 'cut', MDu. negative ppp *onbeschroden* 'uncut';

weak 2: OE *scrēadian* 'cut off';

*skraudōn-: OE *scrēade* 'piece';

*skraudi-: OHG *scrōd*, OFris. *skrēd* 'cut'.

●PGMC: *skraud-

● No IE etymology

Although the semantics match, a derivation from the root *sker(H)- (cf. s.v. *sker*) is too mechanical (*skrH-u-d^h- vel *sim.*).

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 23-5; Lendinara 1990: 302 (as to *skredene*); Seebold 1970: 418-9

skrichta subst. m.? 'cry (for help)' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *skrixta (or: -e)

The gender remains unclear, cf. van Helten (1890: 151 Anm.).

cf. also

*skreianaN: OS pret. pl. *scriun*, OHG *skrīan*, MHG *schrien*, MLG *schriēn*, OFris. *skrīa*, MDu. *schrien* 'cry'.

●PGMC: *skrixt-

● No IE etymology

The etymological complex concerned has no direct cognates. Besides, we find only WGmc. cognates, NGmc. showing another formation, viz. Swe. *skrika*, Da. *skrige*, etc. <*skrei-k-. Outer-Gmc. comparison is furthermore hampered by the onomatopoeical element involved. However, similar formations are found in North European languages, cf. OIr. *scréachach* 'crying', OCS *skrygъtati* 'creak'. An attempt towards a PIE reconstruction is found in Pokorny (1959: 567-71, especially 570).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 419

-skrida str. vb. I 'stride' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *skrīda

ON *skriþa*, OE *scriþan*, OS *skrīdan*, OHG *skrītan*, MHG *schriten*, MLG *schriden*, MDu. *schriden* 'stride'

●PGMC: *skreiþanaN

● No IE etymology

Only few similar formations (with *-d-) are found in Lith. *skrendù*, *skristi*; *skriedžiù*, *skrièsti* 'fly', and hence: 'run, go', without (nasalisation and) extension *skrieju*, *skrièti* 'id.' Without mobile *s*- MĪr. *ceird* 'striding', Welsh *cerddaf* 'go, wander'. Probably we are dealing with a North European substrate root showing variation of root final consonants.

Perhaps there is a relationship with Gr. *skaiṛō* 'dance, jump', but the semantics are not obvious (see further Pokorny 1959: 934).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 421-2

skrifta subst. m. 'fine-register' LW

●PFRIS: *skrifta

← Lat. *scriptum* 'writing'.

Also in: ON *skript*, OE *scrift* 'fine', OHG *scrift*, MHG, MLG *schrift*, MDu. *schrift*, *schricht* 'writing', cf. also

OSwe. *skrīva* 'write', OE *scrifan* 'fine', OS *scriþan*, OHG *scriþan*, MHG *schriben*, MLG *schriben*, OFris. *skriva* (q.v.), ODu. *scrīvan*, MDu. *schriben* 'write' ← Lat. *scribere* 'write'; to this verb: *skrivere* 'writer (of the fine-register)', q.v.

Cf. Seebold (1970: 420) on the problem of a strong, and hence seemingly inherited verb that still must be considered a loan.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 304; Holthausen 1921 s.vv. *skrift*, *skrīva*, *skrivere*; not in Wollmann see also: *skrīva*, *skrivere*

skrin subst. m?, n.? 'shrine' LW

OFris. also *scrēn*, *schrēn*

These OWFris. by-forms (the latter of which shows the spelling *sch-* for *sk-*) show a remarkable variant *ē* for expected *ī*, as if the borrowed vowel was Lat. **ē* > Gmc. **ē*₂ > OFris. *ē*, *ī*, *ī*. Can we consider a French loan with nasalisation and lowering before *-n* (cf. also **vinum* > *vin* [v̄:ɛ:'])? However, there is only little proof for lowering the dating from the end of the 16th century (Regula 1955: 45). The substitution of Lat. *ī* by *ē* has a near parallel (although in medial syllable) in *consentēra* ← Lat. *consentire* (Holthausen 1921 s.v.), i.e. in a phonetically different context. According to de Vries (1992) s.v. *schrijn*, we must assume a variant *scrīnium* that gave rise to MDu. *screne*, *screen*, *screeinen*, Mod. West Flemish *schrene*, Westfalian *schrain* as well as the OWFris. forms.

●PFRIS: *skrīn, *skrēn

← Lat. *scrīnium* 'shrine'.

Also in: OHG *scrīni*, MLG *schrīn*, MDu. *schrine(n)*, *schrijn*; OE *scrīn* (→ ON

skrín) — *scrīna*, a variant from the clerical language.

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.vv. *skrín*, *skrēn*; Not in Wollmann

skriva str. vb. I 'write (in a fine-register), fine' LW

●PFRIS: *skrifta

cf. s.v. *skrifta*.

see also: *skrifta*, *skrivere*

skrivere subst. m. 'writer (of the fine-register)' LW

●PFRIS: *skrīvirī

cf. s.v. *skrifta*.

see also: *skrifta*, *skriva*

skuva str. vb. II 'push' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *skūva

Goth. *af/skiuban* 'reject', OSwe. *skiuva*, OE *scūfan*, OHG *skioban*, MHG *schieben*, MLG *schūven*, MDu. *schuven*, *schuyven* 'push', cf. also

*skupp-ja-: OHG *fer]scupfende* 'flüchtig'

●PGMC: *skūbanaN, *skuppjanaN

● No IE etymology

In spite of the assumption of a PIE heritage [Pokorny 1959: 955], we only find North European cognates, cf. Lith. *skūbti* 'begin to hurry', OCS *skubŭ* 'pluck'. The Gmc. pattern *skūb- ~ *skupp-, i.e. the presence of root variants showing a long vowel before a single consonant as against a short vowel followed by a geminate is a well-attested feature of North European substratum words (Kuiper's category A₂).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 416-7

sla str. vb. VI 'hit, blow, kill, slay, mint' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slā

Goth. *slahan*, ON *slá*, OE *slān*, OS, OHG *slahan*, MHG *slahen*, *slān*, MLG, ODu. *slān*, MDu. *slaen*, *sclaen* 'hit', cf. also

*slagan-: OE *man]slaga*, OS, OHG *man]slago*, OFris. *mon]slaga* (q.v.) 'murder';

*slaxt-: (adj.) OHG *gi]slaht* 'peculiar', OFris. *-slacht* (q.v.) 'belonging to -';

*slaxtō: OS *man]slahta* 'murder', OHG *slahta* 'slaughter, origin, genus';

*slaxtōn-: OFris. n. *slachte* (q.v.) 'genus';

*slaxtan-: OFris. *slachta* (q.v.) 'mintage';

*slagi-: Goth. *slahs*, ON *slagr*, OE *slege*, OS *slegi*, OHG *slag*, OFris. *slei(-)* (q.v.), MDu. *slach* 'hit, blow';

*slagin-: MHG *slegen*, OFris. *slein[tōth* (q.v.) 'hammer';

with different vocalism:

*slōgi-: (adj.) ON *slœgr* 'smart';

*slōgiz: ON *slœgr* 'advantage';

*sluhti-: Goth. *slauhts* 'slaughter';

In spite of formal and semantical similarity probably not here:

*slaiki-: OS *slēk*, OFris. *slēk* (q.v.), *slēch* 'hit, blow, mintage'

●PGMC: *slahanaN

● No IE etymology

We only find Celtic cognates [Pokorny 1959: 959], cf. Mlr. *slacc* 'sword' < *slakk-, *slahta* 'struck'. Apart from this geographical restriction, the non-IE 'ablaut' *a ~ *ō ~ *u and the variation of root final consonants point to a North European substratum word (Kuiper's category A₂).

OFris. *slēk*, OS *slēk* can be compared with OE *slicc* 'hammer', OE *slīcan*, MLG *slīken* 'percutere', OE *sliccan* 'hit', Mlr. *sligid* 'hits, conquers' to a root *sleig- > Gmc. *sl(e)ik-; perhaps to Lat. *ligo* 'hoe, pickaxe' [Pokorny 1959: 961] without (non-IE) s-mobile (Holthausen 1913: 334).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 425-7; Sjölin 1970-75: 216

see also: monslaga, -slacht, slachta, slachte, -slaga, slei-, slein-, sleintoth, sleitoth, slek

-slacht adj. 'belonging to -' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slāxt

cf. s.v. *sla*

slachta subst. m. 'mintage' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slāxta

cf. s.v. *sla*

slachte subst. n. 'genus' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slāxti

cf. s.v. *sla*

Lit: Sjölin 1970-75: 216

-slaga subst. m. 'murder' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slāga

cf. s.v. *slā*

slei- subst. m. 'hit, blow' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slei

cf. s.v. *sla*

slein- subst. m. 'hammer' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slein-

cf. s.v. *sla*

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 307

sleintoth subst. m. 'eyetooth' PIE

Compound of *slein-* 'hammer' and *toth* 'tooth', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 307

sleitoth subst. m. 'eyetooth' PIE

Compound of *slei-* 'hit, blow' and *toth* 'tooth', cf. s.vv.

slek subst. m. 'hit, blow, mintage' Gmc.

Ofris. also *slēch*

This by-form shows the spelling <ch> for *k*.

●PFRIS: *slek

cf. s.v. *sla*

slepa red. vb. 'sleep' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *slē₁pa

Goth. *slepan*, OE *slāpan*, *slāpan*, OS *slāpan*, OHG *slāfan*, MHG *schlafen*, MLG *slāpen*, MDu. *slapen* 'sleep', cf. also

*slē₁pa-: Goth. *sleps*, OE *slāp*, OS *slāp*, OHG *slāf*, OFris. *slēp*, MDu. *slaep* 'sleep'

●PGMC: *slē₁panaN

● No IE etymology

The word has been connected with a root meaning '(become) weak', cf. OCS *slabъ* 'weak', etc. [Pokorny 1959: 655-7, especially 656], which is probably non-IE, cf. s.v. *lippa*. The required semantic transition 'become weak' → 'sleep' is possible, but not obvious.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 434-5

see also: *lippa*

sletel subst. m. 'key' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *slōtel*

This OWfris. by-form must be a MDu. loan, whereas the vocalism of *sletel* displays the expected OFris. reflex of *slutila-.

●PFRIS: *sletil

OS *slutil*, OHG *sluzzil*, MHG *slüzzel*, MDu. *slotel*, *sluctel*, *sluttel(c)* 'key', cf. also

*slütanaN: OS *utbijslotenun* 'sechsis', OHG *sliozan*, MHG *sliezen*, MLG *slüten*, OFris. *slūta* (q.v.), *sklūta*, MDu. *sluten*, *shuyten* 'lose';

*sluta-: ON *vind|slot* 'calm [of the wind]', OHG *slot* 'conclusion', OFris. *slot|bende* (q.v.) 'fetter'

●PGMC: *slutila-

●PIE: *(s)klh₂u- [?]

POKORNY: 604-5

We must assume that the Gmc. forms show *s*-mobile and a reduction of *skl- to *sl- (as in Old Norse *slag* 'Nässe (von Regen)' < *s(k)IVk- ~ Lithuanian *šlākas* 'Tropfen, Fleck, Kleck' < *kIVk-, cf. Pokorny 1959: 957). We find only European cognates without *s*-, cf. Gr. *klēis*, *-idos*, Lat. *clāvis* 'key', also *claudo* 'close', which makes the assumption of a PIE heritage somewhat suspect.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 436-7

see also: *slot-*, *slotbende*, *-sluta*, *slutere*

slot- subst. n. 'lock' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *slot

cf. s.v. *sletel*

slotbende subst. n.? f.? 'fetter' PIE [?]

Compound of *slot-* 'lock' and *-bende* 'tie, chain, fetter, shackle', cf. s.vv.

see also: *sletel*

-sluta str. vb. II 'close' PIE [?]

In: *bi-*, *beslūta* 'close, lock up; bury; enclose, contain', q.v.

●PFRIS: *slūta

cf. s.v. *sletel*

slutere subst. m. 'little finger' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *slūtiri

Substantival io-stem formation (type Goth. *-areis*) to *slūt-, cf. s.v. *sletel*.

The little finger was apparently called after its position on the hand (especially when counting).

cf. s.v. *sletel*.

smek subst. m. 'taste' Gmc.

OFris. also *smaka*

The R₁-form may be an io-stem: *smak-ja- > *smekk- (cf. Icel. *smekkr*), or, rather, an o-stem: *smakk-a- with e-vocalism from the inflected forms (van Helten 1907a: 308); the by-form *smaka* is a different formation, viz. an n-stem: *smak-an-.

●PFRIS: *smakk-a-, *smak-an-, *smak-ja-

OE *smæcc*, OHG (*gi*)*smac*, *gismah*, MHG (*ge*)*smac*, (*ge*)*smach*, MDu. (eastern Dial.) *smac* 'taste'; OHG *gejsmahho*, MLG *smāke*, MDu. *smake* 'taste', cf. also

*smakjanaN: OE *smæccen*, OHG *schmecken*, MHG *smecken*, OFris. *smekka* (q.v.), *smetsa*;

*smakōjanaN: MHG *smakken*, *schmachen*, MLG *smāken*, OFris. *smakia* 'taste';

*smakkejanaN: OHG *smackēn* 'be tasty';

*smak-ja-: Mod. Icel. *smekkr* 'taste';

*smakk-an-: Goth. *smakka* 'fig';

*smag-man-: OHG *gismagmo* 'taste';

*smag-: OHG *gismag-* 'tasty'.

●PGMC: *smakka-

● No IE etymology

The etymon has a limited distribution: Baltic-Gmc. [Pokorny 1959: 967], cf. Lith. *smagūs* 'joyful', *smagurys* 'tasty morsel'. OCS *smoky* ← Gmc.

Apart from the possibility of expressive formations, the variation of root-final consonants (*kk ~ k ~ g) conforms to a well-attested picture found in North

European substratum words (Kuiper's category A₂).

Lit: Bremer 1893: 337

see also: smekka

smekka wk. vb. I 'taste' Gmc.

OFris. also *smetsa*, *smeitsje*

These by-forms show the orthographical expression of the younger palatalisation of the root-final velar (Loopstra 1935:72-95, especially 82).

●PFRIS: *smekka

cf. s.v. *smek*

Lit: Bremer 1893: 337; Lendinara 1990: 290

-snitha str. vb. I 'cut' Gmc.

In: *ofsnitha* 'cut off'

OFris. also *snīda*, *snīa*

These by-forms show the late-OFris. merger of /-þ-/ and /-d-/ and the subsequent syncope of the resulting intervocalic /-d-/, respectively (cf. Mod. Wfris. *snije*).

●PFRIS: *snīþa

Goth. *sneipan*, ON *snīpa*, OE *snīpan*, OS *snīthan*, OHG *snīdan*, MHG *sniden*, MLG *sniden*, MDu. *sniden* 'cut', cf. also

*snidi-: OE *snide* 'cut, carve', OHG *snit* 'cereal crop', OFris. *snid* 'cut';

with geminate:

*snittja-: OHG *snizzare* 'wood-carver' (presupposing a verb **snizzan*, cf. Mod. HG *schnitzen*);

etc.

●PGMC: *sneiþanaN

● No IE etymology

We can only compare OIr. *snadat*, *snaidid* < **snad* 'cut off' with different vocalism and root-final consonant, cf. also Welsh *naddu* 'cut'. Likely to be a North European substratum etymon (Kuiper's category A₂), which would also explain the variation of root-final consonants (coupled to different root vowel quantities) *snitt- ~ *snīþ- (rather than 'expressive' gemination, cf. Seebold 1970: 444).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 443-4

sol- subst. n. ? 'dirt, vomit' PIE [?]

In: *soldēde* 'maltreatment after which the victim is left in his own vomit' (q.v.)

●PFRIS: *sōl

cf. also OE *asōlian* 'become dirty', Mod. LG *sōl* 'dirty'

●PGMC: *sula-

●PIE: [?] *slh₂-

POKORNY: 879; also 901, 912-3

Cf. Boutkan (2002) for an extensive treatment of this etymon. van Helten (1907a: 309) proposed to interpret the OFris. word as belonging to the 'puddle'-

words OE *sol* 'mud, dirt, marsh', OHG *sol* 'puddle', MHG *sol*, *söl* 'slough, quagmire', etc. The problem is that the formation of the OFris. form is indeed that of the 'puddle'-words, whereas the meaning rather is that of the colour name *s(e)lh₂- [Pokorny 1959: 879], cf. also Lat. *saliva* 'spittle' (on allegedly cognate but possibly non-IE Lat. *salix*, OHG *sal(a)ha* 'willow', cf. Schrijver 1991: 103-4; also not to 'salt' = *sh₂l-, cf. s.v. *salt*).

In Gmc., this etymon seems to be represented with lengthened grade in Mod. LG *söl* 'dark, dirty', OE *asolian* 'become dirty' and as *salwa-, cf. ON *splr* 'dirty yellow', OHG *salō*, -*wes* 'dirt'. Holthausen (1924: 466) identified the OFris. form with OE *söl* 'dirty', which he read as *söl*, but cf. Heidermanns (1993: 567). As an alternative, we may interpret OFris. *sol*- as a Gmc. pendant of zero-grade Lat. *saliva*, OCorn. *halou* 'stercora', which words also reflect *slH- and have a strongly similar meaning. A further problem is that we find only North European cognates. This word has a (very) deviant meaning and may not belong here. If it does not belong here indeed, we must reckon with the possibility of a North European substratum etymon (Kuiper's category A₂, 1995: 68ff.) *söl ~ *sal. On the seeming ablaut *ō ~ *a, cf. Boutkan (1998a). Lit: Boutkan 2002; Holthausen 1924: 466 (further refl. in Buma 1961 s.v.); van Helten (1907a: 309)

soldede subst. f. 'maltreatment after which the victim is left in his own vomit' Compound of *söl*- 'dirt, vomit' and *dēde* 'crime, criminal deed; wound(ing)', cf. s.vv.

Lit: Boutkan 2002; Holthausen 1924: 466 (further refl. in Buma 1961 s.v.); van Helten 1907a: 309

somnia wk. vb. 2 'collect' PIE

OFris. also *sōgenia*

This by-form may have arisen under the influence of the numeral 'seven' due to the seven persons present at a certain juridical procedure involving four judges, a bailiff, the accuser and the defendant (van Helten 1907a: 309).

●PFRIS: *somnia

cf. s.v. *-semīn*

son adv. 'immediately, at once' PIE

OFris. also *san*

This by-form probably represents a scribal error (van Helten 1907a: 309).

●PFRIS: *sōn

OE *sōna*, OS *sān*, OHG *sār* (with unclear -r, cf. Seebold 1969: 23), MHG *sā(r)*, MLG *sān*, MDu. *saen*, *zaen*, *sane* 'at once'

●PGMC: *sē₁n(t)

● No certain IE etymology

Probably *h₁sēnt- [Pokorny 1959: 340-2], the lengthened grade of the present participle of *h₁es- 'be', cf. s.v. *is*, *sē* 3., cf. also s.v. *sende*. Lat. *prae]sēns*

'present', *ab|sēns* 'absent'. However, another possible etymology is a derivation of PIE *semH- 'one' (cf. s.v. *-semin*), cf. Lat. *simitu* 'at once'.

Lit: Seebold 1969: 20-24

see also: *is*, *se* 3., *-semin*, *send*

sonē subst. f. 'reconciliation' Gmc.

Ofris. also *sōn*

This OWfris. by-form has undergone apocope of final /-ə/.

●PFRIS: *sōni

cf. s.v. *sēna*

song subst. m. 'song' PIE

In: *song uphalda* 'forbid the celebration of the mass', cf. MDu. *den sanc leggen*.

Ofris. also *sangh*

This OWfris. by-form shows the OWfris. reflex /a/ for PGmc. *a before nasals.

●PFRIS: *sāng

ON *songr*, OE *sang*, OS *sang* 'song', cf. also

Goth. *siggwan*, ON *syngva*, OE, OS, OHG *singan*, MHG, MLG *singen*, OFris. *siunga*, MDu. *singen*, *zingen* 'sing'

●PGMC: *song^wa-

●PIE: *song^{wh}-o-

POKORNY: 906-7

Gr. *omphē* 'voice', Welsh *dehongli* 'declare, explain, translate'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290; Seebold 1970: 392-3

sonswiththe subst. f. 'limits established by compromise' Gmc.

Compound of *sōne* 'reconciliation' and *-swiththe* 'limits, border', cf. s.vv.

spada subst. m. 'spade' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *spada

ON *-spabi* (late, probably ← MLG, OE *spada*, *spade*, -u, OS *spado*, MHG *spat(e)*, MLG *spāde*, MDu. *spade* 'spade')

●PGMC: *spadan-

●PIE: *sph₂d^h- [?]

POKORNY: 980

The word has been grouped under a root *speh₂- with several extensions, denoting quite different implements; the underlying meaning would be 'lances, flaches Holzstück'. Very few cognates are found outside Gmc., in the case of *d^h- only Gr. *spāthē* 'oar, sword' and perhaps Hitt. *išpatar* 'spear'.

spedel- subst. n. 'spittle' PIE [?]

In: *spedelspring* 'flowing out of spittle', q.v.

Ofris. also *spēdla*

This is a weakly inflected by-form of strong *spēdcl*.

●PFRIS: *spedl-

OE *spātl* 'spittle', cf. also

*spaitanaN: OE *spātan* 'spit';

*spajtejanaN: OE *spāetan* 'spit';

*spitjanaN: OE *spittan* 'spit';

in unclear relationship to

*speiwanaN: Goth. *speiwan*, ON *spýja*, OE *spīwan*, OS pret. pl. *spiwun*, OHG *spīwan*, MHG *spīwen*, MLG *spīgen*, OFris. *spīa*, MDu. *spien*, *spijen* 'spit'

●PGMC: *spaitla-

● No certain IE etymology

Anglo-Frisian *spait- may belong to a large group of words denoting 'to spit', which has undergone several expressive reformations yielding multifarious forms that can hardly be brought into accordance with each other [Pokorny 1959: 999-1000]. In Gmc., we also find *speiw-anaN, with several derivations, e.g. Goth. *spaiskuldra*, OHG *speichaltra*, *speihhela*, OFris. *spēkle*. At any rate, PGmc. *speiw- < *spih₁u- corresponds with Lith. *spīauti* < *spieh₁u- and, possibly, Lat. *spuō* < *spih₁u-. However, deviant expressive forms are Skt. *ṣhivati*, Gr. *ptúō*, etc.

Lit: van Helten 1906: 194; Seebold 1970: 447-8, 450-2; Schrijver 1991: 247

spedelspring subst. m. 'flowing out of spittle' PIE [?]

Compound of *spēdel-* 'spittle' and *-spring* 'flowing out, stream', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 311

spera wk. vb 1 'feel' PIE

●PFRIS: *spera

ON *spyrja* 'ask, get to know', OE *spyrien*, OHG *spurren*, *spurian*, MHG *spürn*, MLG *spören*, ODu. *gespuren*, MDu. *sporen* 'feel', cf. also

*spurnanaN: ON *sporna*, OE *spornan*, OS *bi]spurnan*, OHG *bi]spurnan* 'hit, touch'

●PGMC: *spurjanaN

●PIE: *sperh₁-

POKORNY: 992-3

Skt. *spuhrāti* 'push, kick away', Lith. *spirti* < *sprh₁-, nasal-infix also in Lat. *spernō* 'depise'

Lit: van Helten 1889: 171-2; van Helten 1907a: 251, 311; Seebold 1970: 453-4

see also: *sperthera*

sperthera

Compound of *spera*, -cr 3. (= *ther* 1.) and a 4., cf. s.vv.

spiri subst. n. 'spear' PIE [?]

OFris. also *sperc*, *spēr*

The Rūstring form shows a high reflex of the i-mutated stem vowel *a and an -i as the result of 'vowel balance'. The OWFris. form *spēr* <speer> may be a Dutch loan or an apocoped form.

●PFRIS: *spiri

ON *sp(j)or*, *sparr*, OE *spere*, OS, OHG *spēr*, MHG *spēr*, *spar(e)*, MDu. *spēr(r)e*, *speer*, *spare*, *spēr* 'spear'

●PGMC: *sperō (~ *sparrō)

●PIE: *sperh₁- [?]

POKORNY: 992-3

Lat. *sparus*, possibly < *sprH-o-; Gmc. *-rr- in *sparrō through gemination through the influence of the laryngeal. Even if one accepts the further comparison of such forms as ON *sparrī* 'beam', Alb. *spharr* 'oak', the etymon remains limited to the European languages and may represent a non-IE substrate word (cf. also Schrijver 1991: 213).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

-splita str. vb. I 'split, tear, cleave' PIE [?]

In: *tosplīta* 'tear apart'

●PFRIS: *splīta

MHG *splīzen*, MLG *splīten*, MDu. *spliten* 'split, cleave', cf. also

*spaldanaN: OHG, MHG *spalten*, MLG *spalden*, MDu. (eastern Dial.) *spalden*, *spouden*, *spouwen*

●PGMC: *spleitanaN

● No certain PIE etymology

We can assume specific WGmc. extensions to a root *(s)pel-, under which Pokorny groups words with rather different meanings and formal complications [Pokorny 1959: 985-7]. This is rather problematic. However, we find North European words showing the dental and compatible meanings, e.g. Bret. *faout* < *spolt- 'cleave', OCS *ras-plaštŏ*, *-platiti* 'divide'. OIr. *alta(i)n* 'razor' < *palt- has a different meaning and shows an unclear stem vowel *a. The root may be considered as IE, but the only serious outer-European cognate would be Skt. *pātayati* 'cleaves', which is rather problematic from a formal point of view.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 454-5; 448-9

sprangel subst. m. 'aspersory, holy-water sprinkler' PIE [?]

OFris. also *sprengele*

This by-form points to a 'partly unlauded' form, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff.), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX).

●PFRIS: *sprængil

MHG, MLG *sprengele*; different formation in MDu. *sprengquast*, *sprencquast*, *sprengwadel*, cf. also

*sprangejanaN: ON *sprengeja* 'make jump', OE *sprengan* 'sprinkle', OHG *sprenge* 'let spring', MHG *sprenge*, MLG *sprenge*, OFris. *sprensza*, MDu. *sprengen*, *spr(e)ingen* 'sprinkle';

*sprenganaN: ON *springa* 'burst', OE *springan*, OS pret. *sprang*, *sprungun*, OHG *springan*, MHG, MLG *springen*, OFris. *springa*, MDu. *springen*, *sprengen* 'jump';

*sprenga-: ON *af/springr*, OE *of/spring* 'ofspring', *spēdel/spring* 'the flowing out of spittle', OS *aha/spring*, OHG *ur/spring*, MHG *ursprinc*, *ursprunc*, MLG *ortsprink*, *or(t)sprunk* (, MDu. *o(o)rspronc* ← German) 'source'.

●PGMC: *spreng-

● No certain PIE etymology

This Gmc. root is usually compared with Gr. *spérkhomai* 'rush' < *sperg^h- [Pokorny 1959: 998]. However, another attractive comparison is that of Lat. *spargō* 'sprinkle' < *sprg- beside PGmc. *spreng-, cf. Schrijver (1991: 493-4). The current etymology of *spargō* [Pokorny 1959: 996-8] shows semantic weaknesses, cf. PDE *spark*, Gr. *spharagéomai* 'to burst with a noise, to be full to bursting', etc. According to Schrijver (1991: 494), we may rather be dealing with an extension of the root *sper-, cf. Gr. *speíró* 'to sow, sprinkle', *spérma* 'seed' [Pokorny 1959: 993-5].

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 309; Seebold 1970: 457-8

see also: -spring

spreka str. vb. IV 'speck, say, claim' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *spreka

OE *sprecan*, ME *speken*, OS *sprekan*, OHG *sprehhan*, *spehhan*, MHG *prechen*, MLG *sprēken*, MDu. *spreken*, *sprecken*, *speken* 'speak', cf. also

*sprē₁k(j)ō: OE *spræc*, OS *sprāka*, OHG *sprāhha*, MHG *sprāche*, MLG *sprāke*, OFris. *sprēke* (q.v.), *sprētze* MDu. *sprāke*, *spraec(ke)* 'speech'

●PGMC: *sprekanaN

On the *r*-less forms (ME *spcken*, etc.), cf. Seebold (1970: 456-7 + reff.).

● No IE etymology

A possible cognate is Welsh *ffraeth* 'caustic, witty'. It has been suggested that we are dealing with a Gmc.-(Celt.)-Alb. isogloss on the basis of Alb. *shpreh* 'speak, eloquor', but the Alb. evidence is shaky. In view of the limited and late attestation, we may be dealing with a late loan (← German) or a new creation on the basis of such examples as Italian *esprimo*, cf. Demiraj (1997: 368-9). Further alleged IE cognates have quite deviant meanings, cf. Gr. *spharagéomai* 'to burst with a noise, to be full to bursting' [Pokorny 1959: 996-8].

Lit: Seebold 1970: 455-7

see also: spreke, sprekwerdene, onspreke, wonspreka

spreke subst. f. 'speech, claim, accusation' Gmc.

OFris. also *spretze*, *spreze*, *spretse*, *sprek*, *sprāke*

The first three by-forms points to a former *-jō-stem, the jod causing assibilation. OWFris. *sprek* shows apocope of the ending. The OWFris. form *sprāke* must be a Dutch loan.

●PFRIS: *sprēk(j)i

cf. s.v. *spreka*

Lit: Seebold 1970: 455-7

sprekwerdene subst. f. 'mutilation of the speech' PIE

Compound of *spreke* 'speech, claim, accusation' and *-werdene I.* 'mutilation', cf. s.vv.

-spring subst. m. 'flood' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *-spreng*

This by-form shows the original vocalism of PGmc. **sprenga-*, whereas *-spring* must represent a reformation after the verb *springa* (van Helten 1907a: 311, s.v. *spēdelspring*).

●PFRIS: **sprēng*

cf. s.v. *sprangel*

stak adj. 'stiff' PIE

Ofris. also *stok*

This form may be cognate, although there are formal problems, see below.

●PFRIS: **stāk*

perhaps MLG *stōke* 'stick', MDu. *stoken* 'congeal', cf. perhaps also

**stukka-*: ON *stokkr*, OE *stocc*, OS *stok*, OHG, MHG *stoc*, MLG *stok*, OFris. *stok* (cf. s.v. *stok I.* 'tree, block'), MDu. *stoc* 'stick'; furthermore MHG *stocken*, MDu. *stocken* 'congeal'; OFris. *stok* (cf. s.v. *stok 2.*) 'lit. stiff-quiet'.

●PGMC: **stauk-*

●PIE: **stēHu-g-*

POKORNY: 1008-9

Without velar extension Av. *stūna-* 'column, pillar', Gr. *stūō* 'erect'; also ON *-stō*, OE *stōw*, OFris. *stō* 'place' < **stōwō*. On this etymology, cf. also van Helten (1907a: 312). Probably, we are dealing with extensions to the root **steh₂-* 'stand', i.e. **steh₂-u-g-*, cf. s.v. *-stathul*. In this connection, cf. the meaning of formally corresponding Lith. *stóviu, -ėti* 'stand' < **steh₂u-*.

We can derive **stauk-* from **staug-* < **ste(h₂)ug-*. The geminate as well as the short vowel of the 'stick'-word PGmc. **stukka-* remain problematic, although the resemblance is striking, both from a formal and semantic point of view. Yet, we expect **stauk-* < **ste(h₂)ug-* (= OFris. *stāk*), **stuk-* < **sth₂ug-* or **stūk-* < **stuh₂g-* (ø-grade and larygeal metathesis). Perhaps we are dealing with a derivation **stuk-na-* to **stuk-* < **sth₂ug-* (i.e. the second of the possibilities mentioned). Pokorny (1959: 1032-4, especially 1033), puts the form to a root *(s)teu-, with an extension *-g-, meaning '*stoßen, schlagen*', but perhaps originally '*steif*'. The latter assumption automatically entails semantic overlap and formal similarity.

It seems impossible to derive either OFris. *stāk* or *stok* from a form without a velar extension, assuming PGmc. **kk* to have arisen in a cluster -Hw- as in e.g. OE *haccian* 'hack' < **kaHw-* vs. *hēawan* 'hew' < **kHaw-*, etc. (Kortlandt 1988b: 356, with further examples and ref.; cf. also s.v. *kuic*) We would expect **steh₂u-* > **staHw-* > PGmc. ***stakk-* ~ **sth₂eū-* > PGmc. ***stau-*, neither of the forms directly yielding OFris. *stok* or *stāk*.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 311-2; not in Lendinara 1990; Walter 1911: 10
see also: -stathul, stera 1., stiora, stok 1., 2., stol, stonda, stunde

stalle adj. 'legitimate, current' PIE

●PFRIS: *stælli

OE *steal* 'fixed, standing', MDu. *stel* 'old, having stood for a long time', cf. also

*stalna-: ON *stallr*, OE *steal*, OHG, MHG, MLG, MDu. *stal*, MDu. *stal(l)*, *stalle* 'place, stable';

*staljanaN: OE *stellan*, OS *stellian*, OHG, MHG, MLG *stellen*, MDu. *stellen* 'establish'

●PGMC: *stalli-

●PIE: *stol-

POKORNY: 1019-20

Gr. *stéllō* 'put, place', Alb. *shtjelj* 'wrap', OPruss. *stallit* 'stand'; not here
Lat. *locus* 'place' (cf. Schrijver 1991: 475) nor Skt. *sthāla-* 'high land', *sthālati* 'stand' with *th* < *tH (cf. also Mayrhofer 1986: 764).

Lit: van Helten 1906: 179; van Helten 1907a: 312; Lendinara 1990: 307

stap adj. 'high' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *stāp

OE *stēap* 'steep, high', subst. OHG, MHG *stouf* 'cliff', cf. also

*stūpanaN: ON *stūpa* 'stand erect', Mod. Swc., Norw. *stupa* 'fall, bend over', MDu. *stupen*, *stuypen* 'bend over';

*staupejanaN: ON *steypa* 'dump';

*stupōjanaN: OE *stupian* 'bend over'

●PGMC: *staupa-

●PIE: [?] *stoup-

POKORNY: 1032-4, especially 1034

Pokorny groups these and other Gmc. forms as going back to PGmc. *steup-, meaning 'cup, hole, container *vel sim.*', under a root *steu- 'stoßen', but we only find the extension *-b- > *-p- in these Gmc. words. Besides the semantics are not obvious. We are probably dealing with a well-confined Gmc. etymon *steup- meaning 'high, steep'.

see also: stiap-, stiapfeder

stapul subst. m. 'scaffold; crown (teeth)' Gmc.

Ofris. also *stapel*

This by-form shows reduction of the second vowel to /ə/.

●PFRIS: *stapul

ON *stōpull* 'tower', OE *stapol* 'column', OHG *staffal*, -ul, *staphal*, -il, MHG *staffel*, *stapfel* 'grade', MLG *stāpel*, *stābel*, -il 'scaffold', MDu. *stapel(e)*, *stapel* 'grade, step, basis', cf. also

*stapjanaN: OE *stæppan*, *steppan*, OS pret. *stōp*, cf. also OHG (Hildebrantslied) *stoptun* (= *stōpun?), and weak *stapfōn*, *stephen*, *steffen*, MHG *stapfen*, *stepfen*, MLG *stappen*, *stāpen*, OFris. *stapa*, MDu. *stappen*, *steppen*,

stapen 'step';

*stapi-: OE *stæpe*, OHG *stapf*, OFris. *-stēpi* (q.v.), *stap*, MDu. *stap*, *step* 'step';

*stūpō: MHG *stūpe*, *staupe*, MLG *stūpe* 'pillory', OFris. *stūpe* (q.v.) 'flogging', MDu. *stupe* 'pillory, flogging'.

●PGMC: *stapula-

● No IE etymology

Pokorny (1959: 1011-3) mentions a bulk of formally and semantically differing material (cf. also Mayrhofer 1986: II, 754, with ref.) under an alleged PIE etymon meaning 'Pfosten, Pfeiler, etc.'. However, if we disconnect forms with (often very) different semantics, the evidence that is directly comparable remains restricted to Gmc., i.e. the above-mentioned forms. It seems attractive to assume a substratum word belonging to Kuiper's layer A₂ (1995: 68ff.), with a nasalised by-form *stamp-, cf. weak 2 ON *stappa*, OHG *stamfōn*, weak 1 OE *stēpan* 'stamp'. This nasalised form seems to have a parallel in Gr. *stémbō* 'stamp, insult, maltreat'. However, the meaning 'stamp' is probably secondary in view of cognate *stóbos* 'insulting, bragging', cf. Pokorny (1959: 1011). Another indication is that forms in pre-Gmc. *p are good candidates for being cognate, cf. OCS *stopa* 'trace', *stōpiti* 'step'. Variation of root-final consonants is also a feature of this particular substratum layer. Finally, the variation with *stūp- cannot be explained from a PIE ablaut pattern, whereas non-IE ablaut *i ~ *a ~ *u (both long and short quantity) is particularly frequent in North European substratum words of the layer A₂ (e.g. Boutkan and Kossmann 1998, Boutkan 1998a).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 462-3

see also: *steb-*, *stef* 1., 2., *stemplinge*, *stupe*

staru- adj. 'cataract' Gmc.

In: *starubind* 'partial loss of sight'.

OFris. also *stare-*, *star-*

The former by-form shows reduction of the second vowel to /ə/; in the latter the medial vowel has undergone syncope.

●PFRIS: *staru-

OE *stær(e)blind*, *starcblind*, OHG *stara/plint*, MHG *star/blint*, MLG *stār(c)-/blint*, MDu. *stær*, *steer*, *stareblind*, *-blent* '(with) partial loss of sight'

●PGMC: *starwa-

On the former wa-stem, cf. van Helten (1907a: 312).

● No IE etymology

It has been assumed that we are dealing with PIE *storh₁uo- [Pokorny 1959: 1022-7, especially 1022], cf. s.v. *sterka*, but this is unlikely given the semantics (Heidermanns 1993: 546).

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 545-6

see also: *starubind*, *stera* 1., *sterka*

starubind subst. n.? 'partial loss of sight' PIE
Compound of *staru-* 'cataract' and *blind* I. 'blind', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 312

-stathul subst. m. 'basis' PIE

●PFRIS: *staþul

cf. also

*staþla-: OE *stadel* 'basis', OHG *stadal* 'shed', MLG *stādel* 'stack (of fruit)';

*staþila-: OHG *stedil* 'foundation';

*stadi-: Goth. *staps*, ON *staþr*, OE *stede*, OS *stedi*, *stidi*, OHG, MHG *stat*, MLG *stēde*, OFris. *sted(e)*, *stidi*, *ste(i)th* (cf. s.v. *stede* I., *stidi* 'city, town'), MDu. *stede* 'place';

*stē₁di-: OHG *stāte*, MLG *stēde*, *stāde*, OFris. *stēde* (cf. s.v. *stēde* 2.) 'firm';

*stē₁dōjanaN: OHG *stātigōn*, OFris. *stēdig(i)a* 'confirm';

*standanaN: Goth. *standan*, ON *standa*, OE, OS *standan*, OHG *stantan*, MHG *standen*, MLG pret. *stond*, OFris. *stonda* (q.v.), *standa*, MDu. *standen* 'stand';

without dental extension:

*stē₁-: OS *stān*, OHG *stān*, *stēn*, MHG *stēn*, MLG *stān*, *stēn*, OWFris. *stān*, MDu. *staen* 'stand'.

●PGMC: *staþula-

●PIE: *steh₂-t-

POKORNY: 1004-10

Skt. *tīṣṭhati* 'stand', Gr. *hístēmi*, Lat. *sistō* 'place'; nasal present *sth₁-n-d > Gmc. *stand-, cf. s.v. *stonda*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 287; Seebold 1970: 460-1; 464-5

see also: *stak*, *stede* 1., *stede* 2., *sted(i)gia*, *stidi*, *stol*, *stonda*

steb- subst. f. 'stump (of a limb)' Gmc.

In: *stebliθ*

OFris. also *stebbe-*

This is actually the original, unsynocopated form of the word.

●PFRIS: *stebbi

ON *stabbi* 'stump (of a tree)', cf. also

*stumb-: OHG *stumbal* 'stump, piece (cut off from sth.)', denom. *stumbilōn* 'mutilate', OFris. *stemplinge* (q.v.), *stemblenge* 'mutilation';

*stump-: OHG *stumpf* 'stump (of a limb or a tree)', MLG *stump* 'stump (of a tree), MDu. *stomp(e)* 'stump (of a limb or a tree)'.

●PGMC: *stabb-

● No IE etymology

As noted s.v. *stapul*, which is probably not cognate in view of the deviant semantics, Pokorny's reconstruction [1959: 1011-3] of a PIE etymon 'Pfosten, Pfeiler, etc.' showing much formal and semantical differentiation is unlikely. It seems attractive to assume a substratum word *stabb-, belonging to Kuiper's layer A₂, with a nasalised by-form *stumb-, *stump-, with variation of root-

final consonants.

see also: *stapul*, *stef* 1., 2., *stemplinge*, *stupe*

steblieth subst. n. 'mutilated limb' Gmc.

Compound of *steb-* 'stump (of a limb)' and *lieth* 'member', cf. s.vv.

stede 1 subst. f. 'city, town' PIE

OFris. also *sted*, *steth*, *stidi*, *steith*

The first two by-forms show syncope (or another stem formation), the spelling *-th* of the second of them reflects the neutralisation of the opposition of final dentals. The form *stidi* (q.v.) shows the Riustring reflex /i/ of i-mutated *a; *steith* (E) shows the Emsingo development of lengthened *e to *ei* (van Helten 1890: 6).

●PFRIS: *stidi

cf. s.v. *-stathul*.

see also: *stak*, *-stathul*, *stede* 2., *sted(i)gia*, *stidi*, *stol*, *stonda*, *stunde*

stede 2 adj. 'firm' PIE

●PFRIS: *stē₁di

cf. s.v. *-stathul*.

see also: *stak*, *-stathul*, *stede* 1., *sted(i)gia*, *stidi*, *stol*, *stonda*, *stunde*

sted(i)gia wk. vb. 2. 'confirm' PIE

●PFRIS: *stē₁digia

cf. s.v. *-stathul*

see also: *stak*, *-stathul*, *stede* 1., *stede* 2., *stidi*, *stol*, *stonda*, *stunde*

stef 1 subst. m. 'stick, staff (official sign of the judge, used by swearing oaths); oath in a process' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *stef

Goth. *stafs* 'element', OR Ap *stAbA*, ON *stafr*, OE *stæf* 'stave, letter', OS *staf*, OHG, MHG *stap*, MLG, MDu. *staf* 'staff'

●PGMC: *stab-

● No IE etymology

As noted s.v. *stapul* and *steb-*, Pokorny's reconstruction [1959: 1011-3] of a PIE etymon 'Pfoften, Pfeiler, etc.' is unlikely. It seems attractive to assume a substratum word *staf-, belonging to Kuiper's layer A₂, perhaps with a nasalised by-form Pre-Gmc. *sta/emb^h- in view of Lith. *steĩbras*, *stembrỹs*, *stembrỹs* 'stalk, stem', Latv. *stuobrs* 'stalk, blade'.

Lit: Holthausen 1924: 466

see also: *stapul*, *steb-*, *stef* 2., *stemplinge*, *stupe*

stef 2 adj. 'stiff' PIE

●PFRIS: *stef

It has been suggested that this adjective is in fact the substantive *stef* 1., used metaphorically (e.g. van Helten 1889: 236; van Helten 1907a: 312). The

assumption of an a-mutated zero-grade *stif-na- > *steff- to the root *steif- 'stiff', cf. OE *stif*, MDu. *stijf*, *stief* is also possible (Walter, pace Franck et al. 1976: 666), cf. the weak 2 verb *stīvia* (q.v.) 'be(come) stiff'. Perhaps, the same ablaut grade is also found in *stevia* (q.v.) 'be stiff' (or to OHG *stabōn* 'id.', cf. Walter 1911: 40). At any rate, it has a parallel outside OFris., viz. in MDu. *stef-* in *steffardich*, *-erdich* 'stiff'.

see also: *stapul*, *steb-*, *stef* 1., *stemplinge*, *stevia*, *stivia*, *stupe*

stefgong subst. m. 'lit. "staff-going", certain legal procedure whereby an abducted woman could choose between living with her family (grouped at one staff placed in the ground) or the abductor (standing at the other staff) by walking towards either of the two staffs' PIE

Compound of *stef* 1. 'stick, staff (official sign of the judge, used by swearing oaths); oath in a process' and *gong* 'way', cf. s.vv.

stefslek subst. m. 'blow with a stick' Gmc.

Compound of *stef* 1. 'stick, staff (official sign of the judge, used by swearing oaths); oath in a process' and *slek* 'hit, blow, mintage', cf. s.vv.

steka str. vb. V 'rise, put up' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *steka

OS *stekan*, OHG *stehhan*, MHG *stechen*, MLG *stēcken*, MDu. *steken* 'sting', cf. also

Weak 2: OE *stician* 'id.', OHG *stechōn* 'id.';

with geminate *-kk-

Weak 2: OHG *stehhōn*, *steckōn* *steckēn* 'id.';

Weak 1: OHG *sticchen* 'stuff'; etc.

●PGMC: *stekanaN

●PIE: *(s)teig- 'stechen' [?]

POKORNY: 1016-7

Probably to Skt. *téjate* 'be sharp', Gr. *stízō* 'tattoo, sting', Lat. *instigāre* 'incite'. However, this geographically restricted Gmc. etymon yields several formal problems. The geminated forms remain unexplained (Seebold 1970: 465: 'Intensiv-Gemination' [?]). Seebold loc. cit. assumes 'Gmc. *stek-a-*, trans. 'stechen' ist durch Ablautsentgleisung aus cinem schwundstufigen Präsens **stik-a-* entstanden.' However, in my view, we may also be dealing with an a-mutation variant **stek-a-* < **stik-a-*.

Further Gmc. cognates seem to be ON *stinga*, OE *stingan* 'sting', with nasalisation (Seebold 1970: 470-1, cf. also 462 on alleged **stanga-* in Goth. *usstagg ita* 'put it out [i.e. an eye]', which must probably be read as *usstigg*). This *a priori* attractive inner-Gmc. comparison becomes formally impossible if we accept Pokorny's reconstruction **steng^h-* 'stechen' [1959: 1014-15] of the nasalised form (which cannot have had a non-nasalised variant that yielded PGmc. **stik(k)-*). On the other hand, attribution to the root *(s)teig- (whence **stik-a-*) requires 'Ablautsentgleisung' and 'eine unregelmässige Entwicklung

des *g*' (Seebold 1970: 471). Therefore, the relationship between PGmc. *steng-a- (or *sting-a-?) and *stik-a- remains unclear. Can we, as an alternative, assume variants of a non-IE root *sti(n)K- with optional prenasalisation and different root-final consonants (i.e. Kuiper's category A₂ of Gmc. substratum words, cf. 1995: 68ff.)?

Lit: Seebold 1970: 467-8; 470-1

stela str. vb. IV 'steal' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *stela

Goth. *stilan*, ON *stela*, OE, OS, OHG *stelan*, MHG *stel(e)n*, MLG *stēlen*, MDu. *stelen* 'steal'

●PGMC: *stelanaN

● No IE etymology

Perhaps, formally similar MIR. *slat* 'looting' is cognate and both derive from a common non-IE substratum. Less likely possibilities in Seebold (1970: 469). PIE *klep-, cf. Gr. *kléptō* 'steal' is retained in Goth. *hlifan* 'id.'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302; Seebold 1970: 468-9

steltma vb. + encl. pron. 'steals one' PIE

Collocation of 3s. ind. pres. *stelt* 'steals' to *stela* and encl. *ma* 'one' to *mā*, cf. s.vv.

stemplinge subst. f. 'mutilation' Gmc.

OFris. also *stemblenge*

This by-form shows assimilation of the medial *-p-* as well as weakening of the medial vowel to /ə/ <e>.

●PFRIS: *stemplingi

cf. s.v. *steb-*

see also: *stapul*, *steb-*, *stef* 1., 2., *stupe*

sten subst. m. 'stone, borderstone, rock' PIE

●PFRIS: *stēn

Goth. *stains*, OR As *staina*, *stAina*, Np *stAinAz*, ON *steinn*, OE *stān*, OS *stēn*, OHG, MHG *stein*, MLG *stēn*, ODu. *stein*, MDu. *steen*, *stein* 'stone'

●PGMC: *staina-

●PIE: *steh₂i-

POKORNY: 1010-11

Skt. *styāyati* 'coagulate', Gr. *stīa*, *stīon* 'pebble', *stéar* 'tallow', Lith. *stérți* 'become rigid'. The Gmc. formation would have been *staina < *steh₂i-no-, a no-suffigation to PIE *steh₂i- 'thicken', which, in turn, might represent an extension of the root *steh₂- 'stand', cf. s.v. *-stathul*.

Lit: Mayrhofer 1986: 762-3

stenen adj. 'of stone' PIE

●PFRIS: *stēnin

An adjectival *-in-formation to *stēn*, q.v.

Also in: OE *stānen*, OHG *steinīn*, MHG *steinīn*, *-en*, MLG *stēnen*, MDu. *ste(i)nijn* 'of stone'

-stepi subst. m. 'step, going' Gmc.

In: *instepi* 'entrance (entering of a weapon in the body)'

●PFRIS: **instepi*

cf. s.v. *stapul*

stera 1 wk. vb. 1 'consolidate, confirm, help' PIE

●PFRIS: **stēra*

ON *stōra* 'make bigger', OHG *stuurren* 'support', MDu. *storen* 'confirm', cf. also

**stōra-*: ON *stórr*, (? →) OE *stōr* 'big', OHG *stōri* 'famous', OFris. *stōr* 'big, important';

**stourjanaN*: Goth. *stuirjan* 'establish', ON *stýra* 'rule, possess', OE *stīeran*, OHG *stiuran*, MHG *stiuren*, MLG *stūren* 'steer', OFris. *stiora* (q.v.), *stiura* 'check, hinder', MDu. *sturen*, *stuyren*, *stieren* 'steer'

●PGMC: **stōrjanaN*

●PIE: **steh₂-r-*

POKORNY: 1004-10, especially 1008

The derivation from the root **sterh₁-* [Pokorny 1959: 1022-7], cf. s.v. *sterka*, has now been given up for semantic reasons (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 558). We are probably dealing with an extension to the root **steh₂-* 'stand', cf. s.v. *-stathul*. Skt. *sthirá-* 'firm, not moving' < **sth₂ro-*, Lith. *stóras* 'big', OCS *starъ* 'old'.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 557-8; van Helten 1889: 272; van Helten 1907a: 313

see also: *stak*, *-stathul*, *stiora*, *stok 1.*, *2.*, *stol*, *stonda*, *stunde*, *sterka*

stera 2 subst. m. 'star' PIE

●PFRIS: **stēra*

OE *stecorra*, OS, OHG *sterro*, MDu. *sterre*, *starre*; Goth. *stairno*, ON *stjarna*, OHG *stern(o)*, MLG *stern(e)*, MDu. *ste(e)rne* 'id.'

●PGMC: **sternan-*

●PIE: **h₂stēr-*

POKORNY: 1027-8

Skt. Np *táras*, Gr. *astér*, Lat. *stella* 'star'.

Lit: van Helten 1890: 151; Lendinara 1990: 296

sterka wk. vb. 1 'strengthen' PIE

OFris. also *sterkia*

This OWFris. by-form is a competing weak 2 formation.

●PFRIS: **sterk(i)a*

ON *stærkja*, OS *sterkian*, OHG *sterchan*, MHG *sterken*, MDu. *sterken*, *sta(e)r-ken* 'strengthen', cf. also

**starka-*: ON *starkr*, OE *stearc*, OS *stark*, OHG *starc*, *starah*, MHG *starc*, MLG *stark*, *sterk*, OFris. *ster(i)k*, MDu. *sta(e)rc*, *sterc* 'strong';

*sterka-: ON *sterkr*, OHG *stirki* 'strong', with a different root extension:

*sterbanaN: OE *steorfan*, OS *sterban*, OHG *sterban*, MHG *sterben*, MLG *sterven*, MDu. *sterven* 'die'.

The original meaning must have been 'stiff, firm *vel sim.*', from which the other meanings can be derived. On the ablaut in the adjective, cf. Heidermanns (1993: 547).

●PGMC: *starkjanaN

●PIE: *sterh₁-

POKORNY: 1022-7

Gr. *stereós* 'fixed, firm', Lith. *stérti* 'become stiff, petrify'; several extensions, e.g. Lith. *strėgti* 'become stiff, become ice'.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 546-7; Lendinara 1990: 294; Seebold 1970: 473-4

see also: stera 1.

sterva str. vb. III 'die' PIE

●PFRIS: *sterva

cf. s.v. *sterka*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 294

steta wk. vb. I 'push, knock' PIE

●PFRIS: *stēta

ON *steyta* 'dump', cf. also

str. II: Goth. *stautan*, OS *stōtan*, OHG *stōzan*, MHG *stōzen*, MLG *stōten*, OFris. ppp *thurch|steten*, MDu. *sto(o)ten* 'push, knock'

●PGMC: *stautejanaN

●PIE: *(s)tōu-d-

POKORNY: 1032-4, especially 1033-4

Skt. *tudāti*, Lat. *tundō* 'knock'; with s- Alb. *shtyuj* 'knock' < *studnjo- (Demiraj 1997: 379-80); different extensions in e.g. Gr. *túptō* 'stamp' < *tu-p-, Lith. *tuksėti* 'knocks' < *tu-k-.

Lit: Bremer 1893: 337-8; not in Lendinara 1990; Seebold 1970: 463-4; Walter 1911: 26

stevia wk. vb. 2 'be stiff' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *stevia

cf. s.v. *stef 2*.

stherekadure subst. f. (pl. tant.) 'churchdoors' PIE

Compound of *sthereke* 'church' and *dure* 'doors', cf. s.vv.

sthereke subst. f. 'church' LW

OFris. also *tsiur(i)ke*, *sziurke* (and further orthographical variants, e.g. B *(t)zurke*, *tsyur(i)ke*, *tsyureke*, *tsziureke*), *kerke*, *karke*.

The spellings (R) *sth-*, *ts-*, *sz-* indicate palatalisation and assibilation of the initial *k-. The absence of this process in *kerke* suggests that we are dealing with a recent loan. I here briefly resume my discussion of the word in Boutkan (2002: 85-6). It has been suggested that the stem vowel of *tsiurke* 'church' is due to the Proto-Frisian breaking, which apparently also took place before

*-rk. The interpretation of the attested forms of 'church' was subject of dispute between Krogmann (1960b) and Löfstedt (1960a). The R₁ form *sthereke* (*sth-* = /č-/) shows no breaking. Löfstedt assumed a borrowing of OE *cyr(i)ce*, the syncopated variant *cyrce* yielding the broken forms *tsiurke* etc. (with *tsiurike* displaying a later parasite vowel) as a result of a special rule of breaking of *ü/k_-rk. The unsyncopated variant *cyrice* did not undergo this breaking rule due to absence of the alleged conditioning cluster *-rk-, but rather underwent the regular unrounding process of *ü, hence R₁ *sthereke*, cf. also Saterlandic *serk*, Amring *sark*. Krogmann attributes the absence of breaking in the latter forms to a different origin, viz. the borrowing from OS *kirika* > **tsirike* > *sthereke* (with *i > e/_r, cf. also Siebs 1901: 1197). The *iu* in *tsiurke* would represent substitution of the *y* [ü] of OE *cyrice* by the diphthong /iu/, cf. also s.v. *kriocce*, *kriose*. I favour Krogmann's interpretation; at any rate, it seems to me that we are dealing with a process that differs from the Proto-Frisian breaking of inherited *e (not of *i, cf. Boutkan 2002). Stiles (1995: 195, fn. 7 = at 213-4) concludes that the dialectal pattern is 'suggestive': the forms displaying the alleged breaking appear to be restricted to Ems Frisian whence they may have been introduced to Mainland North Frisian. We seem to be dealing with a dialectally restricted development. Stiles also states that, assuming 'real' breaking of *e before *-rk in *tsiurke*, one must account for the retention of e in such forms as *werk* 'work'.

●PFRIS: *ćiurki, *ćeriki

← OS *kirika*, OE *cyrice* ← *kurikón*, \bar{c} as the 4th century realisation of Gr. *kuriakón*

Also in: (ON *kirkja* ←) OE *cyrice*, *cirice*, OS *kirika*, *kerika*, OHG *chirihha*, *kiricha*, MHG *kirche*, MLG *kerke*, *karke*, MDu. *ke(e)rke*, *kirke*, *kerc* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *kerke*, *karke*, *zerke*, *ziurke*; Wollmann 1990: 534, also 511, 516, 525 fn. 56

sthrekfrettho subst. m. 'frettho in church' PIE

Compound of *sthereke* 'church' and *frettho* 'peace, (legal) protection, safety; compensation for breach of the peace', cf. s.vv.

sthrekthof subst. m. 'churchyard' PIE

Compound of *sthereke* 'church' and *hof* 2. 'yard, garden, premises; churchyard; court', cf. s.vv.

sthiake subst. f. 'jaw' Gmc.

OFris. also *stiake*, *tziake*, *sciake*, *tscziake*, *ziake*, *tzake*, *keke*

The form *keke* (E) shows no initial palatal (at least in writing) and different vocalism; it may be a LG loan or a different formation, see below. The remaining by-forms, including the R₁-form, all reflect orthographical variants of /čiake/ (with *tzake* possibly displaying simplification of the diphthong as in *brast* for *briast*, cf. Steller (1928: 15) and s.v. *brust-*).

●PFRIS: *ǵiaki

OE *cēoce*, cf. also

*kekōn-: MLG *kēke*, Norw. *kjake* 'jaw';

*kē₁kan-: MLG *kāke*, OFris. *kēke* (or ← MLG *kēke*?), MDu. *cāke*, *caec* 'jaw';

*kōkō: ON *kók* 'mouth';

?*kaukōn: OE *cēace*

●PGMC: *keuk-

● No IE etymology

Both the non-IE ablaut patterns (cf. also de Vries 1958: 7) as well as the non-canonic root structure pre-Gmc. *gVg- (two voiced [glottalised] consonants were not allowed in a PIE root) clearly point to a substratum word.

sthitil subst. m. 'kettle' LW

OFris. also *ketel*, *szetel*, *tsetel*, *tsietel*

Apart from OWFris. *ketel*, which was apparently borrowed from MDu., all by-forms show the (only orthographically differing) reflex of palatalisation and assibilation of the initial *k-. The vocalism of the R₁-form represents the Riustring high reflex of i-mutated *a; *tsietel* (E₁ VIII, 115) may also indicate a high reflex of the mutation product or represent a scribal error for **tseitel with the common Emsingo reflex *eī* of i-mutated *a (van Helten 1890: 31).

●PFRIS: *ǵitil

← Lat. *catillus* 'kettle' (or ← *catīnus* [from which *catillus* is a diminutive] with suffix substitution).

Also in: Goth. *katils*, ON *ketill*, OE *cietel*, *cytel*, OS *ketil*, OHG *chezzil*, MHG *kezzel*, MLG *kētel*, *kcttel*, *kotel*, MDu. *ketel* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *ketel*, *zetel*, *zitel*; Wollmann 1990: 516 fn. 26

stiap- adj. 'step-' Gmc.

In: *stiapfeder* 'stepfather', q.v.

OFris. also *stiep-*

This OWFris. by-form contains the later representative of OFris. *ia*.

●PFRIS: *stiap-

ON *stjúp-*, OE *stēop-*, OHG *stiuuf-*, MHG *stief-*, MLG *stēf-*, *stēp-*, MDu. *stief-*, *steef-*, *stijf-*, *stiep-*, *styp-*, *stippe-*, *stie-* 'id.'

The distribution of the forms in *-f* and those in *-p* remains unclear, because it does not coincide with the expected distribution according to the High German consonant shift. One can assume High German loans in MLG and MDu. (beside the expected *-p*-forms), but this is unsatisfactory; nor is the assumption of an assimilation in *stiepfader > *stieffader* with subsequent generalisation of the assimilated form *stief-* (both observations in de Vries 1992, s.v. *stief-*); see further below.

●PGMC: *steup-

● No IE etymology

The current attribution of this word to *steup-, cf. s.v. *stāp* ([Pokorny

1959: 1034]; de Vries 1992, s.v. *stief-*, following Holthausen 1942: 274), can hardly be justified from a semantic point of view. Inner-Gmc. cognates seem to be OE *ābestīpan* 'deprive', *āstīped* 'orphaned', OHG *ar-*, *bistiufan* 'deprive of parents or of children'. Perhaps, the unexplained variation of root-final *-f* and *-p* may be attributed to the substratum origin of the word (cf. Kuiper 1995: 68ff.).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

stiafeder subst. m. 'stepfather' PIE

Compound of *stiap-* 'step-' and *feder* 'father', cf. s.vv.

stidi subst. f. 'place, domicile' PIE

cf. s.v. *stede* I.

stifne subst. f. 'voice' PIE

Ofris. also *stemme*

Cf. Bremer (1893: 338), who corrects Von Richthofen's interpretation of *stifne* as 'stiftung, schöpfung' and compares the coexistence of OE *stefn* and *stemn*.

The variation is due to a Gmc. rule **-mn- > *-bn-*, whereby 'restored' **-mn-* (> *-mm-*) actually reflects restoration after the oblique cases in an earlier *n*-stem. So, both stem forms reflect an earlier paradigmatic variation.

●PFRIS: **stifni* ~ **stemmi*

Goth. *stibna*, OE *stefn*, *stemn*, OS *stemna*, OHG *stemma*, *stimma*, MHG *stimme*, MDu. *stem(me)*, *stimme* 'voice'

●PGMC: **stemnō* (> **stinnō* > **stibn-*) ~ **stemVn-* (> **stemn-*)

●PIE: **stemn-*

POKORNY: 1035

Av. *staman-*, Gr. *stōma* 'mouth'. The Gmc. evidence is not cited in Pokorny (1959), but is likely to belong here.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

stifta wk. vb. I 'found, build, make' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: **stifta*

OHG *stiften*, MHG *stiften*, *stichten*, MLG *stichten*, ODu. *stiftan*, *stihtan*, MDu. *stichten*, *stechten* 'found'

●PGMC: **stiftanaN*

● No certain IE etymology

If we start from a basic meaning 'erect', we can group this word with the material s.v. *stef* 2., but this is not obvious. More probable is a connection with the extension **sth₂-i-*, cf. s.v. *stēn*; cf. also ON *stí* 'stable', OE *stī* 'stable, barn, hall', OHG *stīga* 'stable'.

stīga str.vb. I 'rise' PIE

●PFRIS: **stīga*

Goth. *steigan*, ON *stīga*, OE, OS, OHG *stīgan*, MHG *stigen*, MLG *stīgen*, MDu. *stigen* 'rise'

●PGMC: *steiganaN

●PIE: *steig^h-

POKORNY: 1017-8

Skt. *stighnoti* 'rises', Gr. *steikhō*, OIr. *tiagu* 'go'.

stige subst. f. 'a number of twenty' LW

The word is only attested in R, and alleged OWFr. attestations do not exist; nor do we find Modern reflexes (Krohn 1972-73: 147-8). The etymon probably was not part of the original OFris. lexicon.

●PFRIS: *stē₂gi

← OS *stiga*, MLG *stige*

The word is restricted to Continental-WGmc. and Crimean Gothic, which is a remarkable distribution. It may serve as an argument for a WGmc. element in Crimean Gothic, a hypothesis that was defended by Grønvik (1995), though in a too rigid way (cf. Boutkan 1996). As to the etymology, cf. Stapelkamp (1953: 44). We might compare ON *stí* 'stable', OE *stī* 'stable, barn, hall', OHG *stīga* 'stable' (cf. s.v. *stifta*) with the additional, but gratuitous assumption that the stable was meant for twenty animals. More promising is the attribution to the root *steig^h-, cf. s.v. *stīga*, cf. e.g. Gr. *stíkhos* 'row'. However, given the limited geographical distribution and the relation to the pre-IE vigesimal counting system, we are probably dealing with a North European substratum word.

Also in: Crimean Gothic *stega*, OS *stīga*, MLG *stīge*, Early Mod. HG *stīg* (1581), MDu. (eastern Dial.) *stige*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 289; Stapelkamp 1953

see also: *stifta*

stiora wk. vb. 1 'check, hinder' PIE

OFris. also *stiura*

This form represents an orthographical and probably phonetic variant of *stiora* (cf. also Boutkan 1996 over allophonic io/_D).

●PFRIS: *stiura

cf. s.v. *stera* 1.

stivia wk. vb. 2 'be(come) stiff' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *stīvia

cf. s.v. *stef* 2.

stok 1 subst. m. 'tree, block' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *stokk

cf. s.v. *stak*.

stok 2 adj. 'stiff' Gmc.

Most probably the substantive *stok* 1. used as an adjective (or an 'ablaut' variant of *stāk*, q.v.).

●PFRIS: *stokk

cf. s.v. *stak*

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 314

stol subst. m. 'throne, chair' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *stōl

Goth. *stols*, ON *stóll*, OE, OS *stōl*, OHG, MHG *stuol*, MDu. *stoel(e)*, *stole* 'chair'

●PGMC: *stōla-

●PIE: *steh₂-l- [?]

POKORNY: 1004-10, especially 1007

Currently interpreted as an extension to the root *steh₂- 'stand' (e.g. Seebold 1970: 464), cf. s.v. *-stathul*. However, this is not obvious from a semantic point of view. Direct cognates are only found in Baltic and Slavic, cf. Lith. *stālas* 'table', OPruss. *stalis* 'table', OCS *stolъ* 'throne'. If we wish to compare these forms as *-l-extensions to the root *steh₂-, we must postulate *steh₂-el-, which is not attractive. Are we dealing with a North European substratum etymon? see also: *-stathul*, *stak*, *stera* 1., *stiora*, *stok* 1., 2., *stonda*, *stunde*

stonda str. vb. VI 'stand' PIE

OFris. also *standan*

This by-form points to a root vowel /ā/, i.e. the neutralisation product of *a and *o before nasals, cf. also Boutkan (1997). Cf. Meijering (1990) on the dialectal distribution of East *stānda* and West *stān*.

●PFRIS: *stānda

Goth. *standan*, ON *standa*, OE *stondan*, *standan*, OS *standan*, OHG *stantan*, MHG, MDu. *standen* 'stand'

●PGMC: *standanaN

●PIE: *sth₂-n-t-

POKORNY: 1004-10, especially 1005

Nasal present to a dental extension to the root *steh₂- 'stand', cf. s.v. *-stathul*, *stede* 1., *stēde* 2.; the dental is also found in Lith. *stataū* 'put, place'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 287; Meijering 1990; Seebold 1970: 460-1; 464-5

see also: *-stathul*, *stak*, *stede* 1., *stede* 2., *stera* 1., *stiora*, *stok* 1., 2., *stol*, *stunde*

stram subst. m. 'stream' PIE

●PFRIS: *strām

ON *straumr*, OE *strēam*, OS *strōm*, OHG *stroum*, MHG *stroum*, *strōm*, *strām*, *strūm*, MDu. *stroom*, *strom* 'stream'

●PGMC: *strauma-

●PIE: *sreu-

POKORNY: 1003

Skt. *srāvati*, Gr. *rhéō* 'stream' < *sreu-, OIr. *sruaimm* 'stream (subst.)' < *sroum- or *sreum-. The Gmc. insertion of the -t- in the cluster *sr is automatic, cf. also *swester* < *swesr-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

strete subst. f. 'street, road' LW

●PFRIS: *strē₁tī

← Lat. (*via*) *strāta* 'street, lit. paved road'

Also in: OE *stræt*, OS *strāta*, OHG *strāza*, MHG *strāze*, ODu. *strāta*, MDu. *strate*, *stræt* 'id.'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *strēte*; Not in Wollmann

-strewene subst. f. 'snatching' PIE

In: *wifstrewene* 'snatching a woman's kerchief'

●PFRIS: *strewini

An abstract *-ini-derivation from the root *strew-, cf. also

*strawa-: ON *strá*, OE *strēaw*, OS, OHG *strō*, OHG *strewen*, *strouwen*, MHG *strōu*, MLG *strō*, MDu. *stro(o)*, *stro(d)e*, *stroot*, *stro(o)y*, *stroyt* 'straw';

denom. vb.: Goth. *straujan* 'spread out', ON *strá*, OE *strēowian*, *strēwian*, OS *strōian*, OHG *strewen*, *strouwen*, MHG *strōuwen*, *strouwen*, *strewcn*, MLG *strouwen*, *strōien*, *streien*, OFris. *strēwa*, MDu. *stro(o)yen*, *streuen*, *str(o)uwen* 'strew'

●PGMC: *straw-

●PIE: *streu-

POKORNY: 1029-31, especially 1030-1

Lat. *struō* 'build up', *struēs* 'heap', OBret. *strois* 'I have spread out'; currently considered as an extension to *sterh₃- 'spread out', cf. Skt. *str̥ṇóti*, Gr. *stórnumi*, Lat. *sternō* 'spread out'.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 25; van Helten 1907a: 316, 379

strid subst. n. 'battle, legal fight' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *strīd

ON *strīþ*, OE *strīþ*, OS *strīd*, OHG, MHG *strīt*, MLG *strīt*, MDu. *strijt*, *strijd* 'fight', cf. also

str.I vb.: OSwe. *stría*. OE *strīdan*, OHG *strītan*, MHG *striten*, MLG *striden*, OFris. *strīda* (q.v.), MDu. *stri(e)den* 'fight';

with different root-final consonant:

ON *strita*, *streita* 'make an effort'

without *s-:

OSwe. *þrēsker* 'recalcitrant', Mod. Norw. Dial. *treisk* 'proud'.

●PGMC: *strīda-

● No IE etymology

Without dental perhaps Lith. *strainūs* 'recalcitrant'. Hardly to *sterh₁-, cf. s.v. *sterka* (pace Pokorny 1959: 1026); the Gmc. words would be the only dental extensions, moreover showing a variation pre-Gmc. *d^h ~ *d, that is reminiscent of North European substratum etyma (Kuiper's layer A₂, cf. Kuiper 1995: 68ff.). This layer also shows variation with respect to the presence or absence of a prothetic s- that is often found in Gmc. words of non-IE origin and which must be distinguished from the inherited PIE 's-mobile' (Cowan 1974: 245).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300; Seebold 1970: 475-6

see also: *strida*

strida str. vb. I 'fight' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *strīda

cf. s.v. *strīd*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

stunde subst. f. 'time' PIE [?]

OFris. also *stonde*

This OWFris. by-form shows the OWFris. lowering of *u to o before nasals (Sjölin 1969: 24).

●PFRIS: *stundi

ON, OE *stund*, OS *stunda*, OHG *stunta*, *stunda*, *stunt*, MHG *stunde*, *stunt*, MLG *stunde*, MDu. *stonde*, *stont*, *stunde* 'time'

●PGMC: *stundō

● No certain IE etymology

It has been assumed that we are dealing with a new ablaut form to *sth₂-n-t- > PGmc. *stand-, with newly arisen *stund-; cf. s.v. *standa*. Apart from this formal problem the semantics is not fully convincing (*'fixed point in time'?), cf. de Vries (1992: s.v. *stonde*). The relation to formally similar ON *stund* 'labour', OE *stundom* 'industrious' remains unclear as well (de Vries 1992: loc. cit.).

stupe subst. f. 'flogging, flagellatio' PIE

●PFRIS: *stūpi

cf. s.v. *-stathul*

sub- Lat. pref. 'sub-' LW

In: *subdiacon* (q.v.) 'subdeacon'

= Lat. *sub-* 'under'.

subdiacon subst. m. 'subdeacon' LW

Compound of *sub-* 'sub-' and *diacon* 'deacon', cf. s.vv.

sum adv. (adverbially used indef. pron.) 'partly' PIE

●PFRIS: *sum

cf. s.v. *-semin*

sumilik indef. pron. 'one or another' PIE

OFris. also *somlik*

This OWFris. by-form shows the OWFris. lowering of *u to o before nasals (Sjölin 1969: 24) as well as syncope of the medial reduced vowel.

●PFRIS: *sumilik

cf. s.v. *-semin*

sumur subst. m. 'summer' PIE

OFris. also *somer*

This OWFris. by-form shows the OWFris. lowering of *u to o before nasals

(Sjölin 1969: 24) as well as reduction of the unstressed vowel.

●PFRIS: *sumur

ON *sumar*, OE *sumor*, OS, OHG *sumar*, MHG *sumer*, MLG *sōmer*, MDu. *som(m)er*, *zomer* 'summer'.

●PGMC: *sumra-

●PIE: *smH-

POKORNY: 905

Skt. *sāmā-* 'season', Av. *ham-*, OIr. *sam* 'summer' (all < *smH-)

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 297

sunder prep. 'without' PIE

OFris. also *sonder*

This OWFr. by-form shows the OWFr. lowering of *u to o before nasals (Sjölin 1969: 24) as well as reduction of the unstressed vowel.

●PFRIS: *sundir

(Goth. *sundro* adv. 'alone, apart',) ON *sundr* adv. 'asunder', OE *sundor* adv., OS adv. *sundar* 'apart', OHG *suntor*, MHG *sunder* adv. 'apart', prep. 'without', ODu. *sundir*, *sunder* prep., MDu. *sonder*, *sunder*, *zonder* prep. 'without'

●PGMC: *sunder

●PIE: *snter

POKORNY: 907

Gr. *áter* 'without'; furthermore to be connected with Skt. *sanu-tár* 'apart, away, from' < *senu-ter, Lat. *sine* < *snh₁i, etc.; cf. s.v. *ōni*.

see also: *oni*, *sundroch*

sundroch adj. 'own, particular, separate' PIE

OFris. also *sunderch*

This by-form shows syncope of the vowel of the suffix and a consequently arisen parasite vowel.

●PFRIS: *sundrux

Adjectival derivation from PGmc. *sunder, cf. s.v. *sunder*,

Also in OE *syndrich*

sunnandi subst.m. 'sunday' PIE

Compound of (Gs *sunnan* of) *sunne* 'sun' and *dī* 'day', cf. s.vv.

sunne subst. f. 'sun' PIE

OFris. also *sonna*, *scnne*, *sinne*

The first OWFr. by-form shows the OWFr. lowering of *u to o before nasals (Sjölin 1969: 24) and another stem formation; the last two OWFr. forms show i-mutation due to a paradigmatic form *sunnin-.

●PFRIS: *sunni, -a, *senni

Goth. *sunno*, ON *sunna*, OE *sunne*, m. *sunna*, OS, OHG *sunna*, m. *sunno* MHG *sunne* m.f., MLG *sunne*, ODu. *sunna*, MDu. *sonne*, *sunne*, *zonne* 'sun', cf. also

*sunþera-: ON *suþr*, *sunnr*, OS *sūðar*, OHG *sundar*, MHG *sunder*, MLG *sūder*, OFris. *sūther* (q.v.), MDu. *suder*, *zuder-*, *suyder-* 'southern'

●PGMC: *sunnō, *sunnan-

●PIE: *sh₂-uen-, Ns *seh₂-ul

POKORNY: 881-2

Skt. *svàr*, Lat. *sōl*; Av. *huuarō*, Gs *x^vōng*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

sunu subst. m. 'son' PIE

OFris. also *sunder*, *sune*, *son*

The first by-form (B, E) is probably a new formation after the example of *feder* and other kinship terms. The form *sune* shows weakening of the second vowel. The OWFr. by-form *son* <soen> may represent a Dutch loan or a regular development of *sune > *sone (OWFr. lowering of *u to o before nasals, cf. Sjölin 1969: 24) > *sōn after lengthening in open syllables and apocope.

●PFRIS: *sunu

Goth. *sunus*, ON *sunr*, *sour*, OE, OS *sunu*, OHG *sun(u)*, MHG *sun(u)*, *suon*, MLG *sōne*, *sōne*, MDu. *sōne*, *zone*, *soon*, *zuene* 'son'

●PGMC: *sunus

●PIE: *suHnus

POKORNY: 913-4

Skt. *sūnú-*, Av. *hunu-*, Lith. *sūnūs*, OCS *synъ*. The long vowel was shortened in pretonic position before resonants according to Dybo's Law, hence PGmc. *sunu- < *sūnu-. To a root *su(H)-, cf. Toch. A *se*, Toch. B *soy* < *suHiu-, Gr. *hūiús* < *suHiu-.

Lit: Schrijver 1991: 354

suther adj.; adv. 'southern; to the south' PIE

OFris. also *sūder*, *suer*

These by-forms show the late-OFris. merger of *-þ- and *-d- in -d-, which could undergo syncope.

●PFRIS: *sūþir

cf. s.v. *sunne*

swang subst. m. 'pouring, *perfusio*' Gmc.

OFris. also *sweng*, *swing*

These by-forms show 'partial' umlaut, cf. van Helten (1906: 175ff), Steller (1928: 9), Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: IX). The OWFr. form *swing* shows the frequent variation of *e* and *i* (Steller 1928: 10).

●PFRIS: *swæng

OE *sweng*, MHG *swanc* 'blow', MLG *swank* 'habit', MDu. *swanc*, *zwanc* 'flexibility, habit', cf. also

*swengwanaN: OE *swingan*, OS pret. sing. *swang*, OHG *swingan*, MHG, MLG *swingen* 'swing', OFris. *swinga* 'pour', MDu. *swingen*, *zwingen*, *swengen* 'swing'

●PGMC: *swangwi-

- No IE etymology

In spite of Pokorny (1959: 1047-8) the comparison of Skt. *svájate* 'umschlingt' cannot be maintained for formal and semantic reasons. This renders the Gmc. forms without outer-Gmc. parallels. It is also improbable that the forms belong to the root **seu-* (Skt. *sváti* 'setzt in Bewegung'), cf. Pokorny (1959: 914). On both observations, cf. Seebold (1970: 493).

Lit: van Helten 1906: 182; Seebold 1970: 493

swarde subst. f. 'skin of the head' Gmc.

Ofris. also *sward*

This by-form shows a strong stem formation.

- PFRIS: **sward(i)*

ON *svǫrþr* 'skin of the head', OE *sweard* 'skin', MHG *swart(e)*, MLG *swarde* 'hairy skin (of the head)', MDu. *swaerde*, *zwaerde*, *swarde*, *swee(r)de*, *swa(e)rt*, *sweert* 'hairy skin (especially of the head)'

- PGMC: **swardō*

- No IE etymology

The only parallel is Latv. *šerve* 'thick skin' (< **sverd-*). Probably a North European substratum word.

swart adj. 'black, evil' PIE [?]

- PFRIS: **sward(i)*

Goth. *swarts*, ON *svart*, OE *sweart*, OS *swart*, OHG, MHG *swarz*, MLG *swart*, MDu. *swart*, *zwart*, *swert*, *swaert*, *sward*, *swerd* 'black'

- PGMC: **swarta-*

- PIE: **suordo-* [?]

POKORNY: 1052

Lat. *sordēs* 'dirt', *sordeō* 'be dirty', *sordidus* 'dirty'. These Latin forms represent the only (certain) outer-Gmc. cognates and may represent a common innovation rather than a PIE heritage.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 574-5

swer adj. 'heavy' PIE [?]

- PFRIS: **swē₁r*

Goth. *swers* 'honoured', ON *svárr*, OE *swær*, OS *swār*, OHG *swār(i)*, MHG *swär(e)*, *swār*, MLG *swār*, MDu. *swaer*, *zwaer*, *swa(i)r* 'heavy', cf. also weak 2: OHG *biswārōn* 'burden', OFris. *sweria* (q.v.) 'be too heavy, burden', etc.

- PGMC: **swē₁ra-*

- PIE: *(s)*h₂uer-*

POKORNY: 1150-1

Only European cognates; Lith. *svarūs* 'heavy', Latv. *svars* 'weight', perhaps Gr. *hērma* 'ballast of a ship', Lat. *sērius* 'serious'. Without 's-mobile' perhaps Gr. *aerō* 'to lift' < **h₂uer-*.

Lit: Heidermanns 1993: 578-9

see also: *sweria*

swera str. vb. VI 'swear (an oath), conspire, give or declare under an oath, confirm (with an oath)' PIE [?]

OFris. also *swara*, *swora*

The former by-form (< *swaranaN) either shows the absence of fronting of *a in the constellation *warC- (Steller 1928: 8), e.g. in 3s ind. pres. *swarth*, or the frequent lowering of e to a (especially before /r/), cf. Steller (1928: 10). Its stem formation cannot be equated with *swera* < *swarja-. The OWFris. form *swora* must represent a secondary zero-grade (after ppp; or lengthened \bar{o} -grade after pret.) formation.

●PFRIS: *swera, *swara (, *swōra)

Goth. *swara*, ON *sverja*, OE, OS *swarian*, OHG *swer(r)en*, *swcrian*, *swerien*, MHG *swern*, *swerjen*, MLG *swēren*, MDu. *sweren*, *zweren*, *swaren* 'swear'

●PGMC: *swērijanaN

● Uncertain IE etymology.

We must start from a root form PIE *(s)uer- [either Pokorny 1959: 1049 or 1162-3].

Perhaps to Lat. *sermō* 'speech, talk' and/or OCS *svarbъ* 'fight' [Pokorny 1959: 1049], but both comparisons require semantic specialisation in Gmc. Besides, even if this etymology is correct, the etymon seems to be restricted to North European and is, especially as a legal term, suspect as a substratum etymon. Another possibility is the assumption of 's-mobile' to the root *uer- 'declare' [Pokorny 1959: 1162-3], e.g. OPruss. *wertemnai* 'we swear', with *dh-extension Lat. *verbum* 'word', Goth. *waurd*, etc., cf. s.v. *word*. This seems more promising.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 480-2

see also: -warde, -wardia, word

sweria wk. vb. 2 'be too heavy, burden' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *swē₁ria

cf. s.v. *swēr*

swes adj. 'related, entitled to an estate' PIE

●PFRIS: *swē₁s

cf. s.v. *sa*

swesbed subst. n. 'incest' PIE

Compound of *swēs* 'related, entitled to an estate' and *bed* 'bed', cf. s.vv.

swesdel subst. m. 'inheritance of a relative' PIE

Compound of *swēs* 'related, entitled to an estate' and *dēl* 'part', cf. s.vv.

swester subst. f. 'sister' PIE

OFris. also *suster*

This actually most frequent by-form shows the transition *we* > *u* that is also found in (eastern) MDu.

●PFRIS: *swestir

Goth. *swistar*, OR *swestar*, ON *systir*, OE *sweostor*, *swustor*, *suster*, OS *swes-tar*, OHG *swester*, *suister*, MHG *swester*, MLG *suster*, MDu. *suster*, *zuster* 'id.'

●PGMC: *swēs[t]ōr

The *-t-* must have arisen in forms with a zero-grade suffix, where the sequence *swesr- regularly developed into *swestr- (cf. also s.v. *stram*).

●PIE: *suēsōr

POKORNY: 1051

Skt. *svásar-*, Lat. *soror*, OIr. *siur*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 298

swika str. vb. I 'leave, desert' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *swīka

ON *svíkva* 'deceive', OE *swīcan* 'deceive, desert', OS *swīkan*, OHG *swīhhan*, MHG *swīchen* 'desert', MLG *swīken* 'yield', MDu. *be|swiken* 'desert, intr. faint, fall'

●PGMC: *swikanaN

● No certain IE etymology

We find Balto-Slavic cognates, cf. Lith. *svaigiù*, *svaĩgti* 'become dizzy', Russ. *svigát* 'drift about'. de Vries 1992 s.v. *bezwijken* considers the possibility of a substrate etymon. However, perhaps we may compare Toch. A *wāweku* 'lied', Toch. B *waike* 'lie (subst.)' < *uoig-, which, if one is prepared to assume 's-mobile', would suggest an IE inheritance (Pokorny 1959: 1042): PIE *(s)uei-g-. However, the alleged root *swei- 'bend, turn' would have many extensions with rather different meanings.

Seebold (1970: 486-7) assumes a root *swei- 'schwinden' and points to the words for 'unconsciousness', PGmc. *sweima- (cf. s.v. *swīm-*; also with respect to Seebold's incorrect interpretation of the quantity of the root vowel) that could be connected semantically.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 486-7

see also: swim-

swilla str. vb. III 'swell, rise' Gmc.

Only in 3s ind. pres. *swilith* (R₁, X, 45), on which form, cf. now Boutkan (1998b).

●PFRIS: *swella

ON *svella*, OE, OS, OHG *swellan*, MHG *swellen*, MLG *swellen*, MDu. *swellen*, *zwellen*, *swillen* 'swell', cf. also

*swallejanaN: ON *svella* 'make swell, augment', OHG *biswellen* 'stop, obturare', etc.;

*swulla-: ON *sullr*, OFris. *swol* 'swelling';

with *-l-:

*swil-: OS, OHG *swil* 'bump';

*swuli-: OE *swyle* 'swelling';

*swe(/i)l-k-ōn-: OE *swelca* 'vesicle'.

●PGMC: *swellanaN

● No IE etymology

The only possible cognate is Lat. *insolēscō* 'swell, become unusual, strange' (but cf. Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v.). The variation of forms with double and single *-l- is also suspect as a non-IE feature. Most likely a substratum etymon.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 295; Seebold 1970: 489-90

swīm- (swima) subst. m. 'unconsciousness' Gmc.

Ofris. also *swoma*

This OWfris. by-form is noted by von Richthofen 1840 s.v. *swima*. The vocalism is also found in the verb: 3s *swommet* (von Richthofen 1840 s.v. (*swima*), *swoma*). This renders the possibility of a scribal error less likely; cf. furthermore such Mod. Fris. cognates as Saterland *swumme*. On this by-form, cf. van Helten (1894: 428-9). We must be dealing with a secondary (analogical) formation such as *runna* (q.v.). The retention of the w before u may either indicate that its regular loss was no longer productive when the by-form *swumma* arose, or can be attributed to paradigmatic forms that regularly retained *sw-*, such as the preterite *swam* (van Helten 1894 loc. cit.). The vowel o regularly corresponds OEFris. u before nasals in OWfris.

●PFRIS: *swīma, *swoma

ON *svīma*, OE *swīma*, OS *swīmo*, MHG *swīm[el]*, MLG *swīm(e)*, *swīm[el]*, MDu. *swijm*, *zwijsm*, *swim[el]*, *zwim[el]* 'unconsciousness'. (Note that Seebold (1970: 487) incorrectly assumes a short stem vowel for the ON, OE and OFris. forms. The MDu. forms can only reflect PGmc. *ī, *ei.)

●PGMC: *sweiman-

● No IE etymology

Usually considered as belonging to a PIE root *swei- 'bend, turn' [Pokorny 1959: 1041-2], but the evidence is too uncertain (cf. s.v. *swīka*). There are no outer-Gmc. formal and semantical correspondences to PGmc. *sweima- (or *swīma-).

see also: *swika*

swimslek subst. m. 'blow causing unconsciousness' Gmc.

Compound of *swīm-* 'unconsciousness' and *slēk* 'blow', cf. s.vv.

swin subst. n. 'swine, pig' PIE

●PFRIS: *swīn

Goth. *swein*, ON *svín*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG *swīn*, MDu. *swijn*, *zwijsn*, *swīn* 'swine'

●PGMC: *sweina-

●PIE: *suH-iHno-

POKORNY: 1038-9

Without the *-iHno-suffix, PIE *suH-s in e.g. Av. *hūš*, Gr. *hūs*, Lat. *sūs*

'swine'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 307

-swiththe subst. f. 'border' Gmc.

OFris. also *swetha*, *sweththe*

The *-thth-* of the Riustring form has been interpreted as a scribal error and the word in which it is actually attested (*sonswiththe*) has been analysed as **sondswīpa* = '*sandbefestigungen*' (van Helten 1907a: [310,] 18); see however Holthausen and Hofmann (1985: 174): *sōnswiththe*. The geminate can easily be explained from a jod-formation **swaþjōn-*. The by-forms weak m. *swetha* < **swēþan-* (**swaþjan-*?, see below), weak f. *sweththe* < **swaþjōn-* (B) attest to the short quantity of the root vowel and, — as does the meaning—, exclude a connection with OE *-swīan* '*confirmare*' < **swenþana-* (Van Helten loc. cit.). The root vowel *-i-* of the Riustring form can represent an *i*-mutated **a* and thus directly correspond with *sweththe*.

Buma (1949: 266) assumes weak m. *swetha* < **gi-sweththa*; both **gi-* and the alleged reduction of the geminate providing unnecessary complications, the latter especially in view of the etymologically correct spelling *-thth-* in exactly the two attestations of fem. *sweththe* (Ds *sweththa*, B₁ 101, 4, B₂ 102, 4). Apparently, we must reckon with an opposition /þþ/ ~ /p/, which is at least rendered in writing where we expect it historically.

●PFRIS: **swiþþi*, **swēþa*

Mod. Fris. *swette* 'borderline', cf. also

**swaþō*: ON *svōpu[sár]* 'scratch, small wound', OE *swaþu* 'trace';

**swaþaN*: ON *svaþ* 'slippery place', OE *swæþ* 'trace', MLG *swad*, *swāde*, MDu. *swa(e)t*, *swade*, *zwad*, *zwat* 'line of cut grass or serial';

**swadan*: ON *svaþi* 'slippery place', MHG *swade* 'line of cut grass or serial'.

●PGMC: **swaþjōn-*, **swēþan-*

● No IE etymology

See de Vries (1992) s.v. *zwad* for unlikely proposals, mostly starting from abstract root etymologies.

synuth see *sinuth*

T

tane subst. f. 'toe' PIE

●PFRIS: **tāni*

ON *tá*, OE *tā(he)*, OHG *zē(c)ha*, MHG *zēhe*, MLG *tēwe*, *tēve*, *tē*, *tēn(e)*, *tōn*, *tāne*, MDu. *tee(n)*, *te*, *toe* 'toe'

●PGMC: **taihwō(n)*

●PIE: **doikueh₂-*

POKORNY: 188-189

It is generally thought that the PIE root for 'toe' is the same as for 'finger'

(cf. Lat. *digitus* 'finger'), the semantic development to 'toe' being shared by the Gmc. and Italic languages. However, de Vries (1992) connects it to PGmc. **tainaN* 'twig', the toes being 'the twigs of the feet' (s.v. *teen*; also de Vries 1977: 579). This derivation seems rather far-fetched and does not explain the MLG forms *tēwe* and *tēve*. From a semantic-historical point of view it can be added that in the OFris. Fines, the toes are explicitly connected with the fingers: *tha tana hagon alsa grate bote alsa tha fingra* 'the fines to be paid for (cutting of) the toes are equal to those for the fingers' (R₁, VI, 83).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

tauwe subst. f. 'tool' Gmc.

●PFRIS: **tāuwi*

Goth. *taui* 'work, deed', ON *tó* 'Werg', OE *getawu* 'tool', OS *tou* 'work', OHG *gizawa*, MHG *gezouwe* 'tool', MLG *touwe*, *tow*, *tau* 'tool, loom', MDu. *tou(we)* 'rope, line', cf. also

**tawjan*: Goth. *taujan* 'make', OR *tawido* 'I made', OHG *zawjan*, *zowjan*, MHG *zouwen*, *zōuwen* 'make', MDu. *touwen* 'make rope, prepare skin';

**tōwalaN*: ON *tól*, OE *tōl* 'tool';

**tawōjanaN*: OE *tawian* 'prepare, dress', *towcræft* 'spinning';

**tē₁waN*: Goth. **tēwa* 'order', Langob. *zāwa* 'row, department', OHG *zāwa* 'dye(ing)'

●PGMC: **tawjaN*

● No IE etymology.

A derivation from PIE **deu-* 'etwa (*religiös*) verehren, gewähren, etc.' [Pokorny 1959: 218-219] seems unlikely for semantic reasons (Pokorny expresses his doubts as well).

Lit: Lehmann 1986: 342

te cf., s.v. *to I*.

tefle subst. f. 'table' LW

OFris. also *tevlc*, *tio(e)lc*, *taffe*

●PFRIS: **teffi*

← Rom. *tavola* < Lat. *tabula* in two fases: 1. included OHG, ON, OE, and happened before the HG consonant shift, with the meaning 'playing board'; 2. included OS, OHG and probably OFris. and happened after the HG consonant shift, with the meaning 'tablet, writing board'.

Also in: ON *tafl*, OE *tæfl* 'playing board', OS *taffa*, OHG *tavala* 'tablet, writing board', OHG *zabal* 'playing board', MHG *zabel* 'playing board, board game', MDu. *tāfel(e)*, *tāvel(e)*, *taffel(e)* 'tablet, writing board'

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *taffe*, *teffe*; Not in Wolmann

-tegia wk. vb. 2 'accuse' PIE

In: *bitegia*

OFris. also *-tigia*

An unclear alternation *e/i* is well-attested (Boutkan 1996: 23), but in this case can be explained as *a*-umlaut.

●PFRIS: **tigia*, **tegia*

MLG *tigen* 'accuse'

cf. also

**teihanaN*: Goth. *ga]teihan* 'declare', OE *tēon*, ON *tjá* 'show', OFris. *bitiā* 'accuse', OS *aftihan* 'refuse', OHG *zihan*, MLG, MDu. *tien* 'accuse';

perhaps here with pre-Gmc. *-g:

**taikna-*: Goth. *taikns* 'token', ON *teikn*, *-tegn*, *-tein*, OE *tāken*, OHG *zeihhan* MHG *zeichen*, MLG *tēken*, OFris. *teken* (q.v.), *tekn*, *teiken*, *teyken*, MDu. *tēken* 'sign, portent';

**taiknojanaN*: ON *teikna*, OE *tācnian*, OS *be]tēknōn*, OHG *zeihonōn*, *-anan*, *-inen* MHG *zeichen(en)*, MLG *tēkenen*, OFris. *tēknia* (q.v.).

●PGMC: **tigōjanaN*

●PIE: **deik-*

POKORNY: 188-9

Skt. *diś-*, Gr. *deiknūmi*, Hitt. *tekkussa-* 'show'. The forms with root-final *-g are often considered as cognate (cf. Lehmann (1986: 340), s.v. *taikn* for discussion and ref.); perhaps showing another extension to an actual root **dei-*. On the other hand, these forms are only found in Gmc., which makes them suspect as non-IE words.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291; Seebold 1970: 499-500

tegotha subst. m. 'tax, tith' PIE

OFris. also *tegatha*, *tegetha*, *tiānda*, *tiēnda*

The variation *-a- ~ -e-* in the first two by-forms points to /-ǝ-/; the form *tiēnde* shows the regular late-OFris. development of earlier *tiānda* (q.v.); similarly card. *tian*, *tien*. On *-tīn*, *-tēn*, ord. *-tīnda*, *-tēnda* in compound numerals, cf. s.v. *achtatīn*, *achtatīnda*.

●PFRIS: **teguṭha*, **tiānda*

Goth. *taihunda*, ON *tíund* 'tenth part of sth.', OE *tcogoda*, *tēoda*, OS *tehando*, *togotho*, OHG *zehanto*, MHG *zchende*, *zēnde*, MLG, MDu. *tiēnde* 'tith, tenth part of sth.', cf. also

**tchun*: Goth. *taihun*, ON *tíu*, OE *tien(e)*, OS *tehan*, OHG *zehan*, MHG *zchen*, *zēn*, MLG *tein*, OFris. *tian*, *tien* (see above), ODu. *tēn*, MDu. *tien* 'ten'

●PGMC: **tegunṭaN*, **tehundaN*

These two forms are obviously related. We would expect **tehundaN*, but OE *tcogoda*, *tēoda*, OS *togotho* and OFris. *tegotha*, *tegatha*, *tegetha* point to a by-form **tegunṭaN*, with grammatical change and/or dissimilation of the medial consonants. It must be noted that all three of the North Sea Gmc. languages are participating in this form.

●PIE: **d(e)kmtō-*

POKORNY: 192

Gr. *dékatos*, Lith. *dešimtas*; without *-t- Skt. *daśam-a-*, Lat. *decimus* 'tenth'

to Gr. *déka*, Lith. *dėsimt*, Skt. *dáśa*, Lat. *decem* 'ten'.

see also: *achtatin*, *achtatinda*, *tegothere*

tegothere subst. m. 'tax collector' PIE

●PFRIS: *teguthiri

An *-iri- derivation to *tegotha*, q.v.

teken subst. n. 'sign, portent' PIE

OFris. also *tekn*, *teiken*, *teyken*

●PFRIS: *tēkin

cf. s.v. *-tegia*

-teknia wk. vb. 2 'mean' PIE

In: *bitēknia* 'mean', q.v.

●PFRIS: *tēknia

cf. s.v. *-tegia*

tele subst. f. 'sum, pledge, charge' PIE

The meaning 'sum' is attested in *mantele* 'part of the *wergild* to be paid by the relatives', q.v.

OFris. also *tale*, *tal*

These by-forms (*tal* with apocope of the ending) are reflexes of a stem form that shows no fronting of PGmc. *a (regularly absent before back vowels; pace van Helten 1890: 156).

●PFRIS: *teli

ON *tala*, OE *talū* 'talk, talc', OS *tala* 'number', OHG *zala* 'number, message', MHG *zalc*, *zal* 'number, message, talk, tale', MLG *tāle* 'talk', MDu. *tale*, *tael* 'talk', cf. also

weak 2: ON *tala* 'speak', OE *talian*, OS *talōn*, OHG *zalōn*, MHG *zalen*, *zaln* 'compute', MLG *tālen* 'tell', OFris. *talia* 'count, declare', MDu. *talen*, *taelen* 'tell';

weak 1: ON *telja*, OE *tellan*, OS *tellian*, OHG *zellan*, *zellen*, MHG *zelen*, *zeln*, *zellen*, MLG *tellen*, 'tell', OFris. *tella* 'count, declare' (q.v.), MDu. *tellen*, *telen* 'tell';

etc.

●PGMC: *talō

●PIE: *doleh₂

POKORNY: 193

The only certain cognate is Gr. *dólos* 'wile, bait' (→ Lat. *dolus* 'wile'); perhaps also Arm. *toł* 'row', both < *dol-. Thus not identical with alleged *del- 2. 'split' [Pokorny 1959: 194] = *delh₂- cf. Skt. *dāláyati* 'make burst', perhaps Lat. *dolāre* 'hew, cut square' < *dohl₂-eie-, Gr. *daídalon* 'work of art', MHG *zol*, *zolle* 'cylindric piece of wood' < *dlh₂-.

Lit: Bremer 1893: 339

tella wk. vb. 1 'count, declare' PIE

Ofris. also *talia*

This is actually another verb (and another formation), originally meaning 'pay, count' as against *tella* 'tell'. Both got confused in OFris. (Bremer 1893: 339).

●PFRIS: **tēlla*

cf. s.v. *tele*

-**tena** wk. vb. 1 'place a blockade of banks of osier and sand' Gmc.

Ofris. also *bi|tūna*

This is most likely a secondary denominative verb to *tūn* 'fence' (Sjölin 1970-75: 182 with discussion).

●PFRIS: **tēna*

OE *tȳnan*, OHG *zūnan*, *zūnen*, MHG *ziunen*, MLG *tūnen*, MDu. *tunen*, *tuenen*, *tuynen* 'fence', cf. also

**tūna*:- ON *tún* 'town', OE, OS *tūn*, OHG *zūn*, MHG *zūn*, *zoun*, MLG *tún*, OFris., ODu. *tūn*, MDu. *t(h)uun*, *tuen*, *tuyen*, *tune*, *toene* 'fence'

●PGMC: **tūnjanaN*

● No IE etymology

The word represents a Gmc.-Celtic etymon, cf. OIr. *dún* '(fortified) city', Welsh *din* 'fortress' and was probably borrowed into Gmc. from Celtic (Marstrand 1911: 204).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

ter cf. s.v. *ther* 1.

***tha** 1 adv. 'there' PIE

Only attested as enclitic -c in *thete* 3. 'that there' (q.v.), XX, 56, 85. cf. s.v. *thā* 3.A.

tha 2 adv. 'then' PIE

cf. s.v. *thā* 3.A.

tha 3.A conj. 'when' PIE

Goth. *þe*, ON *þá* (or < **þan*), OE *þā*, OS *thā* adv., conj. 'when; then', cf. also **þō*: OS *thō*, *thuo*, OHG *thō*, *dō*, *duo*, MHG *dō*, *duo*, MLG *dō*, ODu. *thuo*, MDu. *doe*, Mod. Wfris. *do* adv., conj. 'when; then';

**þa*: e.g. N/Asn **þat*-, cf. Goth. *þat/a*, ON *þat*, OE *þæt*, OS *that*, OHG *thaz*, *daz*, MHG *daz*, MLG *dat*, OFris. *thet* (cf. s.v. *thet* 1., 2., 3.), ODu. *that*, MDu. *dat* demonstrative/definite article;

**þe*:- (+ emphatic particle *-se) OR m. *sasi*, f. *susu*, n. *þatsi*, ON mf. *þessi*, n. *þetta*, OE m. *þēs*, f. *þios*, *þēos* n. *þis*, OS f. *thius*, n. *thit*, OHG m. *dese*, *desēr*, f. *desiu*, *disiu*, *thisu*, n. *diz*, MHG m. *dirre*, f. *disiu*, n. *ditze*, *diz*, MLG mf. *desse*, *düsse*, *dēse*, *disse*, n. *dit*, *düt*, OFris. m. *this(se)*, f. *thius*, *dius*, *thisse*, *dezza*, n. *thit* (cf. s.vv. **this*, m., **thius*, f., *thit*, n.; *thit*), MDu. mf. *dese*, n. *dit*;

*panan(V): ON *panan*, OE *þonan*, OS *thanan(a)*, OHG *danan(a)*, MLG *dānen*, OFris. *thona, thana* (q.v.), MDu. *dane(n)* 'thence';

*pann(V): OE *þonne*, OS *than(na)*, OHG *danne*, MHG *dan(ne)*, OFris. *thenne* (q.v.), *thenna*, MDu. *dan(ne)* 'then';

*þē₁: Goth. *þe* instrumental demon., OE *þā* 'then', OFris. *thē* relative particle (q.v.);

*þē₂: (with innovative vocalism) WGmc. demonstrative/definite article, OS *thē*, *thie* OHG *thē*, *dē*, *thie*, *dē[r]*, MHG *der*, MLG *dē*, *di(e)*, OFris. *thī* (cf. s.v. *thī* 2., 3.), *the* (q.v.), ODu. *thie*, MDu. *die*;

*þa-r-, *þē₁-r: Goth., ON *þar*, OE *þær*, *þār[a]*, OS *thār(od)*, OHG *thār(ot)*, *dā(r)*, *thar[ā]*, *dar[ā]*, MHG *dā(r)*, *dar(e)*, MLG *dār(e)*, OFris. *thēr* (cf. s.v. *thēr* 1., 2.), *thard* (q.v.), ODu. *thār*, MDu. *daer, dare* 'there', etc.

On the use of OFris. *thē*, *thēr* as relative particles as well as the etymology of the former (to Lith. *tē* 'there, take' < instrumental sing. *teh₁ rather than Gr. *te* 'and', cf. also Gr. *té* 'there, take'), cf. van Helten (1907a: 324).

●PGMC: *þē₁

●PIE: *teh₁

POKORNY: 1086-7

Probably, we are dealing with a fossilized instrumental case of the pronominal stem *te/o-, cf. Skt. neuter *tād* (= OFris. *thet* 1., 2., 3., cf. s.vv.), Gr. *tó*, Lith. masc. *tàs* 'that', which serves as the demonstrative and definite article in Gmc. *þa-, on which the innovation WGmc. *þē₂, i.e. OFris. *thī* etc. was based. Parallel use as adverbs in Gr. *tō* 'then, in that case', Lith. *tuō* 'at that point, immediately' (= PGmc. *þō), with *r-* 'at that point, immediately' (= PGmc. *þō), with *r-*suffix Skt. *tar[hi]* 'then'.

see also: *ther* 1., 2., *thet* 1., 2., 3., *thi*, *this [m], *thius [f], *thit* [n], *thit*

tha 3.B conj. 'if, whether; (after comparative:) than' PIE

Goth. *þau* 'than, but, instead, even though', ON *þó* 'yet, however, though'

●PGMC: *þau

●PIE: *tou

POKORNY: 1097

**tou* in OCS *tu* 'there, then; look yonder' (Fraenkel 1962-1965: 239); on **tou* beside **tu* (Skt. *tú*, *tú* 'now, but', cf. s.v. *aldus*), cf. especially Schmidt (1962: 79), Pokorny (1959: 285) s.v. **īām*. Cf. Lühr (1976: 77) on the possibility that we are dealing with *þa-u, *þa- representing the pronominal element treated sub A. rather than the personal pronoun 'you'.

see also: *aldus*, *jeftha*, -*tha* 4., *thach*

-**tha 4** conj. 'if' PIE

= *thā* 3.B, q.v.

thach adv., conj. 'however; although' PIE

OFris. also *thāch*, *dāch*, *doch*

Original form *thāch* < *þauhe (see below) with later vowel shortening before

-ch. On *d-* as a post-classical development of *th-* cf. Sjölin (1969: 29). The OWFris. form *doch* with (shortened) non-Frisian **ō* < **au* must be due to MLG and/or Du. influence.

•PFRIS: **þāh*

Goth. *þauh* 'than, but, instead', ON *þó*, OE *þēah*, OS *thōh*, OHG *thōh*, *tho*, *doh*, MHG *doch*, MLG *dōch* (also *dōche(n)*), MDu., Mod. Du. *doch* 'yet, however, though'.

•PGMC: **þauh*

•PIE: **tou* + **k^we*

POKORNY: 1097; 635-6

On **tou*, cf. sub *thā* 3.B; **k^we* emphatic particle, cf. Skt. *-ca*, Gr. *te*, Lat. *-que* 'and' (Pokorny 1959: 635-6).

thampene subst. f. 'suffocation' PIE

Ofris. also *thempe*

The vocalic variation is due to partial i-umlaut before nasals (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

•PFRIS: **þæmpini*

cf. probably also Mod. HG *dämisch*, *dämlich* 'intoxicated, stunned', West-Phalian *dümmeln* 'suffocate', Mod. Du. *dommelen* 'drowse, be half asleep'

•PGMC: **þam-*

None of the Gmc., nor the possible IE cognates show the **-p-*, which might be of secondary origin in OFris., see below.

•PIE: **temH-*

POKORNY: 1063, cf. also 247-8

According to the current view, the word belongs to the complex OHG *damp* 'smoke', *dempfan* 'make smoke, i.e. put out a fire', to PIE **d^hem-* 'blow, smoke; hence: dark, etc.' [Pokorny 1959: 247-8], cf. Skt. *dhāmati* 'blows'. This etymology has two serious drawbacks. First, the OFris. *th-* simply does not correspond with the Gmc. **d-* in **damp-* < PIE **d^h-*. Second, the semantics is not obvious. As an alternative, I prefer a connection with the German forms *dämisch*, etc. quoted above, which belong to a root **temH-* [Pokorny 1959: 1063], whose attested meanings comprise such fields as 'intoxication, death, suffocation', which matches the OFris. form perfectly, cf. Skt. *tām-* 'chokes, is stunned', Lat. *tēmētum* 'intoxicating drink', Mir. *tāmaid* 'dies'. The initial **t-* yielded OFris. *th-* as well as the *d-* of the German forms. Thus, only the problem of the OFris. *-p-* in *thampene* remains, which is not present in the other forms. I see three possible solutions. First, it is possible that it has a secondary origin, i.e. it is due to the automatic rise of a homorganic stop after *m*. However, this process is only attested in consonantal clusters, cf. OFris. *nimph* 'takes' (van Helten 1890: 86). One would be forced to assume that it arose in non-attested forms of the etymon (e.g. a verbal form) and spread to *thampene*. Second, it is possible that it is due to (folk-etymological) influence of Gmc. **damp-*, see above. This may have been invoked by overlapping meanings of the two etyma. It has been suggested (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 127; Pokorny

1959: 1063-4) that the root *temH- treated here is identical with that in e.g. Lat. *tenebrae* < *temH-s-r-eh₂ 'darkness'. As noted above, the meaning 'dark' is also attested for the root *d^hem-. The least attractive assumption is that we would be dealing with a labial extension to the root *temH- that would only be attested in the OFris. form.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 26

thana adverb 'thence, therefore' PIE

OFris. also *thona*

This by-forms shows the variant spelling <o> for / \ddot{a} / < *a before nasals.

•PFRIS: *þāna

cf. s.v. *thā* 3.A

-thanka wk. vb. 1 'think' Gmc.

In: *bithanka* 'look after oneself, help oneself'.

OFris. also *thantsa*, *thenzia*, *tensa*, *thinka*, *tinsa*, *thinzia*

The vocalic variation a ~ e is due to partial i-umlaut before nasals (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX). We find a third vowel i, which may be due to the merger of *þankjan and *þunkjan, the former verb yielding *thank-* ~ *thenk-*, the latter yielding *þenk- ~ *þink- (van Helten 1890: 226). In OFris. the raising of *ü > *e > i was particularly favoured by a medial assibilated velar, cf. the spellings *-ts-*, *-z-*, *-s-* instead of *-k-* (Steller 1928: 12; cf. also Loopstra 1935: 35-6). However, we also find raising of *ä > *e to i (Loopstra loc. cit. after Gosses). Later forms show *t-* for *th-*.

•PFRIS: *þænka

Goth. *þagkjan* 'think, plan', ON *þekkja* 'notice', OE *þenc(e)an*, OS *thenkian*, OHG *t(h)enken*, *denken*, MHG *denken*, ODu. *thencon*, MDu. *den(c)ken*, *deincken*, *dincken* 'think, thought', cf. also

*þankjanaN: Goth. *þugkjan*, ON *þykkja*, OE *þyncan*, OS *thunkian*, OHG *dunchen*, MHG *dunken*, OFris. *thinka*, *thinszia*, *thinza*, MDu. *dunken*, *donken*, *dinken* 'seem';

*þankōjanaN: Goth. *þagkjan* 'think, consider', ON *þakka*, OE *þancian*, OS *thankon*, OHG *t(h)ankōn*, MHG *dauken*, OFris. *thankia*, MDu. *danken* 'thank';

*þanka-: Goth. *þagks* 'thanks, care', OE *þonc*, OS *thank*, OHG *thank*, *dank*, MHG *danc*, MLG *dank* 'thanks', OFris. *thonk* (q.v.), *thank* 'thanks, satisfaction', ODu. *thankis* 'free', MDu. *danc* 'thanks';

*þanki-: ON *þøkk* 'gratitude'.

•PGMC: *þankjanaN

• No IE etymology

We only found parallels in Italic and Celtic, cf. Lat. *tongere* 'know', Osc *tanginom* 'sententiam', Welsh *tanc* 'peace'. Other alleged cognates such as

OIr. *tongu* 'swear', Toch. A *tuñ(k)-*, Toch. B *tañ(kw)-* 'love' cannot be maintained, cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *bagks* (+ refl.). Probably a (North) European substratum root.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

see also: thonk

thard adv. 'thereto' PIE

●PFRIS: *þard

cf. s.v. *thā* 3.A

thare verb + pron. 'then he' PIE

Syntagm containing *tha* 3.B and *-re* = enclitic *hī* 'he', cf. s.vv.

thase conj + pron 'then they' PIE

Syntagm containing *tha* 3.B, and *se* = Apf to *se* 2., cf. s.vv.

that conj. 'that' PIE [?]

cf., s.v. *thet* 3.

the 1 cf., s.v. *thi* 2.

the 2 rel. part. 'that' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

thene 1 pron. dem. / def. art., acc. sg. masc. PIE

cf., s.v. *thi* 2.

thene 2 cf., s.v. *the* 2. and *thi* 2.

thenne adv. 'then' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

ther 1 adv. 'there; which' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

ther 2 indeclin. rel. pron. 'that' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

Lit: Boutkan 1996: 11, 94

see also: *the* 2.

thera adv. 'therein' PIE

In: *sperthera*,

Compound of *spera*, *-er* 3. (= *ther* 1.) and *a* 4.

therbinna adv. 'therein' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *binna*, cf. s.vv.

therefter adv. 'thereafter, then, consequently' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *eter*, cf. s.vv.

ther et adv. (rel.) 'wherein' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *et* 1., cf. s.vv.

therfon adv. 'therefore, as a result of' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *fon*, cf. s.vv.

therfori adv. 'therefore' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *fori* 1., cf. s.vv.

therinne adv. 'therein' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *inne*, cf. s.vv.

therma pron. rel. + pron. indef. 'that one' PIE

Syntagm containing *ther* 2. and *ma*, cf. s.vv.

thermith adv. 'with which' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *mith*, cf. s.vv.

thermithi adv. 'therewith, therefore, in addition' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *mithi*, cf. s.vv.

therof adv. 'thereof, from there' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *of* 1., cf. s.vv.

theron adv. 'thereto, with that, furthermore' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *on*, cf. s.vv.

therova adv. 'thereon' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *ova*, cf. s.vv.

therp subst. n. 'village' PIE [?]

OFris. also *thorp*

This by-form represents the Southern-WGmc. variant *þurpa-, whereas *therp* corresponds with OS *tharp*, *darp* < *þarpa-, see below.

●PFRIS: *þerp

Goth. *þaurp* 'land, property', ON *þorp* 'estate, farm', OE *þorp*, *þrop*, OS *thorp*; *tharp*, *darp*, OHG *thorf*, *dorf*, MHG *dorf*, MLG *dorp*, *dōrp*, MDu. *dorp(e)*, *doorp*, *durp*; *darp*, *derp* 'village', cf. also

*þrepa-: ON *þrep* 'earthen mound, landing', OE *þrep* 'vault, estate'.

The variant *þarpa- cannot directly represent old ablaut: an old o-grade would have yielded **þrap-. We may be dealing with a metathesis *þrapa- > *þarpa- in the North-Western part of WGmc., cf. also the e-grade *þrepa-. As to this doublet and its geographical spread, cf. Schönfeld (1937: 180).

●PGMC: *þurpa-, *þrapa- (or: *þarpa-?)

●PIE: *trb-

POKORNY: 1090

According to the most current etymology (alternatives in Lehmann 1986 s.v. *þaurp*, de Vries 1992, s.v. *dorp*), the word belongs to a root *treb- 'to build', cf. Lat. *trab(ē)s* 'wooden beam, architrave' (with problematic *a*, but cf. Schrijver

1991: 481-2), Umbrian *tremnu* 'hut' < *trēb-no-, Oscan *TRÍIBŪM* 'domum' < *trēb-, Mlr. *treb* 'hamlet, village' < *tr(e)b-, Lith. *trobà*, As *tróba* 'construction, house' with long vowel and acute due to Winter's Law, but showing *o* for expected *uo*.

The vocalism of the Lith. form presupposes PBaltic *ā, which is corroborated by Latv. *trāba* 'building'. Cf. furthermore Schrijver (1991: 482) as to Gr. Np *téramna*, *teremna* 'house', which cannot formally be linked to the rest of the evidence.

Thus, cognates are only found in Italic, Celtic and Baltic, perhaps in Gr., which distribution makes the root strongly suspect of being borrowed from a (North) European substratum. This would also straightforwardly account for the non-IE ablaut *a ~ *u in WGmc. as well as other problems as to the vocalism (Lat. *a*, Lith. *o*). The presence of /b/ in the root is suspect from an IE point of view as well. Finally, the root belongs to a semantic field that shows many substratum words.

therto adv. 'thereto, with that, furthermore' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *to* 1., cf. s.vv.

thertofara adv. 'for that' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1., *to* 1. and *fara* 1., cf. s.vv.

thertwisk adv. 'between them' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *twisk*, cf. s.vv.

therumbe adv. 'therefore' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *umbe*, cf. s.vv.

therunder adv. 'among them' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *under*, cf. s.vv.

therur adv. 'there(to)' PIE [?]

Compound of *ther* 1. and *ur* 1., cf. s.vv.

therut adv. 'from there' PIE

Compound of *ther* 1. and *ut*, cf. s.vv.

theste adv. 'all the' PIE

Compound of *thes* (= Gsmn of the def. article. *thī*) and *te*, cf. s.vv.

thet 1 cf., s.v. *thi* 2

thet 2 rel. pron. 'that' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

thet 3 conj. 'that' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

thete 1 conj. + pron. pers 'that he' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and *-e* (= Nsm enclitic form of *hi*), cf. s.vv.

thete 2 conj. + def. art. 'that the' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and an enclitic form of *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

thete 3 rel. pron. + adv. 'that there' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 2.* and an enclitic form of *tha 1.*, cf. s.vv.

theter rel. pron. + encl. adv. 'that there' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 2., 3.* and *-er 3.* an enclitic form of *ther 1.*, cf. s.vv.

thetes conj. + encl. def. art. 'that the' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and *-es* an enclitic form of *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

thetet conj. + encl. def. art. 'that it' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and *-et 3.* an Dsf enclitic form of *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

theti conj. + encl. def. art. 'that the' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and an Nsm enclitic form of *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

thetma rel. pron. + indef. pron. 'that one' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 2., 3.* and *ma*, cf. s.vv.

thetter 1 adv. + encl. pers. pron. 'that he' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and *-er 2.* = enclitic Nsm to *hī*, cf. s.vv.

thetter 2 rel. pron.; conj. + adv. 'that there' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 2., 3.* and *ther 1.*, cf. s.vv.

thetterne conj. + pers. pron. + def. art. 'that he the' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and *-er 2.* = enclitic Nsm to *hī*, and *thi 2.*, cf. s.vv.

thettet conj. + rel. pron. 'that it' PIE

Syntagm containing *thet 3.* and *hi*, cf. s.vv.

thi 1 pers. pron. D/As 'you' PIE

OFris. also *dī*

This OWFrīs. by-form shows the transition of *þ* to *d*.

●PFRIS: *þī

OE *þē*, OS *thī*, MLG *dī*, *dē*, MDu. *di* D/As 'you', cf. also

*þi-k: (Goth. *þ[u]k*.) ON *þik*, OS *thik*, OHG *dih*, MHG *dich*, MLG *dik*, *dek* 'id.'

●PGMC: *þi(-k)

●PIE: *tue

Gr. *sé* < *tué, Lat. *tē* As 'you'; the Goth. form may be a reformation of *þik, with *u* after the Ns *þu*. On the other hand it seems to correspond with Hitt. *tuk*.

see also: *thu*, *thin*

thi 2 dem. pron./def. art. 'the' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

thi 3 rel. pron 'that' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A

thiade subst. f. 'people' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *þiadi

Goth. *þiuda*, ON *þjóð*, OE *þeod*, OS *thiod(a)*, OHG *diot(a)*, MHG *diet*, MLG *dēt*, ODu. *thiat*, MDu. *diede*, *diet* 'people', cf. also

*to (gi)thiudōi: OHG *zi githiuti*, MHG *ze diute*, MLG *to dūde*, OFris. *to thiothe* = *to thiode (q.v.) 'in vernacular'.

●PGMC: *þeudō

● No IE etymology

Oscan *touto* 'civitas', OIr. *túath*, OLith. *tautà*, Latv. *tauta* 'people', OPruss. *tauto* 'land'. On this etymon and its probable non-IE origin, cf. Beekes (1998). Hitt. *tuzzi* 'army' is probably not cognate. In spite of Pokorny (1959: 1084-5), we seem to be dealing with a European substratum word.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

see also: thiode

thiadfeste subst. f. 'general fasting of the people' PIE

Compound of *thiade* and *feste* 1., cf. s.vv.

Thiadricus PN 'Theodric'

Latinised form of *Thiadrik*, cf. s.vv.

Thiadrik PN 'Theodric'

thiaf subst. m. 'thief' Gmc.

OFris. also *tief*

In this OWFris. by-form, both the diphthong *ia* and the initial *th-* have developed regularly towards *ie* and *t-*, respectively.

●PFRIS: *þiaf

Goth. *þiufs*, ON *þjófr*, OE *þeof*, OS *thiof*, OHG *diob*, MHG *diup*, *diep*, MLG *dēf*, MDu. *dief* 'thief', cf. also

*þeubidō: ON *þýfþ*, *þýft*, OE *diefþ*, MHG *diubde*, MLG *dūfte*, *dēfte*, OFris. *thiuveþe* (q.v.), *thiuvede*, *thiuft(h)e*, *tiefte*, MDu. *diefde*, *diefte* 'theft';

*þeubiō: Goth. *þiubi*, ON *þýfi*, OE *dēof*, OHG *diuba*, *diuva*, MHG *diube*, *diuve*, MLG *dūve*, *dēve* 'theft'

●PGMC: *þeuba-

● No IE etymology

Gmc. innovation on the basis of a substratum word, probably referring to a specific type of theft due to a social innovation with respect to the ideas regarding property and theft (cf. Lehmann 1986, s.v. *þiufs* + *reff.*, *pacc* Pokorny 1959: 1085). The etymon appears beside the etyma Goth. *hlifan*, *stilan*

'steal' (cf. s.v. *stela*, also non-IE).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

see also: *thiuvethe*

thiania wk. vb. 2 'serve' PIE

Ofris. also *tienia*

This OWFris. by-form shows the transition of *th-* to *t-* and of *ia* to *ie*.

●PFRIS: **þiania*

ON *þjóna* (← OS?), OS *thionon*, OHG *dionōn*, MHG *dienen*, MLG *dēnen*, ODu. *thienon*, MDu. *dienen* 'serve', cf. also

**þeunu/ist-*: ON *þjónusta*, *þénasta*, OE *dēonest*, OS *thionost*, OHG *dion-ōst*, MHG *dien(e)st*, MLG *dēn(e)st*, OFris. *thianost*, *thian(e)st*, *tiensst*, MDu. *dienst* 'service';

**þewa-*: Goth. *þius*, OR *þewaz*, ON NP *-þér*, OE *þeo(w)*, OS NP *theo-*, OHG *deo*, NP *-theo* 'servant'

●PGMC: **þeunोजनाN*

●PIE: **tekʷo-*

POKORNY: 1059-60

The Gmc. verb is a denominative formation to **þewa-* 'servant' ← 'runner', cf. Skt. *takvá-* 'quick' < **tekʷo-*, *tákti* 'rush', OCS *tešti* 'run, flow', OIr. *techid* 'flee, escape'.

thin poss. pron. 'your' PIE

Ofris. also *dīn*

This OWFris. by-form shows the transition of *th-* to *d-*.

●PFRIS: **þīn*

A *-no-derivation to *thī*, q.v.

Also in Goth. *þeius*, ON *þínn*, OE *þīn*, OS, OHG *thīm*, etc.

see also: *thi*, *thu*

thing subst. n. '(session of a) court of law, legal procedure, complaint, legal fact, legal rule, thing' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *ting*

This OWFris. by-form shows the transition of *th-* to *t-*.

●PFRIS: **þing*

ON, OE *þing*, OS *thing*, OHG *ding*, MHG *dinc*, MLG *dinc*, *dinge*, ODu. *thing*, MDu. *dinc*, *dync*, *ding(e)* 'court of law, thing', cf. also

**þingōjanaN*: ON *þinga*, OE *þingian*, OS *thingon*, OHG *thingōn*, *dingōn*, MHG, MLG *dingen*, OFris. *thingia* (q.v.), MDu. *dingen* 'sue'

●PGMC: **þinga-*

●PIE: **tenko-* [?]

POKORNY: 1067, also 1065-6

OIr. *téchtac* 'legal' < **t(e)nkjo-* seems a certain cognate. Further etymological analysis remains unclear (cf. Kluge 1989 s.v. *Ding*). Perhaps a velar extension to a root **ten-* 'stretch', cf. Skt. *tanóti*, Gr. *teínō*, Lat. *tendō* 'stretch'. Then, within Gmc. a further comparison of Goth. *þeihs* 'time' (with alleged

grammatical change) is still problematic from a semantic point of view (de Vries 1992, s.v. *ding*).

thingath subst. m. 'legal case, court session' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *þing

An *-ōþ derivation of *thing*, q.v.

thingfretho subst. m. 'fretho on the way to and from the court' PIE [?]

Compound of *thing* and *fretho*, cf. s.vv.

thingia wk. vb. 2 'sue; judge' PIE

A weak 2 verbal formation to *thing*, q.v.

things(e)ne subst. f. 'ransoming of a relative' PIE

Compound of *thing* and *-les(e)ne*, cf. s.vv.

thingstapul subst. m. 'scaffold ??' Gmc.

Compound of *thing* and *stapul*, cf. s.vv.

thiode subst. f. 'vernacular' Gmc.

cf. s.v. *thiade*

***this [m], *thius [f], thit [n]** dem. pron. 'this' PIE

OFris. also m. *thisse*, f. *dius*, *thisse*, *desa*

The by-forms m. *thisse*, f. *thisse*, *desa* show inflexional endings attached to the originally uninflected deictic element *-se > *-s. The original situation, viz. the inflexion of the pronoun preceding *-se is still retained in f. *diu-s*, though showing *d-* for older **th-* (cf. also *desa* rather than **thessa*). The *-t* of the newer form must be a later reformation, cf. still OE n. *þis*. The variation *-e* ~ *-i-* (e.g. in *thisse* ~ *desa*) can be attributed to accentual differences as well as influence of the following vowel (with possible subsequent levellings).

●PFRIS: m. *þis, f. *þius, n. *þit

see also: *tha* 3.A, *thit*

thit dem. pron. 'this' PIE

cf. s.v. *tha* 3.A, **this* [m], **thius* [f], *thit* [n]

thiuvethe subst. f. 'theft' Gmc.

OFris. also *thiuvede*, *thiuft(h)c*, *tieftc*

These by-forms show several secondary developments as compared with the Riustring form, viz. *-d-* for *-th-* in *thiuvede*, syncope in *thiuft(h)c*, *-t-* for *-th-* in *thiuftc* and *(-t)-* for *(-th)-* as well as *ie* for *ia* in OWFris. *tieftc*.

●PFRIS: *þiuviþi

cf. s.v. *thiaf*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 302

tholia wk. vb. 2 'bear, undergo' PIE

●PFRIS: *þolia

Goth. *þulan*, ON *þola*, OE *dolian*, OS *tholon*, OHG *dolēn*, MHG *dohn*, MLG (*ge*)*dōlen*, ODu. *tholon*, MDu. (eastern Dial.) *dolen* ‘undergo’, cf. also **þultjanaN*: OE *geþuldian*, OHG *dulten*, MHG *dulten*, *dulden*, *dolden*, MLG (*ge*)*dūlden*, OFris. *thelda*, *thi(e)lda*, MDu. *dulden* ‘id.’

●PGMC: **þulōnaN*

●PIE: **telh₂*-

POKORNY: 1061

Gr. *tlénai*, Lat. *tollo* < **tlnh₂*- ‘bear’, OIr. *tlenaid* ‘steal’.

The Gmc. forms show a zero-grade **þul-* < **t_lH-*, with a-mutation in **þol-*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

thank subst. m. ‘satisfaction’ Gmc.

OFris. also *thank*

This OWFris. by-form shows the reflex <a> of */*ā*/ < PGmc. *a before nasals.

●PFRIS: **þānk*

cf. s.v. *-thanka*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

thornen adj. ‘thorny’ PIE

●PFRIS: **þornin*

Goth. *þaurneins*, OE *þyrnen*, OHG *durnīn*, MLG *dōrnen*, MDu. *do(o)rnijn*, *doernijn*, *dorenijn*, *-nen* ‘thorny’, cf. also

Goth. *þaurnus*, ON, OE *þorn*, OS *thorn*, OHG, MHG *dorn*, MLG *dōrn*, ODu. *thorn*, MDu. *do(o)rn*, *doren*, *dorijn* ‘thorn’

●PGMC: **þurniū-*

●PIE: **trn-*

POKORNY: 1031

Skt. *tṛṇa-m* ‘grass, blade of grass’, Gr. *térnaks* ‘stalk of a cactus, of an arti-choke’, OCS *trъnъ* ‘thorn’. Given the Skt. form, the root cannot contain a laryngeal (**trHno-* would have yielded ***tīrna-*) and can therefore — in spite of the current view — not be identified with the root *(s)*terh₁*- ‘(become) stiff’, cf. s.v. *sterka*.

three, m., thria, f., thriu, n. card. num. ‘three’ PIE

●PFRIS: **þrē*, **þria*, **þriu*

Goth. m. *þreis*, n. *þrija*, ON m. *þrír*, f. *þrjár*, n. *þrjú*, OE m. *þrī(e)*, f., n. *þrīo*, *þrēo*, OS m. *thria*, *thrie*, f. *threa*, n. *thriu*, *thrū*, OHG m. *drī*, f. *drīo*, n. *driu*, MHG m. *drī(e)*, f., n. *driu*, MLG m. *drē*, *drie*, *drī*, f., n. *drē*, *drie*, *drī*, *drū*, MDu. m., f., n. *drē*, *drie*, *drī* ‘three’

●PGMC: m., f. **þreics*, n. *-ō*

●PIE: m. **treics*, n. *-(e)h₂*

POKORNY: 1090-2

Skt. *tráyas*, Gr. *treīs*, Lat. *trēs*, OIr. *tri*.

thredda num. ord. ‘third’ PIE

OFris. also *thirda*

This by-form shows typical r-metathesis.

●PFRIS: *thrēdda

This is an expected *-to-formation functioning as ordinal to *thre*, q.v. Also in: Goth. *þridja*, ON *þriði* (Swe. *tredje*), OE *þrida*, OS *thridio*, OHG *thritto*, *dritto*, MHG *dritte*, MDu. *derde*, *darde*, *dirde*, *dorde*, *dridde*, *drudde*, 'third'

●PGMC: *þridja

●PIE: *tri-to-, *tri-tio-

POKORNY: 1090-2

Skt. *ṭṛtīya-*, Av. *θritīia-*, Gr. *trítos*, Lat. *tertius*, OIr. *triss*, OCS *treți*, Alb. *i-trets*, Toch. A, B *trice*.

threddahalf num. 'two and a half' Gmc.

Compound of *thredda* and *half*, cf. s.vv.

On the construction cf. s.v. *achtundahalf*.

thredknili(n)g subst. m. 'relative in the third degree' PIE

Compound of *thredda* and *-knili(n)g*, cf. s.vv.

thredtin num. card. 'thirteen' PIE

Compound of *thredda* and *-tin*, cf. s.vv.

thredtinda num. ord. 'thirteenth' PIE

Expected *-tinda*-formation (see *achtantida*) to the numeral 'thirteen', cf. s.v. *thredtin*.

thria 1 cf., s.v. *thre*, *m.*, *thria*, *f.*, *thriu*, *n.*

thria 2 adv. 'thrice' PIE

Adverbial use of *thria 1*, q.v.

thrimine adj., adv. 'a third' PIE

OFris. also *thrimen*

A bahuvrīhi compound of *thriu* 'three' and the comparative *min 1*. 'less', q.v. Further only in OE *ðrimen*. This suggests that we might be dealing with an Anglo-Frisian innovation.

thritich num. card. 'thirty' PIE

Expected *-tich*-formation (see *achtantich*) to the numeral 'four', cf. s.v. *thre*, *m.*, *thria*, *f.*, *thriu*, *n.*

thriu cf., s.v. *thre*, *m.*, *thria*, *f.*, *thriu*, *n.*

thriu and twintegosta num. ord. 'twenty-third' PIE

Cf. s.v. *thre*, *m.*, *thria*, *f.*, *thriu*, *n.* and *twintegosta*.

thruich prep., adv. 'through' PIE

OFris. also *truch*, *thriuch-*

The former, OWFris. by-form shows the development of *th-* to *t-*. The status of the diphthong of *thriuch-* (3x) has been subject of dispute, cf. van Helten (1907a: 331 with ref.). We may be dealing with an ablaut form PGmc. **eu*.

It is also possible that breaking before *-rx- (in expected *þurx, cf. also *þerx on which see below) preceded r-metathesis. Siebs' suggestion (apud van Helten loc. cit.) of an 'Übergangslaut' between r and u seems *ad hoc*.

●PFRIS: *þurx, *þriux

OE *þurh*, *þorh*, OS *thurh*, *thuru*, OHG *dur(u)h*, MHG *durch*, MLG *dör(ch)*, ODu. *thuro*, MDu. *dor(e)*, *doer*, *dur(e)*, *duere*, *do(o)rch* 'through', cf. also *þerx: Goth. *þairh*, OE *derh* 'through', OHG *derh* 'perforated'

●PGMC: *þurx

●PIE: *trh₂-k^we

Gmc. formation to *trh₂- as in *trh₂os, cf. Skt. *tiráś*, OIr. *tar* 'through'.

thručkeme subst. m. 'piercing' PIE

Compound of *thruč* and *-keme*, cf. s.vv.

thručmeta str. vb. V 'measure through, lit. measure the length of a wound that went through the body' PIE

Compound of *thruč* and *meta* I., cf. s.vv.

thručskiata str. vb. II 'pierce' Gmc.

Compound of *thruč* and *skiata*, cf. s.vv.

thručsla str. vb. VI 'hit through' Gmc.

Compound of *thruč* and *sla*, cf. s.vv.

thručsteta wk. vb. I 'pierce, hit through' PIE

Compound of *thruč* and *steta*, cf. s.vv.

thruč thet conj. 'because' PIE

Compound of *thruč* and *thet* 3., cf. s.vv.

thu pers. pron. Ns 'you' PIE

OFris. also *dū*

This OWFris. by-form shows the transition of þ to d-.

●PFRIS: *þū

Goth. *þū*, ON *þú*, OE *þū*, OS *thū*, OHG *t(h)u*, MLG *dū*, MDu. *du* Ns 'you'

●PGMC: *þū

●PIE: *tuH

Gr. *tú*, *sú*, Lat. *tu*, Toch. A *tu*.

see also: *thi*, *thin*

thuma subst. m. 'thumb' PIE

●PFRIS: *þūma

OE *þūma*, OS *thūmo*, OHG *thūmo*, *dūmo*, MHG, MLG *dūme*, MDu. *dume*, *duum*, *duym* 'thumb', cf. also

*þum-: OSwe. *þumi*, ON *þumall*, *þumal[fi]ngr*, Mod. HG Dial. (Suevian) *dum* 'thumb'

●PGMC: **þūman-*

●PIE: **tu-H-m-*

POKORNY: 1080-85, especially 1082

The thumb would be called the 'swollen or strong finger', cf. the parallel naming Lat. *pollex* 'thumb' to *pollēō* 'be strong'. A form **tu-m-* (> Gmc. **þum-*) is found in Skt. *túmra-* 'strong, thick', Lat. *tumēō* 'be swollen', Welsh *twf* 'strength', etc. The long vowel of PGmc. **þūman-* requires a laryngeal root extension, cf. **tu-H-m-*, which has a parallel in e.g. Skt. *tavīti* 'be strong', ORuss. *tyti* 'become fat'. Discussion in Schrijver (1991: 530-1).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

thurva pret. pres. III 'need, have to' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *thura, thora*

On the loss of *-v-* after *r*, cf. van Helten (1890: 88). The form *thora* shows the expected lowering of the *u* before the *-a* of the ending (van Helten 1890: 15). Analogy has blurred the original distribution of the stem vowels *o* and *u*.

●PFRIS: **þorva*

Goth. *þaurban*, ON *þurfa*, OE *þurfan*, OS *thurban*, OHG *durfan*, MHG *durfen, dörven*, MDu. *dorven, durven* 'need', cf. also

**þarbō*: Goth. *þarba*, ON *þorþ*, OE *þearf* 'want, need', OS *tharf* 'need', OHG *darba* 'fasting', OFris. *therue, derve* 'want, need' etc.

●PGMC: **þurbanaN*

●PIE: **terp-* [?]

POKORNY: 1077-8

The root of the Gmc. forms has been identified with that of Skt. *tarpáyati* 'satisfy', Gr. *térpō* 'enjoy', but the semantic development from a root meaning 'enjoy' to Gmc. 'need' is not clear. More promising is the comparison of OPruss. *centerpo* 'be useful', but a Baltic-Gmc. comparison can hardly be considered as a PIE heritage. A root variant **terb-* may be attested in OCS *trěbъ* 'necessary'. Such variation of root finals sharing the same place of articulation is common in North European substratum material (Kuiper 1995: 68ff.).

Lit: Seebold 1970: 509-10; van Helten 1907a: 331

thusend card. num. 'a thousand' PIE

Ofris. also *thusent, dusednt*

These by-forms show final devoicing of the original **-d*; the latter form shows the transition of initial *th-* to *d-*.

●PFRIS: **þūsend*

Goth. *þusundi*, ON *þúsund*, OE *þūsend*, OS *thūsundig*, OHG *thūsunt, dūsunt*, MHG *tūsent, -inc, -eng, -ig*, MLG *dūsent, -unt, -int*, MDu. *dusen(t), dusant, duust, duyst, dusedntich, ducentich* 'a thousand'

●PGMC: **þūs-hund-*

●PIE: **tuH-s-kmti-*

POKORNY: 1080-5, especially 1083

Usually considered as an extension to the root **teuH-* 'swell, be strong', cf. Skt. *tavīti* 'is powerful, is strong', Arm. *t'iv* 'number'. The use of the root

in the numeral 'thousand' has a parallel in Baltic, cf. Lith. *tūkstantis*, Latv. *tūkstuots*, OPruss. *tūsintons* 'a thousand'.

thwinga str. vb. III 'force' PIE

Ofris. also *twinga*, *dwinga*

On these by-forms, cf. Bremer (1893: 340). The initial *th-* regularly became *t-* yielding the former by-form. The latter form *dwinga* must represent a Low German loan.

●PFRIS: *þwinga

OSwe. *þvinga* 'force', OS *thwingan* 'oppress', OHG *dwingan*, MHG *twingen*, MLG, MDu. *dwingen* 'force'

●PGMC: *þwenganaN

●PIE: *tweng^h-

POKORNY: 1099-1100

Av. *θβazjaiti* 'get oppressed' < *tueng^h-sk-. Perhaps we can compare Lith. *tvenkiū* 'stow', Gr. *sátō* 'press', perhaps Skt. *tvanakti* (Grammarians) 'contract' in spite of the different root-final consonant (actually an extension?). If directly comparable to the latter group, the Gmc. forms may show root-final *-g* as the result of Verner's Law, i.e. PIE *k > *g, but then the comparison of the Avestan form (< *g^h) must be given up.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 526-7

tia str. vb. II 'go, come, pull, push forward, beget, bear, give birth' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *tia

Goth. *tiuhan* 'lead, bring', ON ppp *togun*, OE *tēon*, OS *tiohan*, OHG *ziohan*, MHG *ziehen*, *zihen*, *zi(h)en*, MLG *tēn*, *tien*, ODu. *tian*, *tion*, MDu. *tien*, *tijen* 'draw, pull', cf. also

*teuhnianaN: OFris. *tiona* (q.v.), *tiuna* 'claim';

*teuliez-: ON *tygi*, OE *-ge|tēog* 'equipment', OS *gi|tiug* 'use', OHG *gi|ziug* 'equipment', MHG *(gi)ziuc*, MLG *(ge)tūch* 'testimony, equipment', OFris. *tiuch* 'testimony', MDu. *(ge)tuuch*, *(ge)tuge* 'testimony, equipment';

*teul(ō)janaN: OHG *gi|ziugōn*, MHG *(ge)ziugen*, MLG *(ge)tügen*, OFris. *-tiuga* (q.v.), *tioga*, MDu. *(ge)tugen* 'testify'

●PGMC: *þeuhanaN

●PIE: *deuk- [?]

POKORNY: 220-1

The root is usually considered PIE, but we find certain cognates in the European languages only. On the hapax *víduksaḥ* 'damage', cf. Mayrhofer [1956-82: II, 66; 1986: I, 747-8], who suggests that the form may be interpreted as an original *di-duh- 'vermelken' rather than as the only representative of a root *duk belonging here. We can compare Alb. *nduk* 'pull, tear', OLat. *doucō*, Lat. *dūcō* 'lead, bring', Welsh *dwyn* 'bring' and probably Gr. *dadússomai* 'be torn'. The *ā*-verb Lat. *ducō* (-āre) shows the original zero-grade in the root (Schrijver 1991: 164) as do ON *toga*, OE *togian*, OFris. *togia* 'pull' < *tugōjanaN.

Lit: Demiraj 1997: 291, s.v. *nduk*; Seebold 1970: 503-5

tian num. card. 'ten' PIE
Cf. s.v. *achtatin* and *tegotha*

tianda num. ord. 'tenth' PIE
Expected *-to-formation functioning as ordinal (e.g. van Loey 1970: 155; Prokosch 1939: 292-3) of *tian*, cf. s.v. *-tinda*.

tianutroft subst. m. 'cry for help, alarm' PIE
Compound of *tia* 'go, come, etc.', *ūt* 'out, from... away' and *-roft* 'call, cry', cf. s.vv.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 333; van Helten 1910

-tich suff. '-ty' PIE
cf. s.v. *achtantich*

tichta subst. m. 'complaint, charge' PIE

●PFRIS: *tixta

cf. also

*tixti-: OE *tiht*, *tyht*, OS *ticht*, OFris. *tiht*, OHG *in|ziht*, MHG *ziht*, *in|zic*, *-ziht*, MLG *ticht*, MDu. *ticht(e)* 'charge';

*bitigōnaN: MLG *betigen*, OFris. *bitīgia* (cf. s.v. and s.v. *-tīgia*), MDu. *betigen* 'charge';

*teixanaN: Goth. *ga|teihan* 'announce, tell', ON *tjá* 'show, report', OE *tēon*, *tīon* 'accuse', OS *af|tihan* 'deny', OHG *bij|zihan*, MHG *(be)zīhen*, MLG *be|tīen* 'accuse', OFris. *ūr|tiā* 'refuse' (q.v.), MDu. *tien*, *tyen*, *tihen* 'accuse'

●PGMC: *þeixanaN

●PIE: *deik-

POKORNY: 188-9

Hitt. *tekkuššai*, Skt. *diśāti*, Gr. *deiknūmi* 'show'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291; Seebold 1970: 499-500

tid subst. f. 'time' PIE

●PFRIS: *tīd

ON *tīp*, OE, OS *tīd*, OHG, MHG *zīt*, MLG, ODu. *tīt*, MDu. *tijt*, *tijd* 'time', cf. also

*tīma-: ON *tími*, OE *tīma*, Mod. Alemanic *zīmā*;

*tīdōjanaN: ON *tīpa* 'aim, pursuit', *tīpast* 'be common', OE *tīdan* 'occur', MLG *tīden* 'pursuit', MDu. *tīden* 'go';

probably also

ON, OE, OFris. *til* (q.v.) 'to, until'

cf. also

*tila-: Goth. *ga|tils* 'fitting', Asn *til* 'suitable', ON *tilr*, OE *til* 'useful, good', OFris. *til* 'good';

*tilōjanaN: Goth. *gatilon* 'reach', ON *tilast* 'restore', OE *tilian*, *teolian* 'attempt, strive', OS *tilian* 'attain, reach', OHG *zilōn*, *zilēn* 'hurry', MHG

zil(e)n, *zillen* 'attempt', MLG *tēlen*, OFris. *tilia* 'cultivate', ODu. *tilon* 'festination', MDu. *te(e)len*, *teilen* 'cultivate'.

●PGMC: *tīdi-

●PIE: *diH-ti-

POKORNY: 175-179, especially 176

Arm. *ti* 'time, year' < *dī-ti-, -to- or *-tā shows a dental suffix and a zero grade as well as a semantic parallel. Although the semantics is somewhat abstract, these forms are believed to belong to a root *deh₂- 'divide, cut', cf. Skt. *dāti*, *dyāti* 'cuts, divides', Gr. *daíomai* 'divide'.

The group *til* and cognates is sometimes taken together with Umbr. *arsie* 'sancte', OIr. *ad* 'law', etc. (Pokorny 1959: 3); usually derived from a PIE root *h₂ed- 'determine', but this etymon is attested only in Italo-Celtic and Gmc.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308

see also: *til*, *til thiu*

-**tigia** cf., s.v. -*tegia*

til prep. 'until' PIE [?]

OFris. also *thil*

This by-form shows the hypercorrect spelling *th-* for */t-/*.

●PFRIS: *til

ON, OE *til* 'to, until'

cf. s.v. *tīd*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 308; Miedema 1972-3 (not an ON loan in OFris.)

see also: *tīd*, *til thiu*

til thiu prep. adv. 'to that' PIE

In: *til thiu that* 'so that'

Syntagm of *til* 'by, at etc.' and *thi* 2. dem. pron./def. art. (Isn *thiu*), cf. s.vv.

see also: *tīd*

timber subst. n. 'building' PIE

●PFRIS: *timbir

ON *timbr* 'building', OE *timber* 'material', OS *timbar* 'building', OHG *zimbar* 'dwellings, room', MHG *zimber*, *zim(m)er*, *zum(m)er* 'building, room', MLG *timmer*, *timber*, MDu. *timmer*, *timber*, *temmer* 'building', cf. also

weak 2: Goth. *timrjan* 'strengthen', ON *timbra*, OE *timbr(i)an*, OS *timbrian*, *timbron*, OHG *zimberen*, *zimbarōn*, MHG *zimmeren*, *zimbern*, *zimpern*, MLG *timmeren*, *timberen*, OFris. *timbria* (q.v.), *timmeria* 'build'

●PGMC: *tem(b)ra-

●PIE: *demH-ro-

POKORNY: 198-9

Skt. *dāma-* 'house', Gr. *dómos*, Lat. *domus* 'house', OCS *domъ* < *domHo-, Gr. *démō* 'build'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303

see also: -*timbria*

-timbria wk. vb. 2 'build' PIE

In: *bitimbria*

●PFRIS: *timbria

cf. s.v. *timber*

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303

-tin num. card. 'ten' PIE

Cf. s.v. *achtatin*

-tinda num. ord. 'tenth' PIE

Cf. s.v. *achtatin*

tins subst. m. 'tribute' LW

●PFRIS: *tins

← MLG *tins* ← Lat. *cēnsus*

The *t-* betrays the intermediate Low German stage (cf. also MDu. *tins*), in which language the *t-* represents a false etymological reinterpretation of the High German form with *z-*.

Further formal problems are the /-ĕ-/ in the inflected forms, cf. Gs. *tinzes* (also MLG *tyntze*) and the short vowel *i* rather than *ī* or *ē*.

Cf. also MDu. *tins* (or ← Rom.?, cf. Franck et al. 1976, s.v. *cijns*).

Also in: OS *tins*, OHG *zins*, *zens*, MHG *zins*, MLG *tins*, MDu. *c(h)ijns*, *ch(e)ins*, *c(h)ins*, *cens*, *tse(i)ns*, *tsins*, *(t)sijs*, *tins*

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *tins* (incorrectly: 'zins: Middle Lat. *tensus* (?'); Not in Wollmann; van Helten 1907a: 334

tiona wk. vb. 1 'claim' PIE

Ofris. also *tiuna*

This by-form shows the allophone [iu] of /iu/ (beside [io]).

●PFRIS: *tiuna

cf. s.v. *tia*

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 334

tiuch subst. n. 'testimony' PIE

Ofris. also *tiug*, *tiog*

These by-forms show the result of Auslautverhärtung; the latter also shows the allophone [io] of /iu/.

●PFRIS: *tiuh

cf. s.v. *tia*

-tiuga wk. vb. 1 'testify' PIE

Ofris. also *tioga*

This by-form shows the allophone [io] of /iu/.

●PFRIS: *-tiuga

cf. s.v. *tia*

to 1 prep.; adv. 'to, until, for, against, in, at, on, according to' PIE
OFris. also *te*

This by-form shows a reduced vowel due to lack of sentence accent.

●PFRIS: *tō

OE *to*, *te*, OS *tō*, *ti*, *te*, OHG *zuo*, *zua*, *za*, *zi*, *ze*, MHG *zuo*, *ze*, MLG *tō*, *tū*, *te*, ODu. *tō*, *te*, MDu. *toe*, *te* 'to', cf. also

prefix: OE *to*, OS *ti*, *te*, OHG *za*, *zi*, *ze*, MHG *zu*, *ze*, MLG *te*, OFris. *to-3*. (q.v.), *te*, ODu., MDu. *te*.

prefix:

●PGMC: *tō

●PIE: *do-h₁

POKORNY: 181-3

Lat. *quan-dō* 'when', *dō-nec* 'until, as long as'. An e-grade is attested in Lat. *dē*, OIr. *dí* 'from' < *do-h₁, instrumental of a deictic stem *de as in Gr. *hó-de* 'this one here'.

see also: to 2., 3.

to 2 adv. 'too' PIE

see also: to 1.

to-3 pref. 'in two, apart' PIE

OFris. also *te*

This by-form shows a reduced vowel due to lack of stress.

see also: to 1.

toaskia wk. vb. 2 'claim legally' PIE

Compound of *to 1.* and *askia*, cf. s.vv.

tobreka str. vb. IV 'break in pieces; violate' PIE [?]

Compound of *to-3.* and *breka*, cf. s.vv.

tofara 1 str. vb. IV 'attack' PIE

Compound of *to 1.* and *fara 1.*, cf. s.vv.

tofara 2 prep., adv. 'before' PIE

Compound of *to 1.* and *fara 3.*, cf. s.vv.

tohalda str. vb. VII 'charge with' PIE [?]

Compound of *to 1.* and *halda*, cf. s.vv.

tohape- adv. 'together' PIE [?]

Compound of *to 1.* and *hap*, cf. s.vv.

tohapetia str. vb. II 'clash' PIE [?]

Compound of *to 1.*, *hap*, and *tia*, cf. s.vv.

tohera wk. vb. 1 'listen to' PIE [?]

Compound of *to 1.* and *hera 1.*, cf. s.vv.

tohlapa str. vb. VII 'run towards' Gmc.
Compound of *to I.* and *hlapa*, cf. s.vv.

top subst. m. 'lock, strand of hair' Gmc.

•PFRIS: *topp

ON *toppr* 'point, tip, plait', OE *top* 'top', OHG, MHG *zopf* 'plait', MLG, MDu. *top* 'top', cf. also

*tipp-: MHG *zipf*, MLG *tip*, Swe., Norw. *tipp* 'tip, point', etc.;

*timp-: MLG *timpe*, MDu. *tiimp(e)* 'point';

*tapp-: OE *tæppa*, OHG *zapfo*, MLG *tappe*, Swe. *tapp* (← MLG) 'tapping', etc.;

*tamp-: Du. *tamp* 'piece of rope sticking out, penis', etc.;

*tappil-: MHG *zipfel* 'point, tip', early Mod. Du. (Kiliaen, Teuthonista) *tippel* 'point, nipple', etc.;

*tapil-: early Mod. Du. (Kiliaen) *tepel* 'nipple';

perhaps also

*tump-: OHG *zumpfo* 'penis', Swe. Dial. *tump* 'stump thing'

•PGMC: *toppa-

• No IE etymology

Unlikely proposals for an IE etymology in de Vries (1992) s.v. *top I.* Interestingly, the semantically cognate forms denoting 'point *vel sim.*' quoted above show a non-IE morphology ('ablant' *i-*a-*u, prenasalisation, variation of geminates and single root-finals) that strongly reminds of Kuiper's substratum layer A₂. One suspects that forms with *s*-mobile belong here as well, e.g. Du. *stip* 'spickle', *stump-, cf. s.v. *steb-*, but the semantics do not match.

Lit: de Vries 1958: 20

toseka wk. vb. I 'claim or charge' PIE
Compound of *to I.* and *seka I.*, cf. s.vv.

tosemine adv. 'together' PIE
Compound of *to I.* and *-semine*, cf. s.vv.

tosla str. vb. VI 'kill, beat to death' Gmc.
Compound of *to -3.* and *sla*, cf. s.vv.

tosplita str. vb. I 'tear' PIE
Compound of *to- 3.* and *-splita*, cf. s.vv.

tospreka str. vb. IV 'charge, sue' Gmc.
Compound of *to I.* and *spreka*, cf. s.vv.

toth subst. m. 'tooth' PIE
OFris. also *tond*

This by-form from H, F is problematic. Since OEFris. reintroduced /a/ before nasals at an early stage, cf. R₁ *nam* 'took', it is at any rate improbable that

we are dealing with a borrowing of MLG *tand* (e.g. Hoekstra 1950, s.v.), which would be expected to have been borrowed as such rather than as *tond*. The form is found in H, which makes the assumption of a rounding of *a to o before dentals, i.e. a development of OFris. *tand to *tond* unlikely as well, because this particular development remains restricted to late-OWFris. (e.g. Boutkan 1997: 3). von Richthofen (1840:) s.v. *toth* explains *tond* as a form '... zwischen welchem und toth das goth. tunþus vermittelt...'. This explanation is somewhat cryptic.

At any rate, we cannot assume that the form shows the zero-grade vowel of *tunþ-, because *u became o before nasals in OWFris. but was retained as such in OEFris. The dental implies that PFris. still showed grammatical change (-d ~ *þ).

●PFRIS: *tōþ ~ *tond

ON *tōnn*, OE *tōþ*, OS *tand*, OHG *zan(d)*, MHG *zan(t)*, MLG *tand*, *tant*, *tān*, *ten(e)*, ODu., MDu. *tant* 'tooth', cf. also

*tunþu-: Goth. *tunþus*;

*tunþ-ska-: OE *tūsk*, *tūx*, OFris. *tūsk* (q.v.), *tusch*, *tosk* 'tooth'.

●PGMC: *tanþu-

The Gmc. *u*-stem must be attributed to a reinterpretation of the As *tunþuN < *-m̄ as the As of an *u*-stem. Apart from the OFris. form *tond* treated above, we find levelling of the results of Verner's Law in favour of the voiceless fricative *þ.

●PIE: *h₃dont-

POKORNY: 289

Skt. *dánt-*, Gr. *odón* < Ns *h₃dont(-s), furthermore Lith. *dantis* (secondary *i*-stem as a result of reinterpretation of the Asn, cf. the Gmc. *u*-stem), Lat. *dēns* with secondary lengthening of the zero-grade vowel of the oblique forms such as Gs *h₃dnt-ós, Lat. *dent-is*, cf. also Gmc. *tunþ-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 292

see also: tusk

treppe subst. f. 'step' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *treppi

OE *træppe* 'trap', MHG, MLG *trappe*, *treppe* 'staircase', MDu. *trap(pe)* 'step, staircase', Norw. Dial. *tropp* 'step, staircase', cf. also

*trappōjanaN: MLG, MDu. *trappen*, Norw., Swe. Dial. *trappa* 'stamp';

*trapōjanaN: MDu. *bejtrape* 'find, catch';

*trapjanaN: OE *treppan* 'tread';

*tre/impanaN: Goth. *ana}trimpan* 'crowd';

*tramp-: MHG *trampeln*, MLG *trampe(le)n* 'stamp', *tramperen* 'dribble', MDu. *tramperen* 'stamp';

*trump-: MHG *trumpfen* 'walk', Norw. Dial. *trumpa* 'bump';

*stramp-: MLG *strampen* 'tread vigorously';

*strump-: MLG *strumpe(le)n*, MDu. *strompen* 'stumble'.

- PGMC: *trappō(n)-
- No IE etymology

The only possible cognates are found in Baltic and Slavic, cf. Polish *drabina* 'ladder', Lith. *trempiù, trem̃pti* 'stamp', with *s*-mobile Lith. *strýpti* 'trample'. The complex shows a non-IE morphology ('ablaut' *i?-*a-*u, prenasalisation, variation of geminates and single root-finals) that strongly reminds of Kuiper's substratum layer A₂.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 507

tre(u)we subst. f. 'fidelity, promise, treaty' PIE

Ofris. also *triuwe, trūwa, tro(u)wa*

The current (non-Riustring) form *triuwe* shows the vocalism of the adjective *triuwe*, where *i*-mutation of *-*eww*- to *-*iww*- took place; the Riustring form retains the original development of *-*eww*- (van Helten 1890: 27). The vocalism of *trūwa* > *tro(u)wa* suggests the loss of the first element of the diphthong **iū* (van Helten 1890: 27); however, the vocalism has a parallel in ON, OE, MLG and MDu. and may represent an ablaut variant (i.e. PGmc. **trewH-* ~ **truH-*).

- PFRIS: **trewwa, *tr[(i)ū]wa*

Goth. *triggwa* 'covenant', ON *trú*, OE *trēow, trūwa*, OS *trēuwa*, OHG *triuwa*, MHG *tri(u)we, triu*, MLG *trouwe, trūwe*, MDu. *tro(u)we, trauwe, truwe, trou* 'fidelity', cf. also

adj. **trewwja-*: Goth. *triggws*, ON *tryggr*, OE (*ge*)*triwe*, OS, OHG (*gi*)*triuwi*, MHG (*ge*)*triuwe*, MLG *getrouwe, getrūwe, getriwe*, MDu. *trouw(e), truw(e), tru* 'loyal'.

- PGMC: **trewHō*

- PIE: **dreuH-*

POKORNY: 214-17, especially 215-6

Lith. *dr(i)ūtas* 'firm', OPruss. *druwis* 'fidelity', Welsh *drūt* 'strong'. With metaphorical meaning to PIE **deru-* 'tree', cf. Skt. *dāru-*, Gr. *dōru* 'wood'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300; Marstrand 1945: 330ff.

tu cf. s.v. *thū*

tunge subst. f. 'tongue' PIE

Ofris. also *tonge*

This by-form represents the variation of *u* and *o* before nasals (e.g. Steller 1928: 11).

- PFRIS: **tungi* ~ **tongi*

Goth. *tuggo*, ON *tunga*, OE *tunge*, OS *tunga*, OHG *zunga*, MHG *zunge*, MLG *tunge*, ODu. *tunga*, MDu. *tung(e), tong(e)* 'tongue'

- PGMC: **tungō*

- PIE: **dnǵ^hueh₂*

POKORNY: 223

Formally identical with OLat. *dingua* only. Similar forms in other IE languages are believed to have been altered, e.g. due to taboo (e.g. Toch. A *kāntu*, B

kāntwā with metathesis) or under influence of other forms, e.g. Lith. *liežūvis*, Lat. *lingua*, Arm. *lezu* with *l-* due to influence of PIE *leigʰ- 'lick'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291

turf subst. m. 'turf (of grass)' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *turf

ON *torf(a)*, OE *turf*, OS *turf*, OHG *zurf*, *zurba*, MLG *turf*, *torf*, ODu. *turf*, MDu. *turf*, *torf* 'turf'

●PGMC: *turfa-

●PIE: [?] *d^horb^ho-

The etymology of traditionally compared Skt. *darbhā-* '(bushel of) grass' is considered as uncertain (Mayrhofer 1986: I, 703-4). Other words that have been compared, such as Bela-Russ. or Russ. *dórob* 'basket' rather belong to to *derb^h- 'turn' [Pokorny 1959: 211-2].

A preferable alternative is the comparison of semantically identical Slavic forms such as Russ. *děrn*, Czech *drn* 'turf'. A further connection of these forms and the PIE root *der(H)- 'split, cut', e.g. Skt. *dar-*, is speculative. The etymon may thus be a Slavic-Gmc. one, which makes the assumption of an IE heritage less obvious.

tusk subst. m. 'tooth' PIE

OFris. also *tusch*, *tosk*

The vocalism reflects paradigmatical variation due to the presence or absence of *a*-mutation (similarly, but different van Helten 1890: 14 fn. 1, 12); <sch> is an alternative spelling of /sk/.

●PFRIS: *tūsk, *tosk

cf. s.v. *tōth*

tva card. num., N/As f., n. 'two' PIE

OFris. also *twā*, *tuā*

These by-forms show the allographs *w* and *u* of the grapheme <w> denoting /w/.

●PFRIS: *twā

Goth. f. *twos*, n. *twa*; ON f. *tvær*, n. *tvau*; OE f. *twā*, n. *twā*, *tū*; OS f. *twā*, *twō*; n. *twē*; OHG, MHG f. *zwā*, *zwō*; n. *zwei*; MLG f. *twū*, *twō*; n. *twē*, *twey*; MDu. f., n. *twee* 'two', cf. also

masc.: Goth. *twai*, ON *tveir*, OE *twēgen*, OS *twēne*, OHG, MHG *zwēne*, MLG *twēne*, OFris. *twēne*, *tvēne* (cf. s.vv.), MDu. *twee* 'two';

2/3: OE *twāde*, OS *twēdi*, MLG *twēde*, OFris. *twēde* (q.v.);

*twi-: ON *tvé*, *tví*, OE, OS *twi-*, OHG, MHG *zwi-*, MLG *twē-*, *twī* OFris. *twi-* (q.v.), MDu. *twee-*, *twī* 'two-';

*twai-lif-: Goth. *twalif*, ON *tolf*, OE *twēlf*, OS *twelif*, *twilif*, *twulif*, OHG *zweelif*, MHG *zwelef*, *zweelif*, *zwelef*, *zwoelf*, *zwölf*, MLG *twel(e)f*, OFris. *twel(e)f*, *twilif* (q.v.), *tolef*, MDu. *twalef*, *twel(e)f*, *twalf* 'twelve';

**twaina-tigu*:- OE *twēntig*, *twæ(ge)ntig*, OS *twēntig*, OHG *zweinzug*, MHG *zweinzec*, *zwēnzic*, MLG *twintich*, OFris. *twintich* (q.v.), *twintech*, MDu. *twiutich*;

**twisk*:- OE *be]tweox*, *-twix*, *-t(w)ux*, OS *undar]twisk*, OHG *in*, *undar zwiskēn*, MHG *zwischen*, *zwüschēn*, MLG *twischen*, *tuschen*, OFris. *twisk* (q.v.), *twiska*, MDu. *tusscen*, *twis(s)ccen* 'between';

adv.: ON *tvisvar*, *tysvar*, OE *twiwa*, *tuwa*, *twig(e)a*, OS *twīo*, OHG *zwiror*, *zwiron*, MHG *zwi(e)r*, *zwire*, MLG *twī(g)e*, *twīges*, *twēyes*, OFris. *twīa* (q.v.) *twīia*, MDu. *twī(c)*, 'twice'

●PGMC: m. **twai*, f. **twōs*, n. **twō*

●PIE: m. **duoh₁*

POKORNY: 228-32

Skt. *dvā(u)*, Gr. *duō*, Lat. *duo*. Originally a dual form, which was rebuilt in PGmc. and again in the later stages of Gmc. An adverbial stem is PIE **duis-*, cf. Skt. *dvīṣ-*, Gr. *dīs*, Lat. *bis*, ON *tvis-var*, *tys-var*, which gave rise to several adverbial formations (with later rebuildings). In compounds, we encounter PIE **dui-*, cf. Skt. *dvi-*, Gr. *di-*, Lat. *bi-*, which yielded the PGmc. prefix **twi-*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: *tvene*, *twa* 1., 2., *twede*, *twene*, *twi-*, *twisk*

tvene cf., s.v. *twene*, *twa*

twa 1 cf., s.v. *twene*, *twa*

twa-2 adv. 'in two, in half' PIE

In: *twasla*

cf. s.v. *twene*, *twa*

twa and siuguntich num. card. 'seventy-two' PIE

Compound of *twa* and *siuguntich*, cf. s.vv.

twa and thritich num. card. 'thirty-two' PIE

Compound of *twa* and *thritich*, cf. s.vv.

twa and twintegosta num. ord. 'twenty-second' PIE

Compound of *twa* and *twintegosta*, cf. s.vv.

twa hundred num. card. 'two hundred' PIE

Compound of *twa* and *hundred*, cf. s.vv.

twasla str. vb. VI 'hit in two' PIE

Compound of *twa* and *sla*, cf. s.vv.

twede two-third 'adj. num., subst.' PIE

Cf. s.v. *tva*

twene, **twa** : cf., s.v. *tva*

twi- pref. 'twice, double' PIE

Prefixal use of *tva*, cf. s.v.

twia adv. 'twice' PIE

Adverbial use of *tva*, cf. s.v.

twibete adj.; adv. 'double fine, demanding a double fine' Fris.

Compound of *twi-* and *-bete*, cf. s.vv.

twifald adj. 'two-fold, double' PIE

Compound of *twi-* and *-fald*, cf. s.vv.

twifrethe adj. 'demanding a double fine for breach of fretho' WGmc.

Compound of *twi-* and *fretho*, cf. s.vv.

twiielde adj.; adv. 'demanding double wergild: double' Gmc.

Compound of *twi-* and *jeld*, cf. s.vv.

twilif num. card. 'twelve' PIE

●PFRIS: *twiliva

A compound of PIE m. *duoh₁ 'two' and *lik^{w-}, cf. s.v. *tva* and *andlova*

twilifta num. ord. 'twelfth' PIE

This is an expected *-to-formation functioning as ordinal of *twilif*, cf. s.v.

twintich num. card. 'twenty' PIE

Expected *-tich*-formation (see *achtantich*) to the numeral 'two', cf. s.v. *tva*.

twintigosta, twintegosta num. ord. 'twentieth' PIE

For an explanation of the variation between *twintigosta* and *twintegosta*, see Boutkan 1996: 29.

twira = Gm of *twa*, cf. s.v.

twisk prep.; adv. 'between' PIE

OFris. also *twiska*

This by-form represents another PGmc. formation, cf. s.v. *tvā*.

●PFRIS: *twisk(a)

Cf. s.v. *tvā*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288

U

umbe prep., adv. 'around, for, concerning, because of' PIE

OFris. also *ombe*, *um(me)*, *om(me)*

These by-forms show the OWFris. variant *o* of *u* before nasals, assimilation of *-mb-* to *-mm-* and apocope of the final syllable.

●PFRIS: *umbi

ON *um(b)*, OE *ymb(e)*, OS, OHG *umbi*, MHG *umb(e)*, *um(me)*, *ümbe*, *ümme*, MLG *ümbe*, *üm(me)*, ODu. *umbi-*, MDu. *umbe*, *ombe*, *um(me)*, *om(me)* ‘around’

●PGMC: *umbi

On the unexpected presence of *-i after long stems in WGmc., cf. Boutkan (1995: 66); possibly, the -i was taken from the preposition *bi* 1. or secondarily introduced after the example of preverbal *umbi-*.

●PIE: *h₂mb^hi

POKORNY: 34-5

Skt. *abhītas*, Gr. *amphí*, Lat. *amb-*, OIr. *imb-* ‘around’.

umbemeta str. vb. V ‘measure (around the body)’ PIE

Compound of *umbe* and *meta* 1., cf. s.vv.

umberavad adj. [orig. part. pres. with negation *un-* > *um-*] ‘not robbed, inviolable’ PIE

Compound of *un-*, *bi-*, *be-* 2. pref. and *-ravia*, cf. s.vv.

Also: MDu. *onberovet*

see also: *bi-*, *beravia*

umbethingades adv. gen. [orig. part. pres. with negation *un-* > *um-*] ‘without a legal procedure’ PIE [?]

Compound of *un-*, *bi-*, *be-* 2. pref. and *thingia*, cf. s.vv.

see also: *bithingia*

umbewullen adj. [orig. part. pres. with negation *un-* > *um-*] ‘innocent, not guilty’ PIE [?]

Compound of *un-*, *bi-*, *be-* 2. and *-wella*, cf. s.vv.

see also: *bi-*, *bewella*

umbibur subst. m. ‘neighbour, neighbouring’ PIE

Compound of *umbe* and *bur*, cf. s.vv.

un- pref. ‘negative prefix’ PIE

Ofris. also *on-*

This by-form shows the OWfris. variant *o* of *u* before nasals.

●PFRIS: *un-

Goth. *un-*, ON *ú-*, *ó-*, OE, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, ODu. *un-*, MDu. *on-* ‘un-’

●PGMC: *un-

●PIE: *h₁-

POKORNY: 756-8

Skt., Gr. *a(n)-*, Lat. *en-*, *in-*.

unafte adj. ‘illegal’ PIE

Compound of *un-* and *afte*, cf. s.vv.

unblikande adj. ‘invisible’ PIE [?]

Compound of *un-* and *blika*, cf. s.vv.

und- pref. 'German *unt-*' PIE

OFris. also *unt-*, *ont-*, *un-*, *on-*

The vowel of *ont-* shows the OWFris. variant *o* of *u* before nasals. The by-forms *unt-*, *ont-*, *un-* and *on-* show assimilations of the final *-d* of *und-*.

●PFRIS: *und-

cf. s.v. *and 1*.

under prep., adv., pref. 'under, between, amongst, during' PIE

OFris. also *onder*

This by-form shows the OWFris. variant *o* of *u* before nasals.

●PFRIS: *undir

Goth. *undar*, ON *und(ir)*, OE *under*, OS *undar*, OHG *untari*, *untar*, *unter*, MHG, MLG *under*, ODu. *under*, *undir*, MDu. *onder* 'under'

●PGMC: *undar

ON *und* shows no suffix; OHG *untari* cannot be directly compared with Av. *aḍāiri*, because a PIE short *-i would have been lost.

●PIE: * $\text{und}^{\text{h}}\text{er}(i)$

POKORNY: 771

Av. *aḍāiri*; furthermore * $\text{und}^{\text{h}}\text{-os}$ > Skt. *adhás*

underdenoch adj. 'obedient, submissive' PIE

Compound of *under* and *-denoch*, cf. s.vv.

underwinna str. vb. III 'deprive of' PIE

Compound of *under* and *winna*, cf. s.vv.

undfa str. vb. VII 'get, use, welcome' PIE

Compound of *und-* and *fa*, cf. s.vv.

undflia str. vb. II 'escape, flee' Gmc.

Compound of *und-* and *flia*, cf. s.vv.

undgunga str. vb. VII 'exonerate (from), elude (prosecution)' PIE

Compound of *und-* and *gunga*, cf. s.vv.

undkuma str. vb. IV 'withdraw, abandon' PIE

Compound of *und-* and *kuma*, cf. s.vv.

undswera str. vb. VI 'swear under oath; deny under oath' PIE [?]

Compound of *und-* and *swera*, cf. s.vv.

unfach adj. 'unpunished, immune to prosecution' Gmc.

Compound of *un-* and *fach*, cf. s.vv.

unforwrocht adj. 'not confiscated, not lost on legal grounds' PIE [?]

Compound of *un-*, *for-* 2. and *wrogia*, cf. s.vv.

unfretmon subst. m. 'hostile or warlike person' PIE

Compound of *un-*, *fretmo* and *mon*, cf. s.vv.

ungeroch adj. 'not adult' PIE

Compound of *un-* and *-geroch*, cf. s.vv.

Ungeron NL 'Hungary' LW

uniaththa subst. m. 'private person, not sworn' Gmc.

Compound of *un-* and *aththa*, cf. s.vv.

unideld adj. 'undivided' Gmc.

Compound of *un-* and *dela*, cf. s.vv.

unideve adj. 'indecent' Gmc.

Compound of *un-* and the PGmc. root **dab-* ~ **dōb-* 'appropriate, decent'.

MDu. *onghedieve*, *ongedocve* (see Philippa et al. 2003: s.v. *deftig* for other MDu. forms), cf. also

Goth. *gadaban* 'happen, be suitable', *gadofs* 'suitable, fitting', ON *dafna* 'expand, grow', OE *gedæfte* 'fitting, suitable' (Mod. English *deft* 'handy', *daft* 'dumb').

•PGMC: **dab-* ~ **dōb-*

• No certain PIE etymology

Lat. *faber* 'smith, craftsman?', Lith. *dabnùs* 'elegant' < PIE **d^hab^h-* 'to fit'. Although Pokorny (1959: 233-34) has listed Lat. *faber* as belonging to the same root, Ernout and Meillet (1985) express some doubt because the Germanic and Baltic forms never show such meaning, cf. also Schrijver (1991: 102). Cf. also OCS *dobrъ* 'good' (Russ. *dobryj*, Cz. *dobrý*), Arm. *darbin* 'smith' < PIE **d^hab^h-ro-*.

The a-vocalism in this reconstructed root is unlikely from a PIE perspective. The Gmc. and Balto-Slavic evidence could point to **d^hob^h-* and possibly **d^hHb^h-* for the Lat. and Arm. cognates (if they are related). Therefore, it could be o (a laryngeal is not possible for Balto-Slavic), but there is no evidence for e, which one would expect, especially in the verb, so that a is more probable.

A more likely explanation is a borrowing from a substratum language (probably Kuiper's 1995 substratum layer A₁), then all cognates can be reconstructed to the root **d^hab^h-*, cf. also Beekes (1996: 229-30) for more discussion.

Lit: Beekes 1996: 230 Kuiper 1995

uniskif adj. 'unseparated, undivided' PIE

Compound of *un-* and *skif*, cf. s.vv.

unlende adj. 'deep' PIE [?]

Compound of *un-* and *-lende* 2., cf. s.vv.

unriucht 1 adj. 'unjust, evil (person)' PIE

Compound of *un-* and *riucht* 1., cf. s.vv.

unriucht 2 subst. n. 'injustice; unlawfull, illegal act' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *riucht 2.*, cf. s.vv.

unriuchte adv. 'illegal act; unjust, illegal' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *riuchte*, cf. s.vv.

unskelda subst. f. 'guilt' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *skelde*, cf. s.vv.

unskeldich, -ech adj. 'not guilty' Gmc.
Compound of *un-* and *skeldich, -ech*, cf. s.vv.

unskeldiges adv. 'not guilty; unjust' Gmc.
Compound of *un-* and *skeldiges*, cf. s.vv.

untgunga cf., s.v. *undgunga*

untkuma cf., s.v. *undkuma*

unweldich adj. 'unfree, to have no authority over' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *weldich*, cf. s.vv.

unwerthlike adv. 'unworthily, improperly' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *-werthlike*, cf. s.vv.

unwilla subst. m. 'not on purpose, by accident' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *willa 2.*, cf. s.vv.

unwisse adj. 'uncertain; absent' PIE
Compound of *un-* and *-wisse*, cf. s.vv.

up- pref. 'up-' PIE

OFris. also *op-*

This by-form is the OWFris. form that may be a Dutch loan or show the *o* of *opa* (q.v.).

•PFRIS: *upp-

Cf. s.v. *opa*

uphalda str. vb. VII 'to stop something' PIE [?]
Compound of *up-* and *halda*, cf. s.vv.

upnema str. vb. IV 'take possession of' PIE [?]
Compound of *up-* and *nema*, cf. s.vv.

upriuchta wk. vb. I 'erect' PIE
Compound of *up-* and *riuchta*, cf. s.vv.

upstonda str. vb. VI 'rise (from the grave)' PIE
Compound of *up-* and *stonda*, cf. s.vv.

ur 1 prep., adv. 'concerning, over, by, at' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *over*, *ovir*

These by-forms show a more original stage without vowel contraction after loss of intervocalic *-v-*. On Riustring *ovir* ~ *over* 2, cf. s.v.

●PFRIS: *ūr

Cf. s.v. *opa*

see also: *over* 2., *ovir*

ur- 2 pref. 'over-' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *over*, *ovir*

These by-forms show a more original stage without vowel contraction after loss of intervocalic *-v-*. On Riustring *ovir* ~ *over* 2., cf. s.v.

●PFRIS: *ūr

Cf. s.v. *opa*

see also: *over* 2, *ovir*

ur- 3 pref. 'German *er-*, Dutch *ver-*' PIE

Ofris. also *for*

This by-form represents the non-weakened, original form of this word.

●PFRIS: *ūr-

cf. s.v. *for- 1*.

see also: *afara*, *bifara* 2., *farahaved*, *for-* (also *forhaved*), 1., 2., 3. *fori* 3., *forth*, *frana*, *tofara* 2.; *forma*, *framde*, *fremma*, *fremo*, *frowe*

ur- 4 pref. 'German *ur-*, Dutch *oor-*' PIE

Ofris. also *or-*

On this by-form, cf. s.v. *or- 2*.

●PFRIS: *ur-

cf. s.v. *for- 1*.

see also: *or- 2*.

urbarna wk. vb. I 'burn something' PIE [?]

Compound of *ur- 4*. and *barna*, cf. s.vv.

urbek adv. 'backwards, rearwards' Gmc.

Compound of *ur- 2*. and *bek*, cf. s.vv.

urberna str. vb. III 'burn something' PIE [?]

Compound of *ur- 3*. and *-berna*, cf. s.vv.

urbiada str. vb. II 'forbid, ban' PIE

Compound of *ur- 3*. and *biada*, cf. s.vv.

urbote subst. f. 'additional fine' Gmc.

Compound of *ur- 2*. and *bote*, cf. s.vv.

- urbrida** str. vb. III 'rob' PIE [?]
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *brida*, cf. s.vv.
- urdel** subst. n. 'judgement, verdict' Gmc.
Compound of *ur-* 4. and *dela*, cf. s.vv.
- urdela** wk. vb. 1 'judge, pass verdict, convict' Gmc.
Compound of *ur-* 4. and *dela*, cf. s.vv.
- urdemnese** subst. f. 'condemnation' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *-demnese*, cf. s.vv.
- urdwa** anom. vb. 'destroy, lay waste' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *dwa*, cf. s.vv.
- urfara** str. vb. VI 'pass away, die' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *fara* 1., cf. s.vv.
- urfella** wk. vb. 1 'end, reject' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *fella* 1., cf. s.vv.
- urfiuchta** str. vb. III 'break by fighting' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *fiuchta*, cf. s.vv.
- urgripa** str. vb. I 'sin, commit a crime, illegal act' PIE [?]
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *gripa*, cf. s.vv.
- urjeld** subst. n. 'additional *wergild*' Gmc.
Compound of *ur-* 2. and *jeld*, cf. s.vv.
- urjelda** str. vb. III 'take revenge; settle, pay' Gmc.
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *jelda*, cf. s.vv.
- urjeva** str. vb. V 'give; grant' Gmc.
Compound of *ur-* 2. and *jeva*, cf. s.vv.
- urkapia** wk. vb. 2 'sell' LW
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *kapia*, cf. s.vv.
- urkuma** str. vb. IV 'be proven beyond doubt' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 2. and *kuma*, cf. s.vv.
- urlibba** wk. vb. 1 'outlive' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 2. and *libba*, cf. s.vv.
- urlovía** wk. vb. 2 'not allowed' PIE
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *lovía*, cf. s.vv.
- urmeldia** wk. vb. 2 'give up' PIE [?]
Compound of *ur-* 3. and *-meldia*, cf. s.vv.

urmod subst. m. 'recklessness, overconfidence' Gmc.

Compound of *ur-* 2. and *mod*, cf. s.vv.

ursella wk. vb. 1 'sell, trade' PIE [?]

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *sella*, cf. s.vv.

ursetta wk. vb. 1 'pawn' PIE

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *setta*, cf. s.vv.

ursitta str. vb. V 'fail to be present' PIE

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *sitta*, cf. s.vv.

urskrida str. vb. I 'sail over someone who is in the water' Gmc.

Compound of *ur-* 2. and *-skrida*, cf. s.vv.

urstela str. vb. IV 'steal' Gmc.

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *stela*, cf. s.vv.

urstonda str. vb. IV 'barricade; defend' PIE

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *stonda*, cf. s.vv.

urswera str. vb. VI 'abjure; renounce' PIE [?]

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *swera*, cf. s.vv.

urtia str. vb. II 'refuse; leave' PIE [?]

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *tia*, cf. s.vv.

urtiuga wk. vb. 1 'prove someone's guilt' PIE

Compound of *ur-* 2. and *-tiuga*, cf. s.vv.

urweddia wk. vb. 2 'abandon, renounce' Gmc.

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *weddia*, cf. s.vv.

urwinna str. vb. III 'prove someone's guilt, find guilty' PIE

Compound of *ur-* 2. and *winna*, cf. s.vv.

urwixlia wk. vb. 2 'exchange' PIE

Compound of *ur-* 3. and *-wixlia*, cf. s.vv.

us Dp, Ap pers. pron. 'us' PIE

●PFRIS: *ūs

Goth. *uns(is)*, ON *oss*, OE *ūs*, Ap also *ūsic*, OS *ūs*, OHG *uns*, Ap *unsih* (with occasional confusion of the two case forms), MHG *uns*, *üns*, Ap also *unsich*, ODu. *uns*, MDu. *ons*, Ap also *u(u)s* 'us', cf. also

**uns-*: OS *ūsa*, OHG *unser*, OFris. *ūse* (q.v.), ODu. *unsa*, MDu. *onse* 'our';

**uns-er*: Goth. *unsar*, ON *várr*, OE *ūser*, *ūre*, OHG *unserer*

●PGMC: *uns

●PIE: *ns

POKORNY: 758

Non-nominative form of the personal pronoun 'we'; cf. Hitt. *anz-* < *ns-, Gr.

Aeol. acc. *ámme* < *ns-me, ablaut in Lat. acc. *nos* < *nōs, also serving as nom.

see also: use

use poss. pron. 'our' PIE

OFris. also *unse*, *onse*

These OWFris. by-forms must represent Dutch loans given the general-OFris. loss of *n before s.

●PFRIS: *ūsi

cf. s.v. *ūs*

ut adv.; pref. 'out' PIE

OFris. also *hut*

This by-form shows a hypercorrect *h-* due to the variation *h-* ~ *ø-* (cf. Sjölin 1966: 27).

●PFRIS: *ūt

Goth. *ut*, ON *úti*, OE, OS *ūt*, OHG *ūz*, MHG *ūz*, *ouz*, MLG *ūt*, ODu. *ūt-*, MDu. *uut* 'out', cf. also

*ūt-: Goth. *uta*, ON *úti*, OE *ūte*, OS *ūta*, -e, OHG *uze*, -i, MHG *ūze*, *ouze*, MLG *ūte*, OFris. *ūta* (q.v.), *ūte*, MDu. *ute* 'out';

*ūtan(-): ON, OE, OS *ūtan*, OHG *ūzan(a)*, OFris. *ūta* (q.v.) 'out';

*ūtu/era-: ON *útar*, OE *ūtor*, -er, OS *far|ūtar*, OHG *ūz(z)ar*, *ūzer*, MHG *ūzer*, *ouzer*, MLG *ūter*, OFris. *ūtur*, -er (q.v.), MDu. *uter* 'without'.

●PGMC: *ūt

●PIE: *h₁ui-d^h

POKORNY: 1103-4

Skt. *úd*, OCS *vy-* 'upward'; unclear length of the vowel in Gmc. and Lat. *ūsq̄ue* 'continuously'.

see also: *uta*, *uter*, *ur-* 2., *utur*

uta adv. 'outwards, to sea' PIE

●PFRIS: *ūta

Adverbial formation to *ut*, q.v.

utawerdes adv. 'outwards' Gmc.

Compound of *uta* and *-werdes*, cf. s.vv.

utbelda wk. vb. I 'attribute part of the estate to marrying child' Gmc.

Compound of *ut* and *belda*, cf. s.vv.

utbiada str. vb. II 'offer' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *biada*, cf. s.vv.

utbreka str. vb. IV 'tear off; put out someone's eyes' PIE [?]

Compound of *ut* and *breka*, cf. s.vv.

ute subst. f. 'rendering, deliverance' PIE

A substantive formation to *ut*, q.v.

uter, utur prep. 'outside; without' PIE

●PFRIS: *üter-/ur

Cf. s.v. *ut*

utethma subst. m. 'lit. exhale; leaving of the breath through the wound' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *ethma*, cf. s.vv.

utfere subst. f. 'military campaign abroad' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *-fere* 2., cf. s.vv.

utfuchta str. vb. III 'damage caused by defense from a house' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *fuchta*, cf. s.vv.

utgong subst. m. 'exit, opening, going out' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *gong*, cf. s.vv.

utgunga str. vb. VII 'originate from, coming out' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *gunga*, cf. s.vv.

uthald adj. 'focused outward, focused towards the open sea' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *-hald*, cf. s.vv.

utia wk. vb. 2 'render, return' PIE

Weak 2 verbal formation to *ut*, cf. s.v.

utkwinka str. vb. III 'lose (an eye) as a result of ulcer' Gmc.

Compound of *ut* and *-kwinka*, cf. s.vv.

utrene subst. m. 'flowing out' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *-rene* 1., cf. s.vv.

utria wk. vb. 2 'return, give back' PIE

Weak 2 verbal formation to *ut*, cf. s.v.

Also MLG *ütereren*

utrost adj. superl. 'most outside, nearest to the sea' PIE

●PFRIS: *üterost-

Superlative formation to *ut*, q.v.

uttia str. vb. II 'draw out, pull out' PIE [?]

Compound of *ut* and *tia*, cf. s.vv.

utur cf., s.v. *uter, utur*

utwach subst. m. 'outside wall' PIE

Compound of *ut* and *wach*, cf. s.vv.

uwra adj. comp. 'higher' PIE [?]

OFris. also *ura, uvera*

The expected comparative adjectival formation -(e)r- (see Boutkan 1996: 81) to PGmc. *ufer- with a syncopated suffix vowel *uvera > uwra. For the variation *v* ~ *w*, see Boutkan (1996: 16). In OFris. the *f* or *v* were often syncopated when followed by *r* or *l* in the next syllable, see van Helten (1890: 88, 176).

●PFRIS: *uvera

Cf. s.v. *opa*

Lit: van Helten 1890: 88, 176

W

wach subst. m. 'wall, division, side, partition; side or partition in the body like nostril, septum, etc.' PIE

●PFRIS: *wah

OE *wāg*, *wæg*, OS *wēg*, MDu. *weech* 'wall'

●PGMC: *waig-

●PIE: *uoi-g^h-

POKORNY: 1130-1

To a root meaning 'bend'; with different extension possibly Goth. *waihsta* 'corner, edge' < *uoi-k- or *-g-. Furthermore Gr. *eikō* 'give way to', Lat. *vincio* 'bind, encircle'. Skt. *vijāte* 'move rapidly' < *uig-.

Lit: van Helten 1906: 192; van Helten 1907a: 357 + ref.; Holthausen 1963: 382; Lendinara 1990: 303

wada str. vb. VI 'wade' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *wada

ON *vaða* 'wade, rush, walk through', OE *wadan*, OHG, MHG *watan* 'wade, stride', MLG *wāden*, MDu. *wadcn*, *waeyen* 'wade, go'

●PGMC: *wadanaN

●PIE: *uh₂d^h- [?]

Semantically close is Lat. *vadāre* 'to wade through, ford', *vadum* 'ford'. It cannot be established with certainty whether Alb. *va* 'ford' is historically cognate with *vadum* or is a borrowing of this Lat. form (Demiraj 1997: 405). The Latin forms seem to be cognate with *vādere* 'go, walk, rush'. If we allow a connection with words denoting a less specific way of moving than wading in particular, like in this Lat. instance, Arm. *gam* 'come' could furthermore be compared, pointing to a PIE heritage [Pokorny 1959: 1109]. Note also that less specific meanings are attested within Gmc., where the ON verb can also mean 'rush, walk through' and the OE, OHG, MHG, MLG and MDu. verbs can also denote the notion 'go, stride'.

Lit: Schrijver 1991: 170; Seebold 1970: 530-1.

wakia wk. vb. 2 'wake' PIE

●PFRIS: *wakia

OE *wacian*, OS *wakon*, ODu. *wacon*, OHG *wahhōn*, MHG *wachen*, MLG *wāken*, MDu. *waken*, *waecken*, *waicken* 'wake'

*wakēnaN: Goth. *wakan*, ON *vaka* 'wake';
etc.

●PGMC: *wakōjanaN

●PIE: *ueǵ

POKORNY: 1117-8

Skt. *vája-* 'power', Lat. *vegeō* 'be strong, thrive' (or < *h₂ueg-, Gr. *aéksō*, Goth. *wahsjan* 'to grow'; the same root as in *āka*, q.v.).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296; Seebold 1970: 535-6.

Walburgedi subst. m. 'Walburg-day (May 1st)' NL
Compound of *Walburg* NP and *di*, cf. s.vv.

wald subst. f. 'approval' PIE

On the Ds. B *weld(e)*, cf. van Helten (1890: 143-6).

●PFRIS: *wald

ON *vald*, OE *weald*, OS *gijwald*, OHG *gijwalt*, MHG *(ge)walt*, MLG *(ge)walt*, *(ge)wōlt*, ODu. *ge/walt*, MDu. *(ge)wout*, *(ge)wolt*, *(ge)walt*, *ge/welt* 'power', cf. also

str. VII: Goth. *waldan*, ON *valda*, OE *wealdan*, OS *waldan*, OHG *waltan*, MHG *walten*, MLG *wālden*, *wōlden*, OFris. *walda* (q.v.), ODu. *waldan*, MDu. *wouden* 'rule';

*waldiga-: OS *gijweldig*, OHG *gijweltīg*, *gijwaltīg*, MHG *(ge)waltec*, *-waltic*, *-weltic*, MLG *(ge)wāldich*, *-weldich*, *-wōldich*, *-wōldich*, OFris. *weldich* (q.v.), MDu. *(ge)weldich* 'powerful', with denom. OFris. *weldegia* (q.v.), MLG *weldigēn*, *waldigen* 'adjudge',

etc.

●PGMC: *waldi-

●PIE: *ulh₂-d^h-

POKORNY: 1111-2

Toch. A *wāl*, Toch. B *walo* 'king', Lat. *valēō* 'be strong'; with a dental extension as in Gmc. Lith. *vėldu*, *veldėti* 'rule'.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 536-7

see also: *walka*, *weldich*, *weldegia*

walda str. vb. VII 'rule, possess' PIE

●PFRIS: *walda

cf. s.v. *wald*

waldbrōnd subst. m. 'arson' PIE

Compound of *wald* 'approval' (orig. 'power, violence') and *brōnd* 'fire', cf. s.vv.

walduwaxe subst. f. 'spine' PIE

OFris. also *waldewaxe*

This by-form shows a weakened medial vowel.

●PFRIS: *walduwahsi

OE *wealdweaxe* 'sinew, tendon', OHG *waltowahso* 'muscle', MHG *walte-wahs(e)* 'sinew, tendon', MLG *wildewasse*, *waldwasse* 'spine'

●PGMC: *walduwahsō(n)/-an- [P(W)Gmc.]

● Unclear IE etymology.

Generally interpreted as a compound, containing an n-stem formation to the root *wahs- 'grow', cf. s.v. *āka*.

The interpretation of the first member remains unclear. An interesting possibility was pointed out by Kern (1901), who compared Bavarian *hārwachs*, Du. (Kiliaen) *haerwachs* of the same meaning and concluded that the first member had to mean 'hair'. Then it could further be compared to OIr. *fol* 'hair', Gr. (*w*)*lāsios* 'hairy', etc. [Pokorny 1959: 1139-40]. van Helten (1907a: 359) raised formal (OFris. always feminine, weak or strong) and semantic (always meaning 'Rückenmuskulatur') arguments against this view, and preferred a comparison of *walda-, cf. s.v. *wald*, which, however, neglects the parallel *hārwachs*, etc.

Lit: Buma 1949: 294-5 + ref.; van Helten 1907a: 359; Holthausen 1963: 387; Kern 1901: 387; Kern 1902: 387; Walter 1911: 4

see also: aka, wald

walu- subst. m. 'staff, stick' PIE [?]

In: *walubera*, *walubora*.

OFris. also *wal(c)*-

On these variants, cf. s.v. *walubera*, *walubora*.

●PFRIS: *walu-

Goth. *walus* 'staff', ON *vǫl*r 'round staff', OE *walu* 'wale, stripe after a blow', MLG *wal* 'staff'

●PGMC: *walu-

●PIE: **nh₂l-u-* [?]

POKORNY: 1140-4

Gr. *hēlos* 'nail', Lat. *vallus* 'stake, pale'. Usually derived from a root *uel(H)- 'turn, vel *sim.*', which is a far-fetched root etymology and is formally impossible in view of the laryngeal in the root. However, given the restricted geographical spread and the radical *a we cannot exclude the possibility of a European substratum word (Kuiper's category A₁, cf. 1995: 65ff).

see also: *walubera*, *walubora*, -wella

walubera, walubora subst. m. 'pilgrim (lit. staf bearer)' PIE

OFris. also *wal(c)bera*

The short u-stem *walu-* (q.v.) retained its vowel as -u(-) or weakened to -e(-) (van Helten 1890: 48). The vowel could undergo later syncope, e.g. *walbera* (F). On the status of -bera/-bora, cf. s.v. -bera 2.

●PFRIS: *walubera

Compound of *walu-* and -bera 2., cf. s.vv.

wapul- subst. m. 'pool, puddle, stagnant water' Gmc.

OFris. also *wapel-*, *wepel-*

The first by-form shows a weakened vowel in the suffix, whereas the (weakened) suffix vowel of the second form must have been *i given the fronted root vowel.

●PFRIS: *wapul-, *wepil-

OSwe. *vappel* 'amount of slime', OE *wapol* 'froth', MLG *wāpel* 'puddle', Malberg glosses in *uipida*, in *uopida* 'in puteum', OFris. NL *Wepilinge* (q.v.), MDu. *wapel-drenc*, *-drinc*, *-dring*, *-dranc*, *-dopinge* (also *wapen-*) 'throw sb. into dirty water; pouring dirty water or a drink over sb.', Mod. Norw. *vapla* 'Bläschen', Mod. Fris. *wapje* 'throw into water', Mod. Dutch Dial. of the province North Holland *wapelinge* 'suds', *wapen* 'scour'

●PGMC: *wap(p)- ~ *wōp- ~ *wip- [?]

● No IE etymology

The latter by-form *wip-, only attested in Malberg glosses, is considered as a scribal error by van Helten (1900: 441, after Kern), but this is only motivated by his assumption of an Ablaut pattern *a ~ *ō in the root. Given the lack of outer-Gmc. cognates, we are evidently dealing with a non-IE substratum word root may have shown (the conditions yielding) a vocalic variation *a ~ *i ~ *ō. On the other hand, the appearance of two variants *uip-* ~ *uop-* within one text, i.e. the Malberg glosses, would be remarkable. At any rate, the vocalic variation *ō ~ *a in the root as well as the variation *i ~ *u in the OFris. suffix is a common feature of words belonging to Kuiper's North European substratum layer A₂ (Kuiper 1995: 68ff.; cf. Boutkan 1998a). The same holds true for the variation of root-final *p ~ *pp attested in North Germanic.

Lit: Boutkan 1998a; van Helten 1900: 441-3

see also: *wapuldepene*, *wepilinge*

wapuldepene subst. f. 'throwing somebody into water, immersion' Gmc.
Compound of *wapul-* and *-depene*, cf. s.vv.

-warde subst. n. f. 'word' PIE

In: *ondwarde* 'answer, reply, defence', q.v.

OFris. also *-werde*, *-wert*, *-ert*

On these forms, cf. (van Helten 1907a: 260-1): *-ert* < **-wurt*, with analogical *w* after the verb in *-wert*, both forms showing apocope of *-e* in addition, cf. *werde*. The *a* of *-warde* from the inflected cases in *-a*.

●PFRIS: *werdi

Goth. *ward*, *-wardi*, ON *orð*, *-yrði*, OE *word*, *-wyrde*, OS *word*, *-wurdi*, *-wordi*, OHG *wort*, *-wurti*, MHG *wort*, *-würte*, *-wurt*, MLG *wōrt*, *-wērde*, *-wōrde*, *-wārde*, *-wērt*, *-wōrt*, *-wārt*, OFris. *word* (q.v.), *werd*, *wird*, ODU. *wort*, MDu. *wo(o)rt*, *word*, *woirt*, *wa(e)rt*, *waerd*, *wert*, *-wo(o)rde*, *-woirde*, *-werde*, *-wort*, *-waert* 'word', cf. also

**-wardōjana*N: Goth. *andjwardjan*, MLG *antwōrden*, *-wērden*, *-wārden*, OFris. *ondwardia* (q.v.), *ondertia*, *anderdia*, MDu. *antwoorden*, *andwo(o)rden*, *-woirden*, *-w(a)erden*, etc. 'answer';

**wurdi*(n): OFris. *wērde* (q.v.), *wirde*, *wērd*; parallel in Goth. *filu|wardi* 'the use of many words' [< **wurdi*(n)], but cf. van Helten (1907a: 373 fn. 4).

●PGMC: *wurda-, *-wurdja-

●PIE: *ur-d^ho-

POKORNY: 1162-3

Lat. *verbum* < *urd^h-, Lith. *vaĩdas* 'name', root in Gr. *eĩrō* < *uerjō 'say', Hitt. *weriya-* 'mention'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290

see also: *swera*, *-wardia*, *word*, *werde*

-wardia

In: *ondwardia*, cf. s.v.

cf. s.v. *-warde*

-wardich adj. '-wards' PIE

In: *bekwardich* 'backwards', q.v.

●PFRIS: *wardih

Goth. *-wairþs*, ON *-verðr*, OE *-weard*, OS *-ward*, OE *-werd*, OHG, MHG *-wart*, *-wert*, MLG *-wärt*, *-wërt*, MDu. *-wacrt*, *-we(c)rt* 'id.', cf. also with adv. -cs: OFris. *-werdes* (q.v.) '-wards';

*werþanaN: Goth. *wairþan*, ON *verþa*, OE *worþan*, OS *werðan*, OHG *werdan*, MHG *werden*, MLG *werden*, OFris. *wertha* (q.v.), *werda*, *wirtha*, *wirða*, ODu. *werðan*, MDu. *we(c)rden*, *warden*, *worden* 'become';

*wardojanaN: Goth. *fra]wardjan* 'destroy', OE *wierdan*, OS *a]werdian*, *a]wardian*, OHG *ar-*, *farwartan*, *ir-*, *far]wertan*, MHG *ver]werten*, MLG *vor]wërden*, OFris. *werda*, ODu. *far]werdan*, MDu. *verwe(c)rden* 'spoil', to which the unique OFris. formation *-werdene 1.* (q.v.), *werde(n)*, *wirde(ne)* 'mutilation, damage'.

●PGMC: *werda-

●PIE: *uerto-

POKORNY: 1156-8

Verbal noun to *uert- 'turn', cf. Skt. *vãrtate*, Lat. *vertō*, Lith. *verčiũ*, *veĩsti* 'turn', probably a root extension to *uer- 'id.'; in this connection cf. also s.v. *werpa*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 288; Seebold 1970: 559-61

see also: *-werdene 1.*, *-werdes*, *werp*, *werpa*, *wertha*

-ware subst. f. 'face, sight, ability to see' PIE

In: *wonware* '(fine for) partial loss of sight', q.v.

●PFRIS: *wari

ON *wari*, OE *waru*, OS, OHG *wara*, MDu. *ware* 'attention', cf. also

*wari: MHG *wer* 'caution';

*wara-: Goth. *wars* 'sober', ON *varr*, OE *wær*, OS *war*, OHG *gi]war* 'cautious', etc.;

*warōnaN: ON *vara* 'warn', OE *warian*, OS *waron*, OHG *bi]warōn*, MHG *war(e)n*, MLG *wären* 'keep, take care for', OFris. *waria* (q.v.) 'guarantee, warrant', ODu. *bc]waron* 'observe', MDu. *waren* 'keep, protect'.

Here probably also *were* 'merchandise', cf. s.v. *were 4.*

●PGMC: *warō

●PIE: *uoreh₂

POKORNY: 1164

Gr. *horáō* 'see', Lat. *vereor* 'worship', Toch. A *wär-*, Toch. B *wärsk-* 'smell'.

see also: *waria*, *wonware*

warf subst. m. 'court' PIE

Ofris. also *werf*

This by-form shows the frequent OFris. variation *a* ~ *e* (especially Ramat 1970: 33; also van Helten 1890: 8).

●PFRIS: *hwarf

ON *hvarf* 'circle', OE *hwearf*, OS *warf* 'crowd, mass', MLG *warf*, *werf*, MDu. *wa(e)rf*, *werf(t)*, *wo(o)rf*, *worrif*, *waerft* 'court'

●PGMC: *hwarba-

●PIE: *kuorpo-

POKORNY: 631

To an ill-attested root *kuerp- 'turn', cf. Toch. B *kärp-* 'go, turn' and perhaps Gr. *karpós* 'wrist' (as turning point of the hand); hardly to Mir. *carr*, Welsh *par* 'spear'.

Lit: Buma 1949: 295 s.v. *warf* for older refl.; Ramat 1970; Seebold 1970: 282-4; Walter 1911

see also: *werf*

waria wk. vb. 2 'guarantee, warrant' PIE

Ofris. also *wara*

This OWfris. by-form shows an unexpected ending for a weak verb of the second class; the original form is still retained in Mod. Wfris. *warje*.

●PFRIS: *waria

cf. s.v. *-ware*

Lit: Foerste 1969

wase subst. f. 'slick, mud' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wasi

OS, OHG *waso* 'meadow, field, grass', MHG, MLG *wase* 'mud, wet meadow', MDu. *wase*, *wazc*, *waes* 'mud, wet meadow', cf. also

*wōs-: OE, MLG *wōs*, Norw. Dial. *ōs* 'juice';

*wras-: MHG *rasc*, MLG *wrase* 'grass'

●PGMC: *w(r)as- ~ *wōs-

●No IE etymology.

The alleged IE cognates to a root *ues- 'humidity' are semantically unconvincing, cf. Skt. *vāsā-* 'fat', Gr. *earón* 'jar', Umbr. *vestikatu* 'libato' [Pokorny 1959: 1171-2]. The same holds true for the male animals Lat. *verrēs* 'ox' and cognates.

On the other hand, a convincing parallel is only found in Baltic, cf. Latv. *vasa* 'wetness of the soil'. We seem to be dealing with a North European substratum word (Kuiper 1995: 68ff.; category A₂), which also appears from the non-IE ablaut *ō ~ *a (Boutkan 1998a) and the phenomenon of the *r*-emphaticum

(*wras-).

The semantically similar words such as OHG *wisa* 'fluid', OE *wās(e)* 'wetness', etc. must be disconnected and belong to a PIE root *ueis-, cf. Av. *vīš-* 'poison', Lat. *vīrus* 'slime' [Pokorny 1959: 1134].

Lit: de Vries 1958: 12-3; Boutkan 1998a

waxa str. vb. VI 'grow' PIE

●PFRIS: *waksa

Cf. s.v. *aka*

see also: *aka*, *walduwaxe*, *-waxe*

-waxe cf., s.v. *walduwaxe*.

wed subst. n. 'pledge, bail, fine' Gmc.

OFris. also *wedde*

This is a cognate io-stem formation, cf. also the OS long and short doublet forms quoted below. On the two types, cf. Boutkan (1995: 209ff.).

●PFRIS: *wed ~ weddi

Goth. *wadi* 'guarantee', ON *veþ*, OE *wedd*, OS *weddi*, OHG *wetti*, MHG *wet(t)e*, *wet*, MLG *wedde*, MDu. *wedde* 'pledge, bail', cf. also

*wadanaN: Goth. *gawadjon* 'betroth', ON *veþja* 'bet', OE *weddian*, MHG *wetten* 'pledge', MLG *wedden* 'bet, pay a fine', OFris. *weddia* (q.v.) 'pledge', MDu. *wedden* 'bet'.

●PGMC: *wadja

● No IE etymology.

Cognates are only found in Lat. and Baltic, pointing to a root *wadh-, with non-IE *a in the root; cf. Lat. *vas*, *vadis* 'bail, security', Lith. *vādas* 'surety, guarantee'. Most probably a (North-)European innovation in spite of Pokorny (1959: 1109); cf. also Binchy (1970).

Lit: Gerbenzon 1949: 120-1

weddia wk. vb. 2 'promise, pledge' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *weddia

A weak 2 verbal formation (*wadanaN) to the root *wadja, cf. s.v. *wed*.

wede subst. n. 'certain currency with the value of twelve pence' PIE

The term is derived from the cloth etymon pointed out below, due to the initial use of cloth as currency, cf. Bremer (1893: 344 with ref.).

●PFRIS: *wēdi

ON *vāþ* 'net', OE *wæd*, OS *wād*, OHG, MHG, MLG, ODu. *wāt*, MDu. *waet* 'clothing'.

●PGMC: *wē₁d-

●PIE: *h₁ueH-dh-

POKORNY: 75-6

Lith. *ūdis* 'sth. woven', *áudžiu*, *áusti* 'weave'; no extension in Skt. *ótave* 'weave'.

weden adj. 'blue' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wēdin

OE *wāden*, OHG, MHG *weitin*, MLG *wēden* 'blue', cf. also

*waida-: OE *wād*, OHG *weit*, MHG *weit*, *weid*, MLG *weit*, *wēt*, OFris. *wēd*, MDu. *wede*, *weet*, *weed* 'blue pigment';

*wisd-: Goth. *wizdila in *uuisdil(e)*, *ouisdelem*, *guisdil* (Lat. versions of Oribasius, cf. Schwentner (1957-1958: 37-8).

●PGMC: *waidin-

European substratum word, showing an ablaut *-s-: *waid- ~ *wisd-, cf. MLat. *waisda*. One has suggested cognates in Lat. *vitrum* 'blue colour, glass', Gr. *isátis* 'wood'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 291; Schwentner 1957-1958: 37-8

weder- subst. n. 'weather' Gmc.

In: *wederwondlonge* 'change in the weather', q.v.

OFris. also *wether*, *weer*

The first by-form shows the merger of medial *-d- and *-þ-; the second shows the incidental, late-OFris. loss of medial *-d-.

●PFRIS: *wedir

ON *veðr*, OE *weder*, OS *wedar*, OHG *wetar*, MHG *wet(t)er*, MLG *wed(d)er*, *wēr*, MDu. *weder*, *weer* 'weather'

●PGMC: *wedra-

● No IE etymology.

The only possible connection now turns out to be the one with OCS *vedro* 'good weather' < *ued^hr-. The traditional assumption of a derivation from a PIE root *uē- 'to blow (of the wind)' is problematic from a formal point of view, because we must actually reconstruct *h₂uh₁-, cf. Gr. *áella* 'storm', Welsh *awel* 'wind' < *h₂eh₁-, Goth. *winds* 'wind' < *h₂uch₁nto-. No formation to this root would yield Pre-Gmc. *ued^hr-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

see also: wind

wederwondlonge subst. f. 'the change of the weather that can be felt in a wound' Gmc.

Compound of *weder-* and *-wondlonge*, cf. s.vv.

wedmerk subst. m. 'certain currency' Gmc.

Compound of *wede* and *merk*, cf. s.vv.

-wege subst. f. 'dislocation' PIE

In: *lithwege* 'dislocation of a joint', q.v.

OFris. also *wēg*, *wēi*

These by-forms show apocope of the ending; the form *wēi* shows the spelling <i> of final *-g after palatal vowels (van Helten 1890: 113).

●PFRIS: *wēgi

ON *vǫg* 'wagon', OHG *wāga* 'commotio', MHG, MLG *wāge* 'movement', cf. also

*wēga-: Goth. *wegs* 'storm, raging waves', ON *vágr* 'sea', OE *wæg*, OS, OHG *wāg* 'waves'; MDu. *wage* 'moving water';

*weganaN: Goth. ppp *ga]wigana* 'moved', ON *vega* 'move', OE *wegan* 'carry', OS, OHG *wegan*, MHG *wegen*, MLG *wēgen* 'weigh', OFris. *wega* 'bring', MDu. *wegen* 'weigh';

*wagna-: Crimean Goth. *waghen*, ON *vagn*, OE *wægn*, OS, OHG *wagan*, MHG *wagen*, MLG *wāgen*, OFris. *wein* (q.v.), MDu. *wagen* 'carriage, coach';

*wega-: Goth. *wigs*, ON *vegr*, OE, OS, OHG *weg*, MHG *wec*, *weg*, MLG *weg*, OFris. *wei*, *wī* (cf. s.v. *wī* 1.), MDu. *wc(c)ch*, *weegh*, *woch* 'way';

*wiht-: ON *vætt*, *vētt*, OE *wiht*, MLG *wicht(e)*, OFris. *wicht* (q.v.), MDu. *wicht* 'weight';

etc.

●PGMC: *wēgō

●PIE: *ueǵ^h-

POKORNY: 1118-20

Skt. *váhati*, Lat. *vchō* 'brings', Lith. *vežù*, *vèžti* 'drive'.

Lit: van Helten 1906: 287-8; Lendinara 1990: 301

see also: wegk, wicht, wichtgold, wids

wegk subst. n. 'horse' PIE [?]

In: Ds *wegke* (X, 47).

OFris. also *wig*, *wids*, *widz*-

These spellings represent a stem form /wig-/ , which is considered a historical variant of /weǵ-/ , viz. representing PGmc. *wegj- > *wigj- beside *wagj- > *wegj- (e.g. van Helten 1890: 12). However, all cognates show the root vowel /i/, which makes a secondary origin of the /e/ more obvious. We may be dealing with a variant *weg- < *wig-, in which lowering had taken place before endings showing a, e or o (van Helten 1890: 10).

●PFRIS: *wig- ~ *weǵ-

ON *vigg*, OE *vicg*, OS *wigg* 'horse'

●PGMC: *wegja-

●Unclear IE etymology

Several etymologies have been suggested (cf. also de Vries 1977: 661, s.v. *vigg*, with ref.):

(1) A comparison with Skt. *valyá-* 'apt for driving', Gr. *ókhos* 'weagon' (Porzig *apud* de Vries loc. cit.); this would imply that the original meaning was 'a horse to ride upon'.

(2) A connection with ON *vega* 'aufheben', starting from an original concept of the horse as a beast of burden, which seems less likely in view of the fact that the ox functioned as such (Kahle *apud* de Vries loc. cit.).

(3) To the etymon of Icel. *vagga* 'shake' (Jóhannesson *apud* de Vries loc. cit.)

Note that, eventually, all three explanations imply the belonging of the word to PIE *ueǵʰ- [Pokorny 1959: 1118-20], cf. Skt. *váhati*, Lat. *vehō* (cf. s.v. *-wege*) as the implied cognates belong to this root.

However, De Vries himself suggests a fourth possibility, which seems certainly possible as well, viz. a connection to ON *vega* 'fight, kill', cf. s.v. *wich*, thus starting from an original meaning 'battle-horse'.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 367, 379; Kern 1924: 53-6 established the meaning of the word see also: *wids*

wein subst. m. 'wain, waggon' PIE

Ofris. also *wain*

This form derives from PGmc. **wagna*. In OFris. the velar fricative -g- [x] was deleted in intervocalic environment. This same phenomenon is found in OE *wægn-* ~ *wæn-* 'wain, waggon'. The semantic distinction between *wain* (Dial. also *wein*) 'large open vehicle for heavy (mainly agricultural loads); astronomically used for the Great Bear' and *waggon* 'strong four-wheeled vehicle for transport (often covered)' has been preserved in Modern English. At some point a semantic shift could have occurred which allowed the phonetic variants to coexist side by side, but it is more likely that Modern English *waggon* was borrowed from Dutch *wagen* around the fifteenth century.

The OFris. by-form *wain* (found in E and H manuscripts) suggests we are dealing with *ai-/ci-* < **ēgi-* < **aigi-* (Steller 1928: 33 par. 44 Anm. 2.).

Cf. s.v. *-wege*

wekia wk. vb. 2 'become weak' PIE

●PFRIS: **wēkia*

OS (*gi-*)*we(i)kon* 'mollire', OHG *weichōta* 'emarcuit', MHG *weichen*, MLG *wēken*, MDu. *we(e)ken*, *weiken*, *wieken* 'weaken', cf. also

**waika-*: ON *veikr*, OE *wāc*, OS *wēk*, OHG *weih*, MHG *weich*, MLG *wēk*, MDu. *wecc(k)*, *wck(c)*, *weic* 'weak';

**weikanaN*: ON *víkva*, OE *wīcan*, OS pret. sg. *wēc*, OHG *wīhhan*, MHG *wichen*, MLG *wīken*, OFris. *wīka*, MDu. *wi(j)ken*, *wijcken*, *wicken* 'yield'; etc.

●PGMC: **waikōjanaN*

●PIE: **uoig-*

POKORNY: 1130-1

Skt. *vijátce* 'yields', Toch. B *wik-* 'disappear'.

Lit: van Helten 1889: 275; not in Lendinara 1990; Seebold 1970: 545-5

see also: *wike*

wel adv. 'well, much' PIE

●PFRIS: **wel*

Goth. *waila*, ON *vel*, OE *wel*, OS *wel(a)*, OHG *wela*, MLG, MDu. *wel* 'well'; ON *val*, OHG, OS *wala*, MHG *wal(e)*, MLG *wal*, ODu. *wala*, MDu. *wale* 'well', cf. also

*weljanaN: Goth. *wiljan*, ON *vilja*, OE *willan*, OS *willian*, *wellian*, OHG *wellan*, *wellen*, *wollen*, MHG *wollen*, *wellen*, MLG *willen*, *wellen*, OFris. *willa*, *wella* (cf. s.v. *willa*, *wella* 1.), ODu. *willan*, MDu. *willen*, *wellen* 'will';

*weljan-: Goth. *wilja*, ON *vili*, OE *willa*, OS *willio*, OHG *well(i)o*, MHG, MLG *wille*, OFris. *willa*, *wella*, (cf. s.v. *willa* 2.), ODu. *willo*, MDu. *wille* 'will'.

●PGMC: *wel-

●PIE: *uelH-

POKORNY: 1137-8

Skt. *vr̥ṣṇīté* 'choose', Lat. *volō* 'wish, want', Lith. *vėlmi* 'wish'.

Lit: Flasdieck 1937 on the development in Gmc. in general; Lendinara 1990: 290, 308; Seebold 1970: 551-2

see also: *willa* 1., *-wella*, *willa* 2.

weldegia wk. vb. 2 'grant (a right)' PIE

Denominative verb of *weldich*, q.v.

weldich adj. 'powerful, deputy' PIE

An adjectival *-ich*-derivation of *wald*, cf. s.v.

welia wk. vb. 2 'become weak, languish' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *welia

OHG (*ir*)*wel(c)hēn*, MLG *welen* 'become weak', cf. also

*walg-: OE *walg* 'disgusting', Mod. Icel. *valgr* 'lukewarm';

*walk- > *wlak-: OE *wlacu*, *wlæc*, MLG *wlak* 'lukewarm';

*welk-: OHG (*ir*)*welkēn*, MHG, MLG, MDu., ME *welken* 'become weak'; probably also

*wulk-: OE *wolc(en)*, *wolcne*, OS *wolkan*, OHG *wolca(n)*, *wolco*, MHG, MLG *wolke(n)*, OFris. *wolken*, ODu. *wulca*, MDu. *wolke(u)*, *wolkene* 'cloud'.

●PGMC: *welh-

● No IE etymology.

On the OFris. and Gmc. forms, cf. Sjölin (1970-75: 223). Heinertz (apud Sjölin loc. cit.) suggested a connection of the OFris. form with OE *wælan* 'vex, torment', but this is semantically unconvincing. The *-h- was regularly lost medially after *l* (van Helten 1890: 117). The only possible cognates are found in Balto-Slavic and Celtic, cf. Lith. *vilksnas*, Latv. *valks* 'wetness', OIr. *folc* 'flood'. Coupled to the variation of root-final consonants, this limited geographical spread suggest a North European substratum origin (Kuiper's category A₂, cf. 1995: 68ff.).

welik pron. indef. 'each, every' PIE

Cf. s.v. *hwelik*.

-wella str. vb. III 'turn' PIE [?]

In: *biwella* 'violate'

●PFRIS: *wella

ON *vella* 'boil', OE ppp *wollen-tear* 'flowing tears', OS, OHG *-wellan*, MHG,

MLG, MDu. *wellen* 'boil', cf. also

*wul-: Goth. *wulan* 'seethe';

*wal-: OE *wealan*, OS, OHG *wallen*, MHG, MLG *wallen*, OFris. *walla*, MDu. *wallen* 'surge';

etc.

●PGMC: *wellanaN

●PIE: *uel(H)- [?]

POKORNY: 1140-44

Usually derived from a root *uel(H)- 'turn *vel sim.*', Skt. *válati*, Gr. *eiléō*, Arm. *gelum* 'turns', cf. also sub *walu-*, but the semantics are not very obvious.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 553, also 538, 552

wend subst.m. 'change, turn, case' PIE

OFris. also *weind*

This by-form shows the late-OFris. transition of *e* to *ei*, e.g. van Helten (1890: 6).

●PFRIS: *wend

OE *ge/wand* 'nature', OS *gi/wand* 'end', OHG *gi/wand* 'nature', cf. also

*wandeja-: Goth. *wandjan*, ON *venda*, OE *wendan*, OS *wendian*, OHG *wenden*, *wenten*, MHG, MLG *wenden* 'turn', OFris. *wenda* (q.v.) 'deviate', MDu. *wenden* 'turn';

*wundli/ungō: OHG *wantalunga*, MLG *wandeling*, OFris. *won(d)longe*, *wandeling*, *wonlinge* (cf. s.v. *-wondlonge*), MDu. *wandeling* (eastern Dial.) 'change';

*wundrōjanaN: OE *wandrian*, MHG *wandern*, MLG *wandern*, OFris. *wondria* (q.v.), MDu. *wand(e)ren* 'wander'.

●PGMC: *wanda-

●PIE: *uend^h-

POKORNY: 1148

To a root originally meaning 'wind, bind, *vel sim.*', cf. Skt. *vandhūra-* 'seat in a vehicle (originally twisted)', Toch. A, B *wānt-* 'wrap, cover'; similar semantics in Umbr. *aha/vendu* 'he must turn away'.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 99-100; Lendinara 1990: 302; Seebold 1970: 554-6

see also: *wenda*, *wondlonge*

wenda wk. vb. I 'deviate' PIE

●PFRIS: *wend

cf. s.v. *wend*

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 370 on the semantics of the verb in OFris.

Wepilinge NL

wepin subst. n. 'weapon' Gmc.

OFris. also *wepen*

This by-form shows weakening of the second vowel.

●PFRIS: *wēpin

Goth. *wepn*, ON *vápn*, OE *wæpn*, OS *wāpan*, OHG *wāf(f)an*, MHG *wāfen*, *wāpen*, MLG *wāpen*, MDu. *wapen(e)*, *wapijn* 'weapon', cf. also ON *vápnna*, OE *wæpnian*, OHG *wāfanōn*, MHG *wāfenen*, MLG *wāpenen*, OFris. *wēpnia*, MDu. *wapenen* 'arm'

●PGMC: *wē₁pna-

●No IE etymology

The word has no outer-Gmc. cognates and must be of substratum origin.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

wepinroft subst. m. 'a call to arms, alarm cry' Gmc.

Compound of *wepin* and *-roft*, cf. s.vv.

wer adj. 'true' PIE

●PFRIS: *wēr

ON *vær*, OE *wær*, OS, OHG, MHG, MLG, ODu. *wār*, MDu. *waer* 'true', cf. also

*wērjanaN: Goth. *tuz|werjan* 'doubt', OE *ge|wāred* 'allied', OS *gi|wāron*, OHG *(bi)wāren*, *(bi)warran*, MHG *be|wæren*, MLG *be|wēren*, OFris. *wēr(i)a*, *wār(i)a* (cf. s.v. *wēra* 2.), MDu. *beweren*, *bewaren* 'prove'

●PGMC: *wē₁ra-

●PIE: *ueh₁ro-

POKORNY: 1165-6

Lat. *vērus*, OIr. *fīr* 'true', cf. Cz. *víra* 'faith' with intonational evidence for the laryngeal.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

see also: *wera* 2.

wera 1 wk. vb. 1 'defend (oneself)' PIE

●PFRIS: *wera

Goth. *warjan*, ON *verja*, OE, OS *werian*, OHG *werien*, *wer(r)en*, MHG *wer(e)n*, MLG *wēren*, MDu. *weren* 'hinder, forbid', cf. also

*warin-: OS *-weri*, OHG *-warī*, *-werī*, MHG *-wer(e)*, MLG *-wēre*, OFris. *were* (cf. s.v. *-were* 3.), MDu. *-werc*, *-weer* 'defence';

*werand-: pres. part. to *wera* 1, cf. also MLG *wärent*, *-ant*, OFris. *werand* (q.v.), *werend*; OFris. *warand* to *wara 'defendere';

*warnō: ON *vǫrn* 'defence', OE *wearn* 'refusal', OHG *fure|warna* 'praeparatio', MHG *warne*, *werne* 'caution, preparation', OFris. *werne* 'pledge, damage', MDu. *wacne* 'pledge';

*warnjanaN: ON *varna*, OE *wiarnan*, OS *wernian*, OHG *wernen*, MLG *wernen*, *warnen*, OFris. *werna* (q.v.), *warna*, MDu. *wa(e)rnen* 'refuse'; etc.

●PGMC: *warjanaN

●PIE: *uerH-

POKORNY: 1160-2

Av. *vərəθra-* 'defence, shield', Gr. *έρυμα* 'defence, shield', OIr. *ferann* 'girdle'; probably identical with the root meaning 'cover > close, open (doors, etc.)' as

represented in Lith. *veriù, vérti* 'open', with acute proving the prior existence of a laryngeal.

see also: *werand*, *-were* 3., *werna*

wera 2 wk. vb. 2 'confirm, substantiate, prove' PIE

A weak 2 verbal formation to *wer*, q.v

werand subst. m. 'bail; legal representative' PIE

A pres. part. to *wera* 1., cf. s.v.

werde subst. f. 'testimony, truth' PIE

OFris. also *wirde*, *werd*

The original vowel is *e < *ü, which incidentally may appear as *i*, cf. *wirde*; the long vowel *ē* must be attributed to influence of *wēr* 'true' (q.v.; van Helten 1889: 276-7, 1907a: 372-3). The final vowel was lost in *wérd* (or different formation?).

●PFRIS: *wērdi, *wirdi

cf. s.v. *-warde*.

-werdene 1 subst. f. 'injury, damage, mutilation' PIE

A substantive to PGmc. *wardejanaN 'destroy' occurring in compounds, cf. s.v. *-wardich*

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 27-8

-werdene 2 subst. f. 'worth' Gmc.

In: *liudwerdene* 'fine for killing an unborn child', q.v.

OFris. also *wirden(e)*, *virden*, *werthene*

These by-forms show the transition of *e* to *i* before *-rd-* (rather than influence of *wirde* 'worth' as assumed by van Helten 1896: 69-70), cf. Ahlsson (1960: 28, fn. 1.) The final *-e* could undergo apocope. The form *werthene* shows the result of the late-OFris. merger of **-d-* and **-h-*, which led to non-etymological spellings of the merger product.

●PFRIS: *werdini

to OFris. *werdia, *wirdia (van Helten 1896: 69-70) cf. also Goth. ppp Gsm *wairpodins*, ON *virþa*, OE *weorþian*, OS *gijwerthon*, OHG *werdōn*, MHG, MLG *werden* 'estimate', MDu. *we(e)rden*, *waerden*, *wairden* 'praise', cf. also

*werþa-: Goth. *wairþ*, ON *verþ*, OE *weorþ*, OS *werth*, OHG *werd*, MHG, MLG *wert*, OFris. *werth* (cf. s.v. *werth-2.*), MDu. *wa(ē)rde*, *wairde*, *werde* 'worth', also OFris. *werthma* (q.v.) 'worth';

adj.: ON *verþr*, OE *weorþ* OS *werth*, OHG *werd*, MHG, MLG *wērt*, OFris. *werth* (cf. s.v. *werth 1.*), MDu. *wa(ē)rt*, *waerd*, *weert*, *ward* 'worth', also OFris. *-wērthlike* (q.v.) 'worthy'

●PGMC: *werþ-

● No IE etymology

Seeming cognates such as Lith. *vērtas* 'worth' (and other Baltic representatives

of the etymon) as well as Welsh *gwerth* 'price' are generally considered as loans from Gmc.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 28-9, 160; Lendinara 1990: 288

see also: *werth* 1., *werth-* 2., *-werthlike*, *werthma*

-werdes adv. '-wards' Gmc.

In: *utawerdes*

Cf. s.v. *-wardich*

were 1 subst. f. 'lip' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *weri

Goth. *wairilo*, ON *vǫrr*, OE *wecol*, *weler* 'lip'

●PGMC: *wer-, *war-

●Unclear IE etymology

The word only has a direct parallel in OPruss. *warsus* 'lip'. Two IE root etymologies have been suggested (e.g. Lehmann 1986 s.v. *wairilo*), viz. to PIE *uer- 'raised place' [Pokorny 1959: 1151-2], cf. Skt. *váršman-* 'height', Gr. *hérma* 'hill', Lith. *viras* 'pustule on a pig' or to *uer- as represented in *wera* I. (q.v.), i.e. the lips as coverings of the mouth. One can doubt an IE origin altogether as in the case of *lippa* (q.v.). The vocalic variation may represent an IE ablaut *e ~ *o, but its original function as well as retention in Gmc. remain problematic.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 293

see also: *-worth*

were 2 subst. f. '(legal) possessions, common possessions of married people, piece of land' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *weri

Goth. *gawaseins* 'clothing', OHG *gewerī*, MHG (*ge*)*wer(e)* 'investitura', MLG (*ge*)*wēre*, MDu. (*ge*)*were* 'legal possessions', cf. also

*wasjanaN: Goth. *wasjan*, ON *verja*, OE, OS *werian*, OHG *werien* 'wear'; etc.

●PGMC: *(ga)wasin-

●PIE: *ucs- [?]

POKORNY: 1172-3

This root is well-attested, and all cognates semantically refer to clothing 'vel *sim.*', e.g. Skt. *váste* 'wear', Gr. *hénūmi* 'get dressed', Hitt. *was(s)-* 'clothe'. One can doubt whether the semantically remote words referring to 'possessions' in Gmc., such as the OFris. word under discussion, belong here (cf. also Lendinara 1990: 303, fn. 19).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303

-were 3 subst. f. 'defence' PIE

●PFRIS: *wēre

A substantive to PGmc. *warjanaN occurring in compounds, cf. s.v. *wera* I.

were 4 subst. f. 'merchandise' PIE

Ofris. also *ware*, *weir*

The low vowel of the stem form *war-* was due to the *r* (van Helten 1890: 8). The form *weir* is an Emsingo variant, in which dialect we often find *ei* for *e*.

●PFRIS: **weri*, **wari*

ON *vara*, OE *waru*, late-MHG *war*, MLG *wāre*, MDu. *ware* 'goods'

●PGMC: **warō*

Probably to the complex treated sub *-ware*, q.v., although one could think of a relation with *were 2.*, q.v.

Lit: Less likely proposals in de Vries 1992 s.v. *waar 1.*

were 5 = pret. opt. of *wesa 1.*, q.v.

werere (?) subst. m. 'prosecutor' PIE [?]

van Helten (1907a: 375) suggests a scribal error for **wreiere*, i.e. a nomen agentis in *-ere* to *wreia*, q.v. However, Buma s.v. considers this less likely, without giving an argument, though. Interestingly, the word has a formal parallel in MDu. *werere*, *weerre*, *weerer*, but the semantics are problematic. Used in a neutral context, the MDu. word means 'defender'. In a specific legal use, the word refers to the accused, the defendant. Neither of these two meanings is compatible with the meaning of the OFris. word. From an etymological point of view, it must belong to the group treated sub *wera 1.* If OFris. *werere* exists, we may be dealing with an independently arisen noun *-ere*. Despite the semantic difference with MDu., one would still be tempted to derive the OFris. word form from the root treated sub *wera 1.*, with the additional assumption of some semantic shift.

werf cf. s.v. *warf*.

werk subst. n. 'work(s)' PIE

Ofris. also *wirk*

Probably, this by-form shows the incidental transition of *e* (possibly < **ü*) to *i* before *rC*, cf. s.v. *-werdene 2.*

●PFRIS: **werk*

ON *verk*, OE *weorc*, OS *werk*, OHG *werc*, MHG *werc(h)*, MLG *werk*, *wark*, ODu. *werk*, MDu. *we(c)rc*, *warc*, *werct*, *waerc?*, *wierc?* 'labour', cf. also

**wurkjanaN*: Goth. *waurkjan*, ON *yrkja*, OE *wyrc(e)an*, OS *workian*, OHG *wurchen*, MHG *würken*, MLG *wurken*, OFris. *werka* (q.v.) 'work';

**werkjanaN*: OE *wircan*, OS *wirkian*, OHG *wirchen*, MHG *wirken*, MLG *wirken*, OFris. *wirtsa*, *wirtze*, ODu. *wirken*, MDu. *werken* 'id.';

**werkōjanaN*: ON *orka*, OHG *werkōn*, OS *werkon*, MLG *werken*, OFris. *werkia* 'id'.

●PGMC: **werka-*

●PIE: **uerǵ-*

Gr. *érgon*, Arm. *gorc* 'work(s)'; Av. *varəz-* 'work, do', OIr. *fairged* 'makes'
Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301

werka wk. vb. 1 'work' PIE
A weak 1 verbal formation to *werk*, q.v.

werlas adj. 'defenceless' PIE
Compound of *wera* 1. and *-las* 2., cf. s.vv.

werna wk. vb. 1 'refuse' PIE
OFris. also *warna*

This analogical by-form shows the vocalism of the noun from which it was derived.

●PFRIS: *werna
cf. s.v. *wera* 1.

werp (?) subst. m. 'court (?)' PIE [?]

It has been suggested that the attestation under discussion (Ds *werpe* [X, 49]) actually represents a scribal error for *werve*, cf. s.v. *werf*. If the form is to be taken seriously after all, we are dealing with the word *wurpi-, cf. s.v. *werpa*, with a specific meaning 'court'.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 21 Ann. 3

werpa str. vb. III 'throw, appoint' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *werpa

Goth. *wairpan*, OE *worpan*, OS *werpan*, OHG *werfan*, MHG *werfen*, MLG *werpen*, ODu. *werpen*, MDu. *werpen* 'throw', cf. also

*wurpi-: OE *wyrp* 'impulse', OHG, MHG *wurf*, MLG *worp*, OFris. *werp* (q.v.), MDu. *worp*, *wurp* 'throw'

●PGMC: *werpanaN

●PIE: *uerb- [?]

POKORNY: 1152-60, esp. 1153

A direct parallel seems to be OCS *vrъgъ*, *vrĕšti* 'throw' with a different root final consonant involving a variation of labial and velar consonant, which suggests a North European substratum origin (e.g. Beekes 1996: 232 fn. 10). However, in view of the possible semantic shift 'turn' > 'throw', one can opt for a root extension to PIE *uer-, cf. s.v. *-wardich*.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 557-9 (incorrectly suggesting *uerg^w- in view of the comparison of the OCS word under reference to the development of PGmc. *wulfaz 'wolf', which shows Gmc. *f*, however).

see also: *-wardich*, *-werdene* 1., *-werdes*, *werp*, *wertha*

werth 1 adj. 'worth' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *werth

Cf. s.v. *-werdene* 2

werth- 2 subst. n. 'worth, price' Gmc.

In: *werthmond* 'dowry'

Cf. s.v. *-werdene 2*

wertha str. vb. III 'be, become, go, turn' PIE

Cf. s.v. *-wardich*

werther vb. + adv. 'is there' PIE

Syntagm containing *wetha* and *ther 1.*, cf. s.vv.

werthere verb + pers. pron 'he becomes' PIE

Syntagm containing *wertha* and *hi* (encl. Nsm *-re*) 'he', cf. s.vv.

-werthlike adv. 'appropriate, decent' PIE

In: *unwerthlike* 'unworthily, improperly'

Derivational compound of *werth 1.* and *-like 2.*, cf. s.vv.

werthma subst. m. 'worth, price' Gmc.

This hapax is only found in the R1 manuscript. According to Ahlsson (1960: 160) this is a PGmc. *ma- formation to *werth 1.*, cf. s.v.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 160

see also: *-werdene 2.*

werthmond subst. n. 'dowry' PIE

Compound of *werth- 2.* and *-mond 2.*, cf. s.vv.

wesa 1 str. vb. V 'be, happen' PIE

●PFRIS: *wesa

Goth. *wisan*, ON *vesa*, *vera*, OE *wesan*, OS, OHG *wesan*, MHG *wesen*, MLG *wēsen*, ODu. *wesan* 'be'

●PGMC: *wesanaN

●PIE: *h₂ues-

POKORNY: 1170-1

The root originally means 'stay *vel sim.*', cf. Skt. *vāsati* 'lives', Gr. *áesa* 'stay', OIr. *foaid* ('stay for the night').

Lit: Seebold 1970: 561-2

wesa 2 subst. m. 'orphan' PIE

Ofris. also *wese*

This by-form is the feminine form.

●PFRIS: *wēsa, *wēsi

OHG *weiso*, MHG *weise*, MLG *wēse*, ODu. *weiso*, MDu. *wese*, *weze* 'id.', cf. also

*widuwō: Goth. *widuwo*, OE *weduwe*, *widewe*, OS *widuwa*, *widowa*, OHG *wituwa*, *witawa*, MHG *wit(e)we*, MLG *wēduwe*, OFris. *widwe* (q.v.), *wide*, *wedwe*, ODu. *widowa*, MDu. *weduwe* 'widow'

●PGMC: *waisan-

●PIE: *noid^hson-

POKORNY: 1127-8

To a root *h₁uidh- 'separate, divide *vel sim.*', cf. Gr. *ē(w)itheos* 'unmarried young man', Lat. *dīvidō* 'divide, shift'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299

see also: widwe

westa adv.; subst. n. 'western; the west' PIE [?]

The word is only attested as a possible substantive Ds *westa* (XI, 13 18, 34) and may therefore have an ending -a to a Ns *west*, cf. s.v. *āsta*.

●PFRIS: *west

OHG *westan*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *westen*; from such adv. forms and syntagms as ON *vestan*, OE *westan*, OS *westan(a)*, OHG (*fon*) *westana*, MHG, MLG, MDu. *westen* 'from the west', cf. also sub *āsta*, cf. also

*west-: ON *vest*, OE, OHG, MLG, MDu. *west* 'western';

*westera-: ON *vestr*, OS, OHG *westar*, OFris. *wester* (q.v.), etc. 'westward'.

●PGMC: *wes-t-

●PIE: [?] *ues-

POKORNY: 1173-4

It has been suggested that the word has to be compared with *h₂eu- 'away from' as represented in Skt. *āva*, Lat. *au-* [Pokorny 1959: 73], which is traditionally linked to Gr. *hēspēros*, Lat. *vesper* 'evening' [Pokorny 1959: 1173-4], the west being the place where the sun goes down. However, there are formal problems, such as the lack of a Gr. prothetic vowel as the reflex of the laryngeal in the 'evening-word', which render the connection with *h₂eu- impossible. On the formal problems involving the *vesper*-etymon, cf. Beekes (1996: 232-3, fn. 10). Thus, the connection with *h₂eu- is impossible, the one with *vesper*, etc. unclear, the latter, moreover, possibly involving non-IE rather than IE material.

see also: *asta*, *wester*

wester adv. 'westwards' PIE

An adverbial PIE *-cro (PGmc. *-cra) formation (denoting direction) to the PGmc. root *wes-t-, cf. s.v. *westa*.

wet adj. 'wet' PIE

●PFRIS: *wēt

ON *vátr*, OE *wǣt*, MDu. *wet*, *wit* 'wet', cf. also

*watr-: OE *wæter*, OS *watar*, OHG *wazzar*, MHG *wazzar*, MLG *wāter*, OFris. *wetir* (q.v.), *wet(t)er*, *watir*, *water*, MDu. *water(c)*, *wetere*, *watre* 'water';

*watan-: Goth. *wato*, ON *vatn* 'water';

etc.

●PGMC: *wē₁t-

●PIE: *ued-

POKORNY: 78-81

Old neuter inflected according to the static inflection (e.g. Beekes 1990: 227-8); Hitt. Ns *wātar* < *uódr, Gs *wetenas* < *uédns, cf. also Goth. *watins* 'water'; Gr. *húdōr*, Arm. *get* 'water'

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305

see also: wetir, winter

weta pret. pres. I 'know, can, hear, declare under oath, judge' PIE

OFris. also *wita*

This form shows the original stem vowel, whereas *weta* has an etymological *i that was lowered before an *a* in the following syllable (van Helten 1890: 10).

●PFRIS: *wita

Goth. *witan*, ON *vita*, OE, OS *witan*, OHG *wizzan*, MHG *wizzen*, MLG *wēten*, ODu. *witon*, MDu. *weten* 'know', cf. also

*weisō: ON *vís* 'way', *vísa* 'melody', OE *wīs(e)*, OS, OHG *wīs(a)*, MHG, MLG *wīs(e)*, OFris. *wīs* (cf. s.v. *wīs* 1.), MDu. *wijs*, *wise* 'art, way';

*weis(j)a-: Goth. *-weis*, ON *víss*, OE, OS *wīs*, OHG *wīs(i)*, MHG, MLG *wīs(e)*, OFris. *wīs* (cf. s.v. *wīs* 2.), ODu. *wīs-*, MDu. *wijs*, *wi(i)s*, *wies*, *wise* 'wise';

*wissa-: Goth. *-wiss*, ON *viss*, OE *ge|wiss*, OS *wis*, OHG *gi|wis*, MHG *ge|wiss*, MLG *wiss(e)*, OFris. *-wisse* (q.v.), ODu. (adv.) *gewisso*, MDu. (*ge*)*wis*, (*ge*)*wes* 'certain';

*weisjanaN: ON *vísa*, OS *wísian*, OHG, MHG, MLG *wísen*, OFris. *wisa* (q.v.), MDu. *wisen* 'show', cf. also;

*weisonaN: Goth. *ga|weison* 'visit', OE *wísian* 'show, lead', OS *wíson*, OHG *wísōn* 'visit', OFris. *wísia* 'look after' (q.v.), ODu. *wíson* 'visit'.

●PGMC: *witanaN

●PIE: *uid-

POKORNY: 1125-7

Skt. *váda*, Gr. *oída* 'know'; to a root *ueid- meaning 'see', cf. Lat. *videō* 'see', the perfect having developed a meaning 'know' ← 'having seen'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 290; Seebold 1970: 533-5

see also: wis 1., 2., wisa, wisia, -wisse, wita

wetir subst. n. 'water' PIE

OFris. also *water*, *weter*,

A -r/-n stem formation to PIE root *uēd-, cf. s.v. *wet*.

wi 1 subst. m. 'road' PIE

OFris. also *wei*

The current OFris. form *wei* 'road' represents earlier *wega- with palatalisation of *-g. The resulting diphthong *ei* was monophthongized to *i* in the dialect of R₁.

●PFRIS: *wei-

Cf. s.v. *-wege*

wi 2 pers. pron. 'we' PIE

●PFRIS: *wī

Goth. *weis*, ON *vér*, OE *wē*, OS *wi*, OHG *wir*, MHG *wi(e)r*, *wer*, *mir*, *mer*, *wī*, *wie*, MLG *wī*, *wē*, *wie*, MDu. *wi(j)*, *wii*, *wie* 'we'

●PGMC: *wejes

●PIE: *uei-

POKORNY: 1114

In Gmc., we find the ground-form *uei-, extended with the plural ending *-es, cf. *wes*; Skt. *vayám* < *uei-om, Toch. A *was*, Toch. B *wes* 'we'.

wia wk. vb. 1 'consecrate' PIE [?]

OFris. also *wiga*

The <-g-> is merely orthographic and denotes the phonetic glide [j] that occurs between vowels, cf. also s.v. *wīene* ~ *wīgene*.

●PFRIS: *wīa

ON *vígja*, OS *wihian*, OHG *wihen*, MHG *wi(h)en*, *wīchen*, MLG *wī(g)en*, ODu. *wīun*, MDu. *wī(d)en* 'consecrate', cf. also

**weihþō*:- Goth. *weihþa* 'consecration', OS *wīhitha* 'relics', OHG *wīhida* 'consecratio, propitiatorium, reliquiae', OFris. *wīthe* (q.v.) '(oath on the) relics';

**weihīn*:- OHG *wīhīn* 'consecratio', OFris. *wī(g)ene* (cf. s.v.v.) 'consecration'; etc.

●PGMC: *weih- ~ *weig-

These forms show grammatical change *h ~ *g.

●PIE: *ucik- [?]

POKORNY: 1128

If the traditional etymology is correct, the etymon is IE: one compares Skt. *vínakti* 'separates', Av. *anau/vaēk-* 'exclude'. However, a semantic transition 'separate' > 'sacred' is defensible but not obvious. Furthermore, only Italic cognates remain, which are more convincing from a semantic point of view, cf. Lat. *victima* 'offering'. If the etymon is a common Italic-Gmc. heritage, one can think of a North-European substratum word (Kuiper's category A₂, cf. 1995: 68ff.). Interestingly, the comparison of Umbr. *eveietu* 'let him consecrate' < **veigetōd* is very attractive from a semantic point of view but requires a root variant **ueig-*. This is problematic within IE, whereas variation of root final consonants is a common feature of North European substratum words.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 297, 298

see also: *wi(g)ene*, *wilas*, *withe*, *witheth*

wich subst. m ? 'struggle, battle' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wīh

ON *víg*, OE, OHG *wīg*, MLG *wīch*, MDu. *wijch*, *wiech* 'id.'

●PGMC: *weig-

● No IE etymology.

The root is only attested in North European, but is usually considered a PIE heritage, cf. Lat. *vincō* 'vanquish', Osc *vincter* 'convincitur', OIr. *ficid* 'struggle' < alleged PIE **ucik-* [Pokorny 1959: 1128-9]. Welsh *gwychr* 'fierce', *gwychydd* 'hero' point to a root variant containing a geminate, i.e. **uikk-*; variation of root final consonants is a common feature of North European substratum words (Kuiper's category A₂, cf. 1995: 68ff.). Furthermore, a non-IE

ablaut form seems to be represented in OIr. *fích* 'feud, anger, resentment' < *uik-.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300; Schrijver 1991: 528-9

wicht subst. f. 'weight' PIE

In: *wicht*(#)*gold* (q.v.) 'weighed gold'

●PFRIS: *wiht

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 301; Seebold (1970: 542-4)

wicht(#)**gold** subst. n. 'weighed gold of a certain currency' PIE

Compound of *wicht* and *gold*, cf. s.vv.

wids cf., s.v. *wegk*

widu- subst. f. 'collar' PIE [?]

In: *widubēn* 'collar bone', q.v.

OFris. also *wide-*, *wede-*

The medial vowel was weakened in both by-forms of the compound. The form *wede-* must reflect a paradigmatical by-form in which the *i* was lowered before a low vowel in the ending (van Helten 1890: 10 ff.).

●PFRIS: *widu-, *wedu-

Goth. *kuna*/*wida* 'fetters', ON *við(-)* 'ring', OE *wido-*, *wiðo-* 'collar', OS *wit* 'ring', OHG *wid(i)*, MHG *wide*, *wit*, MLG *wēde(-)* 'string', cf. also *wip/dja-: OHG *witte*, OE *wipþe* 'collar', MLG *wedde* 'string', OFris. *witthe*, *witte* 'collar'

●PGMC: *wipu-

●PIE: No IE etymology

POKORNY: 1120-2

It has been suggested that the word must be connected with dental extensions to the root PIE *uei- 'turn, bend', i.e. *uei-t-, cf. Skt. *vetasā-* 'cane', Lat. *vitta* 'binding', OIr. *féith* 'sinew'.

see also: *widuben*

widuben subst. n. 'collar bone' PIE [?]

Compound of *widu-* and *bēn*, cf. s.vv.

also in: ON *viðbein*, OE *widobān*, *wiðobān*, MLG *wēdebēn* 'id.'

widwe subst. f. 'widow' PIE

OFris. also *wedwe*, *wide*

Goth. *widuwo*, (also deriv. *widuwairna* 'orphan') OE *weduwe*, *widewe*, (PDE *widow*) OS *widuwa*, *widowa*, OHG *wituwa*, *witawa*, MHG *wit(c)we* (NHG *witwe*), MLG *wēduwe*, ODu. *widowa*, MDu. *weduwe* 'widow'

●PGMC: *widuwō

●PIE: *wid^heweh₂-

POKORNY: 1127-8

Skt. *vidháva-*, Av. *viðauua-*, Lat. *vidua*, OIr. *febd* Welsh *gweddw* OPruss. *widewu* OCS *vidova* 'widow'.

Probably a formation to a root *uid^h- 'separate, divide *vel sim.*', cf. Skt. *vidhurá*- 'separated from', Gr. *ē(w)íttheos* 'unmarried young man', Lat. *dīvidō* 'divide, shift'. The etymology of *uid^h- is uncertain. For proposed etymologies and further discussion, cf. Lehmann (1986: s.v. *widuwō* + *reff.*) and Beekes (1992).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 299 Beekes 1992

see also: *wesa* 2.

wi(g)ene subst. f. 'consecration' PIE [?]

A substantive formation to *wia*, q.v. The <-g-> is merely orthographic and denotes the phonetic glide [j] that occurs between vowels, cf. Boutkan (1996: 13-14) and van Helten (1890: 92).

Cf. s.v. *wia*

wif subst. n., f. 'woman, wife' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wif

ON *wif*, OE, OS *wif*, OHG *wīb*, MHG *wīp*, MLG *wif*, MDu. *wijf* 'wife'

●PGMC: *wifa-

● No IE etymology

The etymology has been disputed. Holthausen (1920: 368) suggests that the word is to be identified with PGmc. *wība- 'clothing', perhaps 'kerchief' (cf. Krogmann 1960a: 74-6), which entails a connection with Goth. *biwaibjan* 'surround, clothe', OE *wifan* 'wrap' to a PIE root *ueip-, cf. *vepayati*, *vipayati* 'set in agitated movement' [Pokorny 1959: 1131-3], cf. also s.v. *wifstrewene*. The root comprises forms with very different meanings. Possibly, Latv. *viept* 'mask' is related to the Gmc. forms meaning 'clothe *vel sim.*'. Still, even if the root is of PIE origin, the derivation of a meaning 'wife' from a meaning 'clothe, wrap' is not fully convincing, in spite of the parallels adduced by Holthausen (loc. cit.).

Lit: Holthausen 1920: 368; Krogmann 1960a: 74-6; Lendinara 1990: 296

see also: *wifstrewene*

wifstrewene subst. f. 'snatching a woman' PIE

Compound of PGmc. *wība- 'kerchief', cf. s.v. *wif* and *-strewene* 'snatching'.

Lit: Krogmann 1960a: 74-6

-wik subst. f. 'town, village' LW

●PFRIS: *wik

← Lat. *vicus*

Also in OE *wīc*, OS *wīk*, OHG *wīh*, MHG *wīch*, MLG *wīc*, MDu. *wijc*

Lit: Holthausen 1921 s.v. *wīk*; Lendinara 1990: 300; not in Wollmann

wike subst. f. 'week' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *wiki

Goth. *wiko* 'turn for the service in the temple', ON *vika*, OE *wicu*, -e, *wucu*,

OS *wika*, OHG *wehha*, *wohha*, MHG *woche*, MLG *wēke*, MDu. *weke* 'week'

●PGMC: *wikō(n-)

● Unclear IE etymology

Cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *wiko* for reff. Two etymologies have been proposed:

(1) < PIE *weik- 'wind, turn', cf. s.v. *wekia*, with the basic meaning 'period'

(2) < PIE (?) *weik- 'exchange', cf. Lat. Gs *vicis* 'exchange', perhaps OIr. *fiach* 'mutuum'; furthermore only in Gmc., hence perhaps a substratum root in spite of Pokorny (1959: 1130-1, especially 1131), cf.

ON *víxl*, OS, OHG *wehsal*, MHG *wehsel*, MLG *wes(se)le*, ODu. *wihsil*, OFris. *wixle* (q.v.), *wixele*, MDu. *wissel(e)*, *wixel*, *wessel* 'exchange'; OS *wehslon*, OHG *wehsalōn*, MHG *wehseln*, MLG *wes(se)len*, ODu. *wihsil*, OFris. *wixlia* (cf. s.v. -*wixlia*), MDu. *wisselen*, *wesselen*, cf. also ON *víxla*, OE *wíxlan* 'exchange'. This etymology starts from a basic meaning 'returning period', cf. also the Gothic meaning.

Lit: Not in Lendinara 1990

see also: *wekia*, *wixle*, -*wixlia*

wilas adj. 'without consecration' PIE [?]

Compound of *wia* and *-las* 2., cf. s.vv.

wilde adj. 'wild' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wildi

Goth. *wilpeis* 'wild', ON *villr* 'lost', OE *wilde*, OS, OHG *wildi*, MHG, MLG *wilt*, *wilde*, MDu. *wilt*, *welt*, *wilde* 'wild'

●PGMC: *wildia-

● No IE etymology

The only parallel is Welsh *gwyllt* 'wild'.

wilima verb + indef. pron. 'will one' PIE

A syntagm containing *willa*, *wella* 1. and *ma*, cf. s.vv.

wilira verb + encl. def. art. 'their will' PIE

A syntagm containing *willa*, *wella* 1. and the enclitic Gpm of *thi* 1, cf. s.vv.

wilire verb + encl. pers. pron. 'will he' PIE

A syntagm containing *willa*, *wella* 1. and the enclitic *-re* form of the pers. pron. *hi*, cf. s.vv.

willa, **wella** 1 vb. anom. 'will' PIE

Cf. s.v. *wel*

willa 2 subst. m. 'will' PIE

A substantive formation to *willa*, *wella* 1, q.v.

●PFRIS: *wella ?

Cf. s.v. *wel*

see also: *wel*

Willebrord NP**Willehad NP****wind** subst. m. 'wind' PIEOFris. also *wynd*, *wynt*

These are mere orthographical by-forms showing the allographs <y> for <i> and <-t> for <-d>.

●PFRIS: *wind

Goth. *winds*, ON *vindr*, OE, OS *wind*, OHG, MHG, MLG *wint*, MDu. *wi(j)nt*, *wijdt*, *went*, *wijn* (?) 'wind'

●PGMC: *winda-

●PIE: *h₂ueh₁nto-Gr. *áella* 'storm', Lat. *ventus*, Welsh *awel* 'wind'; cf. also s.v. *weder-*.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 296

see also: *weder-*, *winter***winna** str. vb. III 'gain, win, get' PIE

●PFRIS: *winna

Goth. *winnan* 'suffer', ON *vinna* 'labour, win, overcome', OE *winnan* 'struggle, labour, suffer', OS, OHG *winnan* 'work, battle', MHG *winnen* 'struggle', MLG *winnen*, *winden* 'gain', MDu. *winnen*, *wennen*, *wijnen* 'win, gain', cf. also*wun-: Goth. *unwunands* 'sad', ON *una* 'be satisfied with', OE *wunian*, OS *wonon*, *wunon*, OHG *wonēn*, MHG *wonen*, MLG *wönen* 'dwell', also*wunari-: MLG *woner*, OFris. *wunire*, *wonire* (q.v.), MDu. *woonre*, *won(a)re*, *woonder*, *woner* 'inhabitant',

etc.

●PGMC: *wennanaN

●PIE: *uenH-

POKORNY: 1146-7

A clearly reconstructable root with different semantic developments, however.

The original meaning may have been 'want, try to obtain *vel sim.*', cf. Skt. *vanóti* 'wishes', Lat. *venus* 'love',OCS *unjo*, *uniti* 'want'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 303; Seebold 1970: 556-7; Stapelkamp 1950: 104-5

winter subst. m. 'winter' PIE [?]

●PFRIS: *wintir

Goth. *wintrus*, OR *uintura*, ON *vetr*, OE *winter*, OS, OHG *wintar*, MHG, MLG *winter*, MDu. *wi(j)nter*, *wenter* 'winter'

●PGMC: *wentru-

●Unclear IE etymology.

Cf. Lehmann (1986) s.v. *wintrus*, de Vries (1992) s.v. *winter* for ref. to the three current etymologies:(1) [Lidén] to Lat. *unda* 'wave', Lith. *vanduo* 'water', i.e. the winter as a wet

season (cf. s.v. *wetir*). This connection has become problematic now, because the concept of prenasalisation has now been given up for PIE and the actual root *ued- does not contain a nasal (NB Lat. *unda* < *ud-na; Lith. *vanduō* < *uod-n-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 501). Hence *wentr- contains a nasal that hampers the connection with the root *ued-.

(2) [Wood] to the root *h₂ueh₁- attested in 'wind' (cf. s.vv. *wind*, *wetir*), i.e. the winter as a 'windy season'; semantically possible but not self-evident.

(3) [Uhlenbeck] to OIr. *find*, Gaul. *vindo-* 'white', i.e. the 'white season' (due to the snow); semantically possible but not self-evident. The Celtic 'white'-word probably belongs to the IE root *ueid-, cf. s.v. *weta*.

Thus, explanations (2) and (3) remain serious candidates. Note in addition that the PIE word for 'winter' was *ǵ^heiōm, cf. Gr. *khiōn*, Lat. *hiems*, with very archaic inflexion (Beekes 1990: 217-8).

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 297, 305

see also: *weta*, *wetir*, *wind*

wis 1 subst. f. 'way, manner' PIE

Cf. s.v. *weta*

wis 2 adj. 'wise' PIE

Cf. s.v. *weta*

wisa wk. vb. 1 'point to, inform, prescribe' PIE

Cf. s.v. *weta*

wisdom subst. m. 'wisdom' PIE

Compound of *wis 2.* and *-dom 4.*, cf. s.vv.

wisia wk. vb. 2 'look after' PIE

Cf. s.v. *weta*

-wisse adj. 'certain' PIE

Cf. s.v. *weta*

Wisura NP

wit cf., s.v. *with 1., 2.*

wita cf., s.v. *weta*

with 1, 2 adv. 'again; against, with, to, for, instead of, as far as' PIE

From an etymological point of view, the lemmata *with 1.* and *with 2.* in Buma's glossary are identical. On the semantics, cf. van Helten (1907a: 382).

Ofris. also *withe*

This is another formation showing the adverbial ending *-e*.

●PFRIS: *wiþ

ON *við*, OE, OS *wið* 'against'

The form is an analogical rebuilding after the example of e.g. ON *aptr* ~ *apt* (de Vries 1977: 660, s.v. 2. *viðr*), cf.

**wiþra*:- Goth. *wiþra*, ON *wiþr*, OE *wiþer*-, OS *withar*, OHG *widar*, MHG *wider*, *widder*, *weder*, MLG *wider*-, *wedder*-, OFris. *withir*, *wither*, *wether*, *weder*, *weer* (cf. s.v. *withir* 1., 2.), MDu. *weder(e)*, *weer*, *widder(e)* 'against'

●PGMC: **wiþ*-

●PIE: **ui-tero*-

POKORNY: 1175-6

An extension **-tero*- to an element **ui*-, cf. Skt. *vi* 'apart', also in Skt. *vi-taram* 'further'.

Lit: van Helten 1903: 558; van Helten 1907a: 382

withe subst. f. 'relic; oath on relics' PIE [?]

OFris. also *witha*

A feminine substantive **-iþō*- formation (see Ahlsson 1960: 135) to *wia*, q.v.

Cf. s.v. *wia*

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 135

witheth subst. m. 'oath on relics' Gmc.

Compound of *withe* and *eth*, cf. s.vv.

withir 1 cf., s.v. *with* 1, 2

withir 2 cf., s.v. *with* 1, 2

withirjeld subst. m. 'compensation' Gmc.

Compound of *withir* 2. and *jeld*, cf. s.vv.

withstonda str. vb. VI 'withstand' PIE

Compound of *with* 2. and *stonda*, cf. s.vv.

withume subst. f. 'consecrated ground near the church' PIE

OFris. also *wethem*, *wethum*, *wathem*

●PFRIS: **wethum*-?

OE *weoðuma*, *wcotuma*, *wituma*, *wetma*, OS *withum*, OHG *widamo*, *widum* (NHG *wittum*), MHG *widem(e)* 'dowry'

cf. also OHG *widimen* (NHG *widmen*) 'donate, giving of a gift'.

●PGMC: PWGmc. **wetmōn*

Originally, **wetmōn* used to denote the price of a bride, i.e. the dowry, in Germanic law. In German, Dutch and Frisian influenced by Canon Law, the word also denoted a 'secular gift to the church or an ecclesiastical lord'. In OFris. the semantics may have shifted from 'a gift (of land) to the church' to '(consecrated) ground near the church'? In the early Christian period, a great many pieces of land were donated to the church in the Frisian area.

The common OFris. word for 'dowry' is *wetma* ~ *witma* which derives from the weak form of the same PGmc. root.

●PIE: **ued-mno*-

POKORNY: 1115-6

Gr. *hédnon* 'dowry, weddinggift' < PIE **uedno-*, ORuss. *věno*, Russ. *věno* 'dowry, gift?' < PIE **uēdno-*.

witsing subst. m. 'Viking' LW

Ofris. also *wiking*, *wising*

The former by-form shows no assibilation (as does the ON source word); the latter by-form shows an alternative spelling *-s-* for the assibilated velar.

●PFRIS: **wīcing*, **wīking*

← ON *vikingr*

The origin of this word is unknown, cf. de Vries (1977) s.v. *wiking*.

Also in: OE *wīcing*, OHG *wihhing*, etc.

Lit: Not in Holthausen 1921

-wixlia wk. vb. 2 'exchange' PIE [?]

Verbal derivation of *wixle*, cf. s.vv.

see also: *wike*

wixle subst. n. 'exchange' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *wixel*

●PFRIS: **wiksle-*

ON *víxl*, OS, OHG *wehsal*, MHG *wehsel*, MLG *wes(sc)le*, ODu. *wihsil*, OFris. *wixle* (q.v.), *wixele*, MDu. *wissel(c)*, *wixel*, *wessel* 'exchange'; OS *wehslon*, OHG *wehsalōn*, MHG *wehseln*, MLG *wes(sc)len*, ODu. *wihsil*, OFris. *wixlia* (cf. s.v. *-wixlia*), MDu. *wisselen*, *wesselen*, cf. also

ON *víxla*, OE *wixlan* 'exchange'.

●PGMC: **wik-sla*

●PIE: **weik-slo*

POKORNY: 1131

Lat. Gs *vicis* 'exchange', perhaps OIr. *fiach* 'mutuum'; furthermore only in Gmc., hence perhaps a substratum root in spite of Pokorny (1959: 1130-1, especially 1131)

see also: *wike*, *-wixlia*

-wlemelsa subst. m. 'damage, disfigurement' PIE [?]

In: *wlitiwlemelsa* 'disfigurement of a visible part of the body', q.v.

Ofris. also *wlemmelsa*, *-lemmelsa*, *-lemelsa*, *-lamelsa*

The geminate *-mm-* can be attributed to influence of the verb *wlemma*; on the syncope of *-w-* cf. van Helten (1890: 74). The form *-lamelsa* (E) shows 'partial i-umlaut' before nasals (van Helten 1906: 175ff., Steller 1928: 9, Holthausen and Hofmann 1985: IX).

●PFRIS: **wlē(m)ilmsa*

Cf. also MLG *wlānc* 'infirmity, shortcoming, handicap', OFris. *wlemma* 'damage, mutilate'

●PGMC: **wlammj-*

●PIE: **uel-* [?]

POKORNY: 1144-5

Usually considered as a formation to the root *uel- 'rob, tear, wound', cf. Lat. *vellō* 'pluck, plunder', probably Hitt. *walḥ-* 'strike', but we would be dealing with a uniquely Gmc. extension.

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 140-1

see also: *wlitiwlemelsa*

wliti- subst. m. 'visible part of the body' Gmc.

OFris. also *wlite(-)*

This by-form shows a weakened ending vowel.

●PFRIS: *wliti(-)

ON *litr*, OE *wlite*, OS *wliti* 'appearance', OHG *and]lutti*, *andhuzzi* 'face', cf. also

*wlitō: OE *wlitu* 'form', MLG *wlōte* 'visible wound', etc.;

*wleit-sni-: Goth. *anda]wlcizu* 'face'

●PGMC: *wliti-

● No IE etymology

We would be dealing with a root extension *wl-(e)i-d- to PIE *uel- 'see' [Pokorny 1959: 1136-7], but this is a mechanical derivation from a root that turns out to be attested in Gmc. and Italo-Celtic only, cf. Lat. *voltus*, *vultus* 'face', Welsh *gweled* 'see'. We are very probably dealing with a North European substrate etymon.

Lit: Seebold 1970: 563-4

see also: *wlitiwlemelsa*

wlitiwlemelsa subst. m. 'disfigurement of a visible part of the body' Gmc. Compound of *wliti-* and *-wlemelsa*, cf. s.vv.

won- pref. 'ill-' PIE

OFris. also *wan-*

This by-form shows the OWFr. Rückentwicklung of prenasal *o (< PGmc. *a) to *a, cf. especially Boutkan (1997).

●PFRIS: *wān-

Goth. *wans*, ON *vanr*, OE *won*, *wan*, OS, OHG *wan*, MLG *wan-*, MDu. *wan* 'failing', cf. also

*wanōnaN: ON *vana*, OE *wanian*, OHG *wanōn*, MLG *wānen*, MDu. *wanen* 'diminish';

*wōst-: OE *wēste*, OS *wōsti*, OHG *wuosti*, MHG *wüeste*, MLG *wōste*, *wuste*, OFris. *wōst(e)* (q.v.), ODu. *wuosti*, MDu. *woest(e)*, *woert*, *wust* [?] 'wild';

*wōstīn-: OE *wēstcn*, OS *wōstin(nia)*, OHG *wuostinna*, MHG *wüestene*, MLG *wōstīne*, OFris. *wōstene* (q.v.) *wēstene*, ODu. *wuosti(n)na*, MDu. *wo(e)stīne*, *wu(e)stīne*, *wīstīne*, *woestijn*, *woesten* 'wilderness, desert'.

●PGMC: *wan-

●PIE: *(H)u_{h2}-no-

POKORNY: 345-6

Skt. *ūnā-* 'insufficient', Lat. *vāstus* 'desolate', *vānus* < *uāšnos 'empty', OIr.

fás 'empty'.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305

wondlonge [Buma: *-wondlinge*] subst. f. 'change' PIE

In: *wederwondlonge* '(sensitivity for a) change in the weather' (q.v.)

Ofris. also *wonlonge*, *wandelinge*, *wonlinge*

These by-forms show simplification of the medial cluster *-ld-*, suffixal variation **-ing-* ~ *-ung-* and, in the case of *wandelinge* (a medial parasite vowel as well as) the OWfris. Rückentwicklung of prenasal **o* (< PGmc. **a*) to **a*, cf. especially Boutkan (1997).

●PFRIS: **wāndlungi*

cf. s.v. *wend*.

wondria wk. vb. 2 'wander' PIE

Ofris. also *wandria*

●PFRIS: **wāndlungi*

cf. s.v. *wend*

wonire subst. m. 'hireling' PIE

Ofris. also *wunre*

This by-form shows the common OFris. variation **o* ~ **u* before nasals.

●PFRIS: **wuniri*

cf. s.v. *winna*

Lit: Buma 1961 s.v. for ref.

word subst. n. 'word, testimony' PIE

Cf. s.v. *-warde*

won(♯)spreka subst. f. 'partial loss of speech' Gmc.

Compound of *won-* and *spreka*, cf. s.vv.

wonware subst. f. 'partial loss of sight' PIE

Compound of *won-* and *-ware*, cf. s.vv.

-worth subst. m. 'mound, hill' PIE [?]

In: Ds *Longoworthe* NL

●PFRIS: **wurþa-*

The OFris. vocalism was retained in North Frisian (Föhr, Sylt) toponyms in *-ürt*, *-ört*, cf. Århammar (1977), cf. also

**warīþ-*: OHG *warid*, *werid*, MHG *wert*, *werder*, MLG *werde(r)* 'island', MDu. *w(a)ert*, *wert* 'island in a river, land enclosed by water, (dry) land outside a dike';

**waruþ-*: OE *waroþ* 'shore'.

●PGMC: **wurVþ-*

●PIE: **uer-t-* [?]

POKORNY: 1151-2; cf. also 1167

The word would represent an extension to a root **uer-*, which is confined to

Gmc., however. Pokorny (1959: 1150-66) gives no less than 13 roots *uer-, which is at least improbable. It is difficult to make a distinction between possible homonymous roots and their extensions (cf. also Seebold 1970: 561; furthermore note the attempt by de Vries 1992 s.v. *weer* 4). For an example of a well-confined complex, cf. s.v. *-wardich*. In spite of Pokorny (1959: 1162), part of the evidence shares a meaning 'high', which seems to be the best possible candidate for the Gmc. evidence treated here, cf. Pokorny (1959: 1151-2), though with different extensions, cf. Skt. *várṣman-* 'height', Gr. *hérma* 'hill', perhaps Lith. *viras* 'pustule on a pig'. I keep it for possible that, if we are indeed dealing with a root *uer-, the complex that is actually treated as a separate root *uerd^h- in Pokorny (1959: 1167) is also cognate, i.e. as an extension *uerd^h-, although the basic meaning seems to be 'grow, augment', cf. Skt. *várdhati*, Alb. *rit* 'grows', etc.

Doubts on an IE origin remain, however. Note furthermore the remarkable 'apparent' ablaut in the Gmc. forms (cf. Boutkan 1998a) as well as the strange dental suffix showing unexpected vocalic variation (Boutkan 1998a), which are common features of substrate words in Gmc.

see also: *were* 1.

wost(e) adj. 'waste' PIE

●PFRIS: *wöst(i)

OE *wēste*, OS *wōsti*, OHG *wuosti*, ODu. *wuosti*, MDu. *woeste*, *woert*, *vust?* 'waste', cf. also

*wöstinjō: OE *wēsten*, OS *wōstin(nia)*, OHG *wuostinna*, OFris. *wōstene* (q.v.), *wēstene*, ODu. *wuostin(n)a*, MDu. *wo(e)stine*, *wu(e)stine*, *wistine* 'desert'.

●PGMC: *wöstja-

●PIE: *ueh₂-st-io-

POKORNY: 345-6

Skt. *ūnā-* 'empty' < *uh₂-no-, Lat. *vāstus*, OIr. *fás* 'empty, desolate'. Cf. Schrijver (1991: 307-8) for an analysis of this IE etymon and its alleged cognates.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 305; van Helten 1907a: 386

see also: *wostene*, *won-*

wostene subst. f. 'desert' PIE

OFris. also *wōstene*, *wēstene*

This by-form shows the expected i-umlaut in a form with the suffix *-injō. The non-mutated form must represent a formation in *-unjō. The second by-form shows the secondary suffix *-ie*.

●PFRIS: *wöstini ~ wēstini

cf. s.v. *wöst(e)*

Lit: van Helten 1890: 136

wrak adj. 'crooked' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wrāk

Goth. hapax *wraiqs* 'crooked', Swe. Dial. *wrök* 'annoying person'

●PGMC: *wraikwa-

● No IE etymology

The ill-attested Gmc. word has been compared with Gr. *rhaibós* 'crooked', but the eventual reconstruction *ur-ei-ǵ- [Pokorny 1959: 1158], an extended form based on the root *uer- 'turn' (cf. s.v. -wardich) is far-fetched and mechanical. Moreover the Gr. form has an unexpected vowel a. I suspect a European substratum word.

Lit: van Helten 1889: 278; van Helten 1906: 191; van Helten 1907a: 387; Lendinara 1990: 295; Walter 1911: 29

wrald subst. f. 'world' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *warld*, *wrauld*, *rauld*, *ruald*

The by-form *warld* is the expected form; *wrald* shows metathesis of the r. The spelling *au* in *wrauld*, *rauld*, with *au* for *a* indicates the velar character of /l/ (Steller 1928: 25). The initial *w-* was lost in the course of OFris., cf. *rauld*. The Emsingo form *ruald* may indicate that a labial element was still present phonetically, although it was written after the initial *r-* (cf. also Kern 1879: 177).

●PFRIS: *wrald ~ *warld

ON *verǫld* (← English?), OE *weorold*, OS *werold*, OHG *weralt*, *werolt*, *worolt* 'world, lifetime', MLG *werlt*, *werlde*, *werlit*, *werle* 'world, earth, humanity', Odu. *werolt* 'saeculum', MDu. *wer(r)elt*, *werlt*, *warelt*, *werlet*, *werhilt*, *welt* 'world, earth, age', cf. also

*weraldiska-: OHG *weraltisk*, *wertisk*, OFris. *wraldesk*, *wraldsch*, *wraldsch*, *wraudesk*, *wraudsch*, MDu. *wereltsch* 'of the world';

*weraldlika-: MLG *werltlik*, OFris. *wraldlik* (q.v.), *werlik*, (q.v.), *werlik* MDu. *wer(e)ltlijc*, *warelt-*, *wer(c)-*, *weer-*, *waer-*, *wer(e)nt-*, *-leec* 'of the world', etc.

●PGMC: *weraldi-

A (PGmc.?) compound of PGmc. *wera- 'man' and *aldi- 'age'.

As to *wera-, cf. Goth. *wair*, ON *verr*, OE, OS, OHG *wer* 'man', etc., to PIE *uiHr-, cf. Skt. *vīrá-*, Lat. *vir*, Oir. *fer* 'man' (with shortening of the vowel according to Dybo's Law).

As to *aldi-, cf. Goth. *alds*, ON *ǫld*, OE *ield*, etc., to PIE *h₂el-, cf. s.v. *ald*.

Lit: van Helten 1908

wraldlik adj. 'of the world' PIE

Ofris. also *werlik*

This by-form shows MLG or MDu. influence in the vocalism and the lack of r-metathesis.

●PFRIS: *wraldlik

cf. s.v. *wrald*.

wreia wk. vb. I 'make an accusation, accuse sb. in court' Gmc.

●PFRIS: *wreia

Goth. *wrogjan*, ON *roegja*, OE *wrēgan*, OS *wrōgian*, OHG *ruogen*, MHG *ruogen*, *rüegen*, MLG *wrogen*, *wruogen*, MDu. *wro(e)gen*, *wrougen*, *vroegen*, *wru(e)gen* 'accuse';

*wrōgōjanaN: OFris. *wrōgia* (q.v.), *ruogia* 'id.'

●PGMC: *wrōgjanaN

● No IE etymology.

This form can hardly be ascribed to *uer- (e.g. Lehmann 1986: s.v. *wrohs*), cf. s.v. *-warde*, which is only a root etymology and not very obvious from a semantic point of view.

Lit: van Helten 1907a: 387; not in Lendinara 1990

wreka str. vb. IV 'persecute, avenge' PIE [?]

OFris. *rueka* is probably not a by-form, cf. Kern (1879: 178).

●PFRIS: *wreka

Goth. *wrikan* 'persecute', ON *reka*, OE *wreccan* 'avenge', OS *wrekan*, OHG *rohhan* MHG *rechen*, MLG *wreken*, MDu. *wre(i)ken* 'punish'

●PGMC: *wrekanaN

●PIE: *ureg- [?]

POKORNY: 1181

Lat. *urgeo* 'press'. The problem is the status of the remaining (alleged) cognates. Perhaps Skt. *vrājati* 'goes' is cognate, cf. especially the meaning of the causative, i.e. 'exile, banish', but this is uncertain. Balto-Slavic has a possible cognate root-form with Schwebel-Ablaut, viz. *uerg-, as represented in Lith. *vōrgas* 'slave', OPruss. *wargs* 'bad'. It remains unclear whether this root is of IE origin.

Lit: Lendinara 1990: 300

wrogia wk. vb. 2 'charge, sue'

OFris. *rueka* is not a by-form, cf. Kern (1879: 177).

OFris. also *ruōgia*

This by-form shows that probably the labial element was still present phonetically, although it was written after the initial *r*- (cf. also Kern 1879: 177).

wunde subst. f. 'wound' PIE

OFris. also *undc*, *und*

The first by-form shows the incidental loss of *w* before *u* (cf. especially Århammar 1977); the latter (e.g. H) shows another stem formation as well.

●PFRIS: *wundi

ON *und*, OE *wund*, OS *wunda*, OHG *wunta*, MHG, MLG *wunde*, ODu. *wunda*, MDu. *wonde*, *wunde* 'wound', cf. also

*wundōnaN: Goth. *gajwundon*, ON *unda*, OE *wundian*, OHG *wuntōn*, MHG, MLG *wunden*, OFris. *wundia* (q.v.), MDu. *wonden* 'wound';

*wundingō: MLG *wundingc*, OFris. *wundingc*, MDu. *wondinge* 'wound';

*wundingō: MHG *werjwundunge*, OFris. *wundunge* (q.v.) 'wound'

●PGMC: *wunþō

●PIE: *un-to-

POKORNY: 1108

Possibly a verbal noun in *-to- to a root *uen-, which is not well attested, but cf. Arm. *vandem* 'ruin, destroy', Welsh *ymwan* 'fight'. We seem to be dealing with a variant *ueh₂- (cf. *g^wem-, *g^weh₂- 'go', Pokorny 1959: loc. cit.), cf. Latv. < *vāts* 'wound', Lith. *votis* 'ulcer'

Lit: Ahlsson 1960: 107; Lendinara 1990: 294

see also: *wundia*, *wundunge*

wundia wk. vb. 2 'wound' PIE [?]

Ofris. also *undia*

This by-form shows the incidental loss of w before u (cf. especially Århammar 1977).

●PFRIS: *wundi

cf. s.v. *wunde*

wundunge subst. f. 'injury, wound'

Ofris. also *undenge*, *wundinge*

The first by-form shows the incidental loss of w before u (cf. especially Århammar 1977) as well as weakening of the vowel of the suffix. The second by-form shows another suffix, cf. s.v. *wunde*.

●PFRIS: *wundingi

cf. s.v. *wunde*

wrthe = *wurthere* 3s opt. pret. of *wertha*, q.v.

wrthere vb. + pron. 'becomes-he' PIE

Syntagm containing *wertha* 'become' and *hi* (encl. -ere 2.) 'he', cf. s.vv.

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